THE

ROYAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

HENRY TYRRELL, W. C. STAFFORD, AND JOHN SHERER.

Embellished with a Series of Steel Engravings,

REPRESENTING THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN ENGLISH HISTORY, PORTRAITS OF CELEBRATED PERSONS,

ETC., ETC.

LONDON:
J. G. MURDOCH,
41, CASTLE STREET, HOLBORN,
1876.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the wide range of modern inquiry, there is no study meriting a higher place than that of History. Hence it is that it forms such an important feature in educational literature, and that so many works of this description are being constantly placed before the eye of the public. Every one of these may, at least, be supposed to possess some claim to popularity; but that which is the most comprehensive in its treatment, and which brings its information down to the veritable passing year, must be acknowledged to have no mean title to take a foremost place in public estimation. Such a History is the following. Its pages, however, must not be considered as a mere record of past events, partaking of little more than the naked forms of registers and chronicles; but as a faithful and full narration of national occurrences, with their causes and effects, placed before the reader in the order in which they happened. This is what History should be; and this is what the following one is. A *résumé* of the scheme of that of England may here briefly be considered.

Beginning about the eleventh century before the Christian era, we find that Britain was known to the Phœnicians and other commercial nations, whose localities were on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, and who traded to it for tin, lead, and other productions. At the earliest period of which there is any record, it was inhabited by a race whose language was nearly the same as that spoken by the various tribes of people settled in most of the countries of Western Europe. These called themselves Celtiaid—a native word, signifying *inhabitants of the woods*, and from which was derived Celtæ and Celtic, the Latin and English terms for these races, who seem to have held a speech in common. Like the savages of New Zealand at the present day, they tattooed and stained their bodies with a blue colour, to make themselves still more hideous and frightful than nature had made them in the eyes of their enemies. This practice, even after it had been discontinued by the more civilised continental tribes, prevailed in Britain, and led these to designate the inhabitants of this island their *brethern Brithon.* This expression, signifying the *painted people*, was adopted by the earliest Greek writers as the real designation of the people; and subsequently came to be varied into Britannia, Britain, Britons, &c. The island itself, however, was called by the natives Alwion, which means the country of Gwion, the deity who took the highest place in their estimation, and whose name was afterwards Grecianised into Alouion, and Latinised into Albion. From this, it may be observed, that the common derivation given of Albion, from *albus* (white), is erroneous. Julius Cæsar was the first general who invaded this island, and Julius Agricola its final Roman conqueror. The former came fifty-five years before, and the latter seventy-eight, after Christ. He held it for seven years, and was as much distinguished for courage as for humanity.

The Roman occupation of Britain extended over a period which embraced from B.C. 55 to A.D. 420, not very far from 500 years; and as centralisation was the characteristic sign of the Roman system of administration, all the governmental departments centred in, as well as emanated from, the Emperor. Subordinate to him was the Prefect of Gaul, who included Britain within the limits of his jurisdiction. Next to him was a Vice-Prefect, who ruled over Britain, divided into five provinces, each having a President or Consul. These provinces, again, were sub-divided into cities, ninety-two of which existed in the island under the Roman domination. The officers who administered the local affairs of each city were called the *Curiales*—men possessed of landed

property, and capable of performing all municipal duties, from those of the gatherer of taxes, to those of the chief magistrate. Further than this, here, it is unnecessary to detail.

The Roman dominion in Britain terminated in A.D. 409; after which, the Britons, having frequently had their country devastated by inroads made by the Scots and Picts, applied for help to the Saxons. These had visited them before, and now, with two leaders called Hengist and Horsa, came to their assistance. This was in A.D. 449. These Saxons, from their great physical strength, courage, and valour, were the terror of all the German nations around them. Vortigern was the British king who invited them to come to his assistance; and having landed in the most eastern point of Kent, then the Isle of Thanet, in A.D. 449, they obtained a settlement, and, according to their agreement, had an abundant supply of provisions and clothing. As there is still amongst us a lingering regard for the memory of these brave old warriors, we may for a few moments, direct attention to their original abode.

"During the second century," says Adam Scott, Esq., "the barbarous tribes that inhabited the sea-coast to the north of the Elbe formed a great confederacy, calling themselves Saxons, or *short-swordsmen*—a name which, afterwards, became common to the nations from the mouth of the Rhine to the extremity of Jutland. They lived by pillage and piracy, and burned the Roman fleets which were sent against them. Their audacity increased as the Roman power diminished, and they began to colonise places which they had depopulated. The principal tribes were distinguished by the titles of Jutes, Angles, and Saxons—properly so called. The Jutes dwelt in the peninsula of Jutland, and the Angles south of them, in Schleswig and Holstein, down to the town of Flensburgh. In Holstein there is still a district called Anglen, which is believed to be the real 'Old England,' the original seat of the tribe (the Angles) that gave its name to South Britain. The Saxons proper were below the Angles; probably occupying the whole breadth of the country from the shores of the Baltic to Friesland. The language and robust form of the Saxons prove them to have been of the pure Gothic or Teutonic race. All their chiefs claimed descent from Wodin, the deified ancestor of the Teutons, who flourished between 200 and 300 years after the Christian era, and whose capital (real or traditional) is still shown at Stigsund, near Stockholm, the present capital of Sweden."

When the Saxons landed in Britain they worshipped many gods and venerated images; but in A.D. 596 they adopted the Christian faith. In that year, Pope Gregory, surnamed the Great, undertook to send missionaries among them, and convert them to Christianity. Accordingly, a monk called Augustine, with forty others, entered upon the mission, and landed in the Isle of Thanet in the year 597. Ethelbert, the then reigning sovereign, received them favourably, became himself a convert, and, shortly afterwards, openly espoused the Christian religion. A church at Canterbury, which had, in the Roman times, been erected, was put into a state of repair, and ample possessions attached to it for the maintenance of its ministers. Upon the site of this church the present cathedral stands; and soon after this the rest of the kingdoms in England embraced Christianity, and almost became as deeply involved in the darkness of superstition as they had been before in the night of idolatry.

As day succeeds day, so, in the following history, reigning authorities follow each other in the proper order of their accession to the dignity of the crown. Here, therefore, we will confine ourselves to noticing some special events, with the manners of each epoch, rather than exhibiting a connected narrative of many particulars, by which the unity of history is preserved and characterised. At the very outset of this plan, however, there is an historical error, which, though only verbal, may as well be indicated, on account of the familiarity of the term, to readers of English history. It appears in what is called *the Saxon Heptarchy*. "As this means seven independent governments, it must be rejected, however familiar by usage, because an idea is thereby conveyed which is erroneous. At no period of our history were there ever *seven* kingdoms

independent of each other. As the Anglo-Saxons warred with each other, sometimes one state was absorbed by another; sometimes, after an interval, it emerged again. If that term ought to be used, which expresses the complete establishment of the Anglo-Saxons, it should be *Octarchy*. If not, then the denomination must vary as the tide of conquest fluctuated. If the collective governments are to be denominated from the nations who peopled them, as these were three, the general term should be *Triarchy*: but it is obvious that *Octarchy* is the appellation that best suits the historical truth." Having firmly established themselves in all the most favourable districts of the island, the Saxons began to quarrel among themselves. They had no others to quarrel with, the Britons being so completely reduced to subjection. The precedent of making war upon a neighbour was given by Ethelbert, the fourth in succession from Hengist. He invaded, though unsuccessfully, Cealwin, King of Wessex, in 568; and this example was imitated by others. By this means divisions multiplied to such an extent, that in the year 700, there were no fewer than seventeen principalities—seven of them governed by Saxon princes, and ten by Celtic chiefs. No part of the country was so much divided against itself as Northumbria. Here war seems to have been the chronic condition of the land until the Northumbrian dynasty was extinguished by the Danes in 867.

A social condition such as the above description suggests, could have neither time nor security to pursue such occupations as lead to progressive improvement. "Before the Saxons arrived in Britain, there was no political power, of any wide extent, vested in any one individual, excepting during hostilities. A chieftain was then elected to head the nation; but his rule expired with the urgency that had given it birth, and all the chiefs were alike again. All the earlier chiefs claimed descent from Woden, and appear to have been the priests as well as the lawgivers and leaders of their tribes. These chiefs were called ealdormen, aldermen, or, in plain English, eldermen. When the title Cynge, or King—probably derived from the Celtic words *cen* or *cean*, head or chief—was adopted in Britain, it does not appear to have been restricted to the leaders or chiefs; as we read of five kings of Wessex being killed in one battle, who, consequently, could only have been subordinate chiefs. When the word 'king' came to denote sovereign power, then the subordinate chiefs resumed their native appellation—aldermen; which continued until the Danish conquest. This alteration of designations rendered it necessary to create another; one to distinguish King of kings, or one who was as much above the kings as each king was above his aldermen. When this dignity was conferred on Ella, the first King of Sussex, he was styled *Bretwalda*, emperor or monarch of all Britain. These were elected by their peers, the sovereign kings; but the succession was not continuous, there being only seventeen bretwaldas between 490 and 570, and then an interval of 157 years. They seem to have been elected to wield the united Anglo-Saxon power against a common enemy, and, also, to prevent warfare between the respective kings; in which respect they wholly failed."—Let us briefly review the progress of the Saxons in Britain.

The foundation of what is designated the *Heptarchy*, was laid by Hengist, who, having lost his brother Horsa in one of the many battles fought with the Britons, assumed the title of King of Kent, of which he had become the sole master. This was in A.D. 458. The success of these Saxons in Britain, induced other chiefs, of the same nation, to pursue their fortunes by making an invasion of the island. Accordingly, in 447, Ella landed with a numerous following. He defeated the Britons, and in A.D. 491, founded the kingdom of Sussex. In 495, Cerdic, another Saxon chief, landed, and in 510, had been so successful as to found the kingdom of the West Saxons. Others from the same country landed, at different times, on the east coast of Britain, and founded other kingdoms. So the progress of invasion and settlement went on till the heptarchy or seven Saxon kingdoms were formed. Each of these had its own succession of kings, the larger number being in the state of Northumberland, which had twenty-four. The

smallest was in Sussex, which had five. The duration of these kingdoms was, also, unequal. The West Saxons had the longest, and the East Saxons the shortest existence. The former endured 389, and the latter 219 years. The portion of Britain occupied by them came to be called England, from the Angles, the most numerous and powerful tribe of the Saxons. This name was given to the country by Egbert, the seventeenth and last King of Wessex, or the West Saxons. He died, sole monarch of the kingdom, in A.D. 837.

The first landing of the Danes in Britain occurred in A.D. 787, just 338 years after the landing of Hengist and Horsa in the Isle of Thanet. These Northmen landed near one of the "King's towns" in Dorsetshire, murdered a mayor, slaughtered and plundered the inhabitants, returned to their ships, and, no doubt, to their country. From this time the depredators of the north were constant visitors. They were actually hostile to the English—for this name had now come into use—considering them as nothing less than apostates and recreants from the warlike virtues as well as the religion of their common ancestors. These invaders, however, were not all Danes. "Although popularly called Danes and Northmen, they were composed of the tribes, or peoples, who lived on the coasts of Norway and Sweden, of Jutland, of the island of Zealand, and those adjacent. The general aspect of the north, in the eighth and ninth centuries, was remarkable for two peculiarities especially fitted to produce a race of pirates. These were, the numerous petty chieftains or kings who ruled in its various regions, and the sea-kings who swarmed upon the ocean. In Norway these chieftains were called *fylki*, and ruled over a district which could furnish twelve ships, containing sixty or seventy well-armed men. The sea-kings were called Vikingir, which may have meant 'kings of the bays,' and afterwards Her-kouger, or 'kings of armies.' They, without a yard of territory or visible nation, with no wealth but their ships, no force but their crews, and no hope but from their swords, visited every district which they could reach, making it the theatre of their enterprise. It is declared to have been a law or custom of the north, that all the male children of a land-king, except the heir, should betake themselves to the sea. Hence the sea-kings were the kinsmen of the land-kings. When the royal youths were about to become sea-kings, the ships and their equipments were furnished as a patrimonial right, and, perhaps, as a political convenience. In the ninth century these were not the only sea-kings. The land-kings made piracy their summer occupation, and every man of importance, equipped ships and roamed the sea to acquire property by force. So respectable was the pursuit considered, that parents forced their children into the dangerous and malevolent occupation." Such a state of things accounts sufficiently for the daring spirit by which the foreign invasions of these fierce and hardy Northmen were characterised. It was against these sea and land-kings that Alfred, known in history as "the GREAT," signalised himself; his last brilliant achievement in the field being the defeat of the Scandinavian Hannibal, Hastings, the Dane. This took place in 897; after which the country became comparatively tranquil; Alfred employing himself in cultivating the arts of peace, and repairing the damages which his kingdom had sustained during the Danish war. He died in 901, at the age of 52. At the death of Alfred the state of Anglo-Saxon society may not inappropriately be reviewed.

"The long Saxon anarchy," observes Mr. Cockran, "had effaced Roman civilisation, and eclipsed, for awhile, the Christian worship. But this was the destined means for introducing into England a great and free people. The Romans gave the island municipal institutions, and impressed on it a sense of *law*: the Saxons brought with them the grand principle of civil freedom. The best tribute of the Anglo-Saxons to the civilisation and greatness of this country, was the introduction into it of a race such as theirs, which, with many shortcomings, possesses a strength, soundness, and purity, which, when fairly dealt with, could form a nation whose grandest, fullest type was realised in the great Alfred. The Saxon nobles held their lands by a free tenure; and though acknowledging a king, were *not bound* to render him service as their superior. Hence

arose a large amount of individual freedom, which penetrated all classes, and which, by its steady and persistent character, has given to England its free institutions. The king was counselled by the Witenagemote—from *witan*, wise; and *gemote*, meeting—an assemblage of the bishops and the leading nobles and proprietors of the land, and the germ of the future British parliament. This body seems to have met three times a year, and they had the power of declaring war, imposing taxes, and enacting laws. In the hundred-motes and shire-motes, again, the various districts of the country were represented by nobles and freemen; and thus the people were trained to self-government. * * * * Under the king there were three social grades—the thanes, or great landed proprietors; the freemen, or husbandmen, divided into various classes, according to their property; and the serfs or slaves, who possessed no property, and were bound to the land.

"The prominent feature of the Saxon laws was, that all crimes, injuries, and offences might be atoned for by the payment of money to the injured individual, or to his relatives. The life of every man had its fixed money value, according to his rank. That of a bishop was double the king's; that of a woman double a man's; and so on to the lowest degree of the scale. Each limb and feature had its price. The custom of awarding damages in our law-suits is, no doubt, derived from this practice of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors."—In closing these remarks, at this period of English history, it may be interesting to many readers to see together, in their order of succession, the names of the kings of the Saxon dynasty, with the lengths of their several reigns."

Saxon Dynasty.—Egbert, 800—'37; Ethelwolf, 837—'57; Ethelbald, 857—'60; Ethelbert, 860—'66; Ethelred I., 866—'72; Alfred, 872—901; Edward I., 901—'24; Athelstan, 924—40; Edmund I., 940—'47; Edred, 947—'55; Edwy, 955—'59; Edgar, 959—'74; Edward II., 974—'79; Ethelred II., 979—1016; Edmund II., 1016.

It would be encroaching too far on the province of the following history were the reigns of all the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns, between Alfred and Edmund II., here particularised; but there are some events in connection with those of Ethelred II., and his successor, Edmund, necessary to notice as preliminary to the Danish succession. Ethelred II. was the half-brother of his predecessor, Edward, improperly called the "Martyr." When only twelve years of age he ascended the throne, at a time when he had traitors for his counsellors, and when the Danes had greatly impoverished the kingdom. Feeling his position acutely, he was easily stimulated to seek revenge; and, finding instruments ready to execute his wishes, he contrived to have every Dane in his kingdom massacred, without regard to age, sex, or rank. Among the victims of this terrible vengeance was Gunilder, the sister of Sweyn, King of Denmark, who revenged the act by visiting and ravaging the country with a large army. Ethelred was forced to flee, and Sweyn became king, but died in the year following, 1014. On this, Ethelred was restored; but, in the next year, he also died, leaving his son, Edmund II., surnamed Ironside, to succeed him.

Edmund Ironside, although the legitimate heir, had to fight his way to the throne, which happened to have another claimant in Canute, the son of Sweyn. In one year, these two princes contended against each other in no fewer than five pitched battles, when it was agreed upon that Edmund should have London, part of Essex, and all the country south of the Thames, and Canute the rest. This agreement was terminated, in the course of a year, by the assassination of Edmund, who, although he left two sons, was succeeded by Canute, as monarch of the whole kingdom.

Ethelred had married Emma, sister of Richard II., Duke of Normandy; and, after his death, Canute took his widow to wife. By her former husband, Emma had two sons; but they were set aside by Canute, who adopted wise measures for the rule of his new kingdom. He did all that he could to reconcile the English to his government; and sent back to their native

country as many of his followers as he could well spare. He restored the Saxon customs, and in the distribution of justice made no distinction between the Danes and the English. The laws were executed with great strictness; and the lives and properties of his subjects duly protected. He laboured to incorporate the two nations, which, though naturally enemies, had experienced such a multiplicity of calamities during their wars, that a reconciliation to circumstances became easier than might have been anticipated.

Having secured tranquillity in England, he visited Denmark, and gained a victory over the Swedes. He next conquered Norway; and became the most powerful prince of his time. Having satisfied his ambition in respect to military conquests, he built churches, endowed monasteries, and appointed prayers to be offered up to the Throne of Mercy for those who had fallen in battle against him. He also undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. After his return he conducted an expedition against Malcolm, King of Scotland, whom he conquered. In 1036, he died, leaving the crown of England to his son, Harold Harefoot, by a first wife, Alfwen, daughter to the Earl of Hampshire, in prejudice of Hardicanute, his son by Queen Emma, to whom he had promised the succession.

The reign of Harold was terminated in four years, and that of Hardicanute in less. The legitimate heir of the Saxon line now was Edmund, son of Edmund Ironside; but he being on the continent, the English, with the powerful Earl Godwin at their head, recognised the claim of Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred and Emma, the Norman princess. This sovereign makes a small historical figure, being neither good nor great. He received his title from the monks of the time, and died in 1066. In him the Saxon line became extinct, when the throne was occupied by Harold II., son of Godwin, Earl of Kent, who had married the daughter of Edward. Within a year, this sovereign was defeated and slain by William of Normandy, at the battle of Hastings.

Dr. Russell, in his *History of Modern Europe*, says that no territory of so small an extent, has ever so much, or for so long a series of ages, engaged the attention of mankind as the island of Britain. From the most remote antiquity, it was visited by the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, on account of its tin and other valuable productions. The Romans, in the height of their power, made themselves masters of the southern part of it, at a vast expense of blood and treasure; and they thought the acquisition of sufficient importance to preserve their footing in this distant and transmarine province for three hundred years, by maintaining in it a great naval and military force. The ancient Britons lost their courage and their independent spirit under the Roman dominion, but received from their enlightened governors some knowledge of arts and letters. Whatever knowledge of letters the natives might have had previous to the arrival of the Romans, it must solely have been confined to their priests and mysterious Druids. The Saxons, in achieving their sanguinary conquest, destroyed every trace of ingenuity which the Romans had introduced, without bringing along with them a single peaceful art with which the Britons were not better acquainted; and the inveterate wars between the princes of the Heptarchy, afterwards obstructed, among their people, the usual progress of civilisation. No sooner, however, was England united into one kingdom under Egbert, than commerce and manufactures began to be cultivated in a country so highly favourable for both; abounding in the materials of industry, and surrounded on three sides by the sea, which forms on its coasts many commodious bays and safe harbours. During the Anglo-Saxon times, the exports of the country were tin, lead, wool, hides, horses, and *slaves*. These (the slaves) consisted, not solely of such unhappy persons as the laws of war or other causes had reduced to the condition of perpetual servitude, but others. Indeed, the Anglo-Saxons are accused, by contemporary writers, of making merchandise of even their nearest relations—"a custom," says William of

Malmesbury, "which prevails in Northumberland even in our own days." This was not long after the Norman Conquest.

Notwithstanding that the navigation and commerce of the Anglo-Saxons were much injured by the Danes, yet did England, under their government, contain many large trading towns, and a greater number of inhabitants, both in the towns and in the country, than might have been expected in such an unsettled and turbulent period. London, York, Bristol, Exeter, and Norwich, were all large and populous cities; and as the labours of husbandry were mostly performed by slaves or villains, who were excluded from military service, the number of freemen in England, habituated to the use of arms, if not more, must have been as many at the Norman invasion as at any former or subsequent period. From this, however, it is not to be concluded that 60,000 men, under an experienced leader, have, at all times, been sufficient to overturn the constitution of this vigorous kingdom. William (the Conqueror) was ultimately indebted for his good fortune, less to the rashness of Harold, his own conduct, or the valour of his troops, than to the unsettled state of the succession to the crown. Harold had owed his exaltation to the throne as much to fear as affection; and on his death, the English nobility, who had borne with impatience the sway of an equal, naturally looked up to his conqueror and competitor, the kinsman of their ancient princes, as their sovereign, their head and centre of union. The Duke of Normandy, at Hastings, had triumphed over their elected king, but not over their liberties. These they imprudently put into his hands, in the hope that he would not abuse their generosity, when resistance and even vengeance was in their power.

DANISH DYNASTY.—Canute, 1016—'36; Harold I., 1036—'39; Hardicanute, 1039—'41; Edward III., 1041—'66; Harold II., 1066.

Duke William of Normandy was, on the mother's side, a bastard cousin of Edward the Confessor, and had, on visits before his invasion, felt a strong desire to possess the crown of England. During the reign of Edward, Norman influence had been rapidly growing at the English court, which, even in his youth, William visited, coming, says Knight, "to look on the rich lands, and to understand something of the rough people, over whom his feeble relative was the nominal ruler. In the fields through which he travelled, he saw an industrious race, churls and slaves, cultivating diligently, and not without skill, after the modes of their ancestors. In the towns he saw busy artisans, who were associated for mutual protection, and had their peculiar laws handed down, in code after code, but with little essential change in their principles. He saw powerful earls, bold-bearded men, who were great land possessors, not holding their arables and pastures (as in feudal Europe) as fief of the crown, but as independent lords, and tyrannising, wherever they dared, in a most kingly fashion. He saw a land that arms might win. He might be the powerful successor of Edward, or he might fight for the crown against some pretender, when the childless king should be no more." The pictures of rural and urban life which William then saw, improved upon further acquaintance, and the consequence was, that his success at the battle of Hastings gave him the English crown. To him succeeded William Rufus, his second and favourite son, who again was succeeded by Henry I. (called Beauclerc, or the Scholar), who was the youngest son of the Conqueror. At his death, Stephen, son of the Count of Blois and Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, usurped the throne, notwithstanding that Matilda, the only surviving child of Henry, had formally been recognised as successor to his dominions, both in Normandy and in England.

As William the Conqueror had taken the usual oath administered to the Anglo-Saxon kings at their coronation, solemnly engaging to maintain the constitution, and to administer justice according to the laws, the English believed that they had merely changed their native sovereign for a foreigner—a matter to them of little concern, perhaps, at any time, but more particularly at present, as the line of succession had formerly been broken by the usurpation or election of

Harold. But although William affected moderation for a while, and even adopted some of the laws of Edward the Confessor, to help in calming the apprehensions of his new subjects, to these laws he himself paid little attention. Accordingly, no sooner was he firmly established on the throne, than he entirely subverted the form of government and the way in which justice was administered throughout the kingdom. The government substituted by him was a rigid feudal monarchy, or military aristocracy, in which a regular chain of subordination and service was established, from the sovereign or commander-in-chief to the serf or villain. This feudal government, like all others of the same description, was attended with a great depression of the body of the people, who were daily exposed to the insults and exactions of the nobles, whose vassals they were, and from whose oppressive jurisdiction it was both difficult and dangerous for them to appeal.

At the death of the Conqueror, the state of England is thus described by Henry of Huntingdon, who lived about his own time. "The Normans," he says, "had now fully executed the wrath of heaven upon the English. There was hardly one of the nation who possessed any power. They were all involved in servitude and sorrow; insomuch that to be called an Englishman was considered as a reproach. In those miserable times, many oppressive taxes and tyrannical customs were introduced. The king himself, when he had let his lands at their full value, if another tenant came and offered more, and afterwards a third, and offered still more, violated all his former agreements, and gave them to him who offered most; and the great men were inflamed with such a rage for money, that they cared not by what means it was acquired. The more they talked of justice, the more injuriously they acted. Those who were called justiciaries (most likely the barons in their courts), were the fountains of all iniquity. Sheriffs and judges, whose peculiar duty it was to pronounce righteous judgments, were the most cruel of all tyrants, and greater plunderers than common thieves and robbers." Speaking of the miseries of a subsequent reign, the author of the *Saxon Chronicle* says, "The great barons grievously oppressed the poor people with building castles; and when they were built, they filled them with wicked men, or rather devils, who seized both men and women supposed to be possessed of any money, threw them into prison, and put them to more cruel tortures than ever the martyrs endured." Such was the general condition of England under the Norman rule.

NORMAN DYNASTY.—William I., 1066—'87; William II., 1087—1100; Henry I., 1100—'35; Stephen, 1135—'54.

The first of the Plantagenets who ruled in England was Henry II. He was the eldest son of Matilda, only legitimate child of Henry I., and therefore the direct heir to the throne. He then became the most powerful prince of his age, having also inherited, succeeded to, and acquired, by his marriage with Eleanor, the divorced queen of Louis VII. of France, one-fifth of the territories in that kingdom, including the whole of its Atlantic coast.

The period of English history embraced by the Plantagenet line extends to about 330 years, or from 1154 to 1485, when Richard III., the last sovereign of the House of York, fell on Bosworth field. Within this space of time many of the most important political transactions occurred, in some measure gradually clearing the way for the wider development of those liberties which the British people now enjoy. Not the least of these was Magna Charta, obtained in 1215. This great charter, however, procured very little for the Commons, whatever it did for the barons. Indeed, it only granted, or secured, freedom to those orders of the realm already possessed of that blessing. These were the clergy, the barons, and the knights, or land-holders. As for the commonalty, the greatest part of the people, they continued still to be held as slaves; and it was not till long afterwards that they came into a participation of legal protection. This charter was extracted from King John on the 15th day of June, 1215, in a meadow called

Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, and taking its name from a stream that meandered through it.

Another great step towards liberty was made in the long reign of Henry III. This was the quasi-enfranchisement of the villains attached to manors, the agricultural bondmen of the lords. "These, the most numerous class of the population, were held, by the king's courts of law, to have acquired by the great charter, in like manner as the lords themselves, a hereditary estate in the land allotted to them, whereon to raise sustenance for themselves and families, so long as they rendered the customary services hitherto required of them. These peasant estates came to be called *copyholds*, because they were no longer held *at the will of the lord*, but according to the customary services particularised in the court-roll of manors, a copy of which the villains were entitled to receive. By this great measure more than one-third of the then cultivated land of England became the legal property of the manorial serfs, in estates from fifteen to thirty or more acres. The establishment of copyholds is the point of time from which the community of England started into new life, the copyholders becoming the progenitors of the energetic and independent population, who became the glory of their country."

In the reign of Edward I. the manumission of the villains was also greatly promoted by their being extensively employed in his wars, receiving his pay being held an act of manumission, as all were freemen who bore arms in the king's service. It was this prerogative which enabled him and his successors quickly to collect an army of sturdy archers and infantry, composed chiefly of runaway serfs. These, as armies, were generally disbanded at the close of each campaign; this, as a natural result, gave great facility for villain manumission.

It is uncertain when parliament was, as now, divided into two chambers: it is, however, agreed that they existed in the first year of Edward III. In consequence of the continual want of money experienced by this sovereign to carry on his wars, he held no fewer than twenty parliaments during the fifty-one years of his reign, each of which assembled in return to writs of summons. This establishes the fact, that the representatives of the Commons were elected each time they assembled. In this reign, the Commons established, among other rights—1. The illegality of raising money without their consent. 2. The necessity that the two Houses should concur for any alteration of the law. 3. Right of the Commons to inquire into public abuses, and to impeach public councillors.

The discontent of the reign of Richard II. was caused chiefly by the spread of Wickliffe's doctrines, in opposition to those of the See of Rome; the impoverished effects of the wars of Edward, and the desire for total and immediate abolition of personal slavery. The king's favouritism and extravagance, also, helped to spread dissatisfaction. The most unfortunate legislative act of Henry IV. was the statute promulgated against the Lollards, the successors of Wickliffe. It enacts the burning of heretics. The first person publicly burnt under this law was William Sawtre, who had been rector of Lynn, in Norfolk.

In the reign of Henry VI. (1455), the "Wars of the Roses" may be said to have begun with the battle of St. Alban's; and with the death of Richard III. on Bosworth field, Leicestershire, in 1485, they ended; so did the Plantagenet line on the English throne.

Plantagenet Dynasty.—Henry II., 1154—'89; Richard I., 1189—'99; John, 1199—1216; Henry III., 1216—'72; Edward I., 1272—1307; Edward II., 1307—'27; Edward III, 1327—'77; Richard II., 1377—'99.

House of Lancaster.—Henry IV., 1399—1413; Henry V., 1413—'22; Henry VI., 1422—'61.

House of York.—Edward IV., 1461—'83; Edward V., 1483; Richard III., 1483—'85.

Henry VII. was grandson of Owen Tudor, by the widow of Henry V., and son of Edmond, Earl of Richmond, by Margaret, heiress of the Duke of Somerset. His descent, however, gave

him no legal right to the crown, because—1. His ancestor John, Earl of Somerset, was only the illegitimate son of Katharine Swinford, by John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III.;—2. Because there were legitimate descendants of John of Gaunt then living;—3. Because the act of parliament which legitimated John of Gaunt's issue by Katharine Swinford, did not render them capable of inheriting the crown, but only gave a capacity of inheriting private estate from their ancestor. The reign of this sovereign "may be considered as the period when the distinction of rank ceased to correspond in a general manner with that of races—Saxon and Norman—and as the commencement of the state of society at present existing in England. From that time there is no tradition that the inhabitants of England were divided into two hostile populations—the ruling class, who spoke Norman-French, and the mass of the people, who spoke English: both were now fused into one people. The real authority of the sovereign was somewhat increased by the barons being reduced to the condition of subjects; and although there were still numbers of bondmen in England, the great body of the people had become free at the close of the 15th century."

TUDOR DYNASTY.—Henry VII., 1485—1509; Henry VIII., 1509—'47; Edward VI., 1547—'53; Mary, 1553—'58; Elizabeth, 1558—1603.

With her dying breath, Queen Elizabeth recognised the title of her kinsman, James VI. of Scotland, to be her successor, he being the great-grandson of Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII. of England. Perhaps the greatest errors in the administration of James, were, his strong partiality for the hierarchical government of the church of England, the only authority for which being that derived from the Roman church, and his giving his royal countenance to the proceedings of the prelates, in enforcing conformity, even to the depriving of dissentients of their civil rights. In England, the Puritans, then unquestionably the sincerest religionists in the land, were kept in a continual state of irritation; while by engrafting episcopacy on established Presbyterianism (church government mostly by the laity) in Scotland, exasperation against the government of James became general throughout the country.

From the commencement of the contest between Charles I. and the House of Commons, his final defeat scarcely admitted of a doubt. His character, when compared with that of Cromwell, was feebleness in the extreme. The frivolous councillors, too, by whom he suffered himself to be influenced, were no match for such antagonists as Hampden, Pym, and the younger Vane, who, in any age, would have been notable men. The disparity, also, in the military talents of the two parties was almost as great. The Cavaliers were men of chivalrous courage, but of unsteady principles. They were terrible in the first brunt of an onset; but when stoutly opposed and broken, could never again rally to the charge. On the other side, the Roundheads were of great courage, which was sustained by a religious enthusiasm which never, for a moment, permitted them to doubt of the ultimate success of their cause, and made them, at all times, ready to fall in its defence. The succeeding Commonwealth, however, is an unsatisfactory period of English history, and is the time to which England is indebted for the first maintenance of an army during peace. It was, however, in the reign of Charles II. that the nucleus of a standing army was formed, the number of troops kept up varying from 4,000 to 8,000 men. The public, however, did not like this, and in 1679, it was declared contrary to law: notwithstanding which, the army has kept its ground.

"As in the time of Charles I. and the Commonwealth, so in that of Charles II., no regard was paid to the demand of the people, for the security and extension of civil and religious liberty, either by the king or the parliament; consequently, toleration, which is the essence of religious liberty, was denied; and legislation, by frequently-renewed representatives chosen by the whole people (which is the root of civil liberty), was evaded, with the concurrence of the

parliament, there being no trace of any demand having been made, or bill introduced, for amending the constitutional representation, which, like the feudal tenure, had become effete.

"As the restoration of Charles II. was quickly followed by the unconditional abolition of the feudal land-tenures, which converted the land-*holders* under the state into the land-*owners* of the state; so the flight of James II. was immediately followed by the abolition of the feudal supremacy of the crown, and its assumption by the parliament. But as the one House was and is a hereditary body, chiefly composed of the great land-owners, and the other of elected members from that class, the supreme power became virtually vested in the land-owners. The above innovations, the abolition of the feudal land-tenures and of the supremacy of the crown—each the most important that had been effected since the Conquest—together, overthrew the feudal monarchy, which had existed for nearly 600 years. Under it, the king governed as well as reigned; while, under the new settlement of the crown, it was intended that the king should reign with the least possible individual authority, and that the parliament should govern with all but absolute authority. In the re-settlement of the government on the Restoration, and on the so-called Revolution of 1688, it cannot be said that the people were in any way consulted, or their interests in any way considered. The landocracy alone were the gainers by the great constitutional changes effected at both epochs."

The era of parliamentary government is marked by the accession of William III. to the throne. It was then that the king's ministers, ministry, or cabinet, was instituted. This was, at first, not agreeable to William, as it denied him the sovereign power; but he at last came to terms, agreeing to sanction all restrictions imposed by parliament, "on condition of being properly supplied with the means of humbling the power of France." Although the ministers are chosen by the king, they are responsible to parliament, even for their acceptance of office, as well as for every subsequent administrative act, until sanctioned by parliament. Consequently, no act of government is valid unless officially authorised by a minister of state. Thence comes the dogma, that the king, in his capacity of chief of the state, can do no wrong. In this reign, the Bank of England, suggested by William Paterson, a Scotchman, was established (1694) by royal charter.

The average national expenditure, during the reign of Anne, was about ten millions, one-half of which was raised by taxes, and the other by loans.

STUART DYNASTY.—James I., 1603—'25; Charles I., 1625—'49; *The Commonwealth*, 1649—'60; Charles II., 1660—'85; James II., 1685—'88; William III. and Mary, 1689—1702; Anne, 1702—'14.

The Protestant succession to the crown having, by several acts of parliament, been firmly established, George, the eldest son of Ernest Augustus, Elector of Hanover, by Sophia, granddaughter of James I., ascended the throne. He was born at Hanover, May 20th, 1660, and crowned at Westminster October 20th, 1714. In consequence of this king being ignorant of the language of the people he had been called upon to govern, the customary presence of the royal ruler at the meetings of cabinet councils was dispensed with, and from this time the absence of the sovereign has, on these occasions, become a rule of state.

It may here be observed, that the parliament has, ever since its existence, shown a much greater desire to increase its own power than to enlarge the liberties of the people. The reign of George I. forms no exception to the rule, however hard the remark may seem to bear upon the representatives of the people. At the close of Anne's reign, the Tories took measures to preserve the representation in the House of Commons, as much as possible, in the hands of large land-owners; and, in the next reign, the Whigs did all they could to lengthen the duration of parliament, by a retrospective law to lessen the popular influence, and to continue themselves in power. As the Whig ministers were allowed to govern the country as they pleased, they, in

return, "gratified the sovereign with a continual round of foreign treaties and alliances. It was natural for a king, born and bred in Germany, where all sovereignty is possessed upon such precarious tenures, to introduce the same spirit into the British constitution, however independent it might be as to the rest of Europe. This reign, therefore, was begun by treaties, and the latter part of it was burthened with them. The chief object of all was to secure to the king his dominions in Germany, and exclude the Pretender (son of James II.) from Britain." Although the reign of George was one of tranquillity, the Whig ministry managed to increase the general taxation of the country about a million. The amount raised, on a medium, for the last four years of the reign, was £6,762,643.

Until the reign of George II. (1731) all legal processes and pleadings in the courts were in Latin—a monstrous absurdity amongst an English-speaking people! In that year, it was enacted that, in future, the language of the country should take the place of the Latin. Notwithstanding the sense and justice of this measure, it was resisted on the ground of the danger that would be incurred by meddling with the *established* forms of judicial proceedings. Where Ignorance and Ease are suffered to enjoy themselves in the undisturbed tranquillity of possession, the improvements of Intelligence are sure to be, by them, denounced as *dangerous innovations*.

"In 1746, it was first practically illustrated that the administration of government was vested in the parliament, and not in the king. After the resignation of Walpole, the king made Lord Granville Secretary of State, and the Earl of Bath First Lord of the Treasury, when nearly every member of the administration, including the Duke of Newcastle and eight other dukes, threw up their offices. Lord Granville, finding it impossible to form a government which would obtain the support of parliament, abandoned the attempt. The former ministers were then recalled, and the king was taught that he must consult parliament in the choice of his ministers." In this reign, the House of Commons was, almost exclusively, composed of the nominees of the great Tory and Whig land-holders.

During the long reign of George III., the improvements which took place throughout the country were in every way extraordinary. A new system of still-water navigation became so perfect in the form of canals, that no spot in England, south of Durham, is more than fifteen miles from water communication. Between 1760 and 1774, no fewer than 452 acts of parliament were passed for the repair of highways; and during that period turnpike roads greatly increased in number. Between 1760 and 1780, several acts were passed, incorporating parishes and districts in different parts of the kingdom, and vesting them with power to borrow money to erect houses of industry, and to frame local regulations for the government of the poor. These acts remained in force till 1834, when the present poor-law system was adopted. The frequent recurrence of unfavourable seasons, from 1766 to 1775, having produced high prices, an extensive system of enclosing uncultivated lands was begun. In thirty years, the number of acres enclosed amounted to nearly 3,000,000, and much of it brought into cultivation. In 1801, the first official enumeration of the population of Great Britain was made; and, since then, a decennary census has continued to be taken, with successively increasing accuracy in the returns made. Early in this century, the application of steam-power to navigation was accomplished in Scotland. The *Comet* steamer, which in 1811 made its appearance on the river Clyde, was the first which plied for hire in the kingdom. In 1807, the manufacture of gas from coal was effected, and applied to illuminating the streets of London, by a German of the name of Winsor. In the above year, he lighted Pall-Mall with gas. In 1816, the beautiful invention of the safety-lamp, by Sir Humphry Davy, was brought into common use. To speak comprehensively, although the reign of George III. was characterised by long and devastating wars, it was marked by great national prosperity, grand discoveries in science, arts, and manufactures, and by a vast approach to a highly cultivated state of civilisation.

The reign of George IV. introduces the railway system. The opening line for passenger traffic was that which unites the manufacturing metropolis, Manchester, with Liverpool, and which forms, perhaps, one of the greatest travelling lines in the world. Its formation was the commencement of an era of rapid transit, and a development of internal communication, which it is difficult to conceive likely to be superseded by any other invention possessed of equal powers of speed and safety.

Events of the utmost importance now thicken with such rapidity, that their bare enumeration would almost be a fatiguing perusal. In the reign of William IV. came reform of the parliamentary representation, which became law in June, 1832; and, in 1834, the emancipation of the colonial slaves, at a cost of £20,000,000. His reign was comparatively short, when Alexandrina Victoria, only child of the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., ascended the throne. Perhaps the crowning event of this reign is the grand social improvement known as the "uniform penny post," throughout the United Kingdom. It came into operation on January 10th, 1840, and its originator was Rowland Hill, who subsequently was appointed secretary to the Post-office, in which capacity he laboured till he perfected his plan. In 1864, failing health compelled him to resign his appointment. Other events, such as the Atlantic Telegraph—indeed the whole system of telegraphic and railway communication—with the application of steam to the purposes of navigation, place the age in which we live on such an apex of enlightened civilisation, as we may be pardoned for believing has never before been reached. A few weeks takes the heir to the kingdom, the Prince of Wales, to India by steam; and a few hours, so to speak, informs us of his safe arrival there. Such works are evidences of the triumph of mind over matter.

"Without the facilities afforded by railways," says a modern writer, speaking of the achievements of art and science in the 19th century, "the postal charge would hardly have been possible; so, also, may we be said to owe to railway lines the extension of the telegraphic wire. To show how Providence ripens discoveries at the right time, we may also notice the almost simultaneous discovery of gutta-percha, without which substance for a coating, the telegraphic wire could not have been laid under the sea. What this fluid is, which travels at the rate of 15,000 miles a second, is not to be satisfactorily told by wondering man; and we are only on the threshold of the revelation of its incalculable efforts on mankind. We know that, before long, every part of the world will be in instantaneous communication; whilst the possible result upon the relations, progress, and character of the race at large we cannot estimate.

"With the railway we have to combine the navigable steam-power of England. It is worthy of attention that the commercial and naval strength of the country mingle in a way which cannot be separated. There are several companies which possess fleets of steamers, that, in case of war, could be rendered serviceable against the enemy. These are the Peninsular and Oriental, the West Indian, the Atlantic, and other companies, whose vessels are more magnificent than were the ships of war of a century ago. The regular British fleet is equal to those of all other nations united. What our commercial ships are may be estimated by our commerce, which is double that of the United States; while our exports equal those of the four greatest states of Europe—namely, France, Austria, Russia, and Spain."

In ship-building, the power of mechanical genius has been equally displayed as in that of scientific discovery in connection with the telegraph system. The construction of the *Great Eastern* might be regarded as among the wonders of the world; and in every department of mechanical art, the attainment of vast power, with facility of manipulation, seem to be the principal objects aimed at. That, in these respects, astonishing results are yearly achieved, is evident in almost every direction, to a truly marvellous extent. Genius, capital, and labour, too, are everywhere uniting to adorn the country with magnificent specimens of architecture,

The public buildings which have been erected, enlarged, and adorned in this epoch, have far surpassed, in number, those of any other period of English history. "Palaces, churches of extraordinary beauty, hospitals, markets, and public buildings for all imaginable purposes, have been erected, and still the grand work of social progress is considered incomplete. Of the great empire over which Queen Victoria sways the British sceptre, it has justly been said that the sun never sets thereon. It exceeds the limits of any other empire, embraces more than double the area of the continent of Europe, and comprises 240,000,000 of subjects; that is, one-fifth of the entire human family. Among this multitudinous population the English language is more or less heard; and to the vast population, the small island of Great Britain is the centre of influence and the source of authority. It has been justly remarked, 'Not an hour of the twenty-four, not one round of the minute-hand is allowed to pass over the dial, in which, on some portion of the surface of the globe, the air is not filled with accents that are ours. They are heard in the ordinary transactions of life, or in the administration of law; in the deliberations of the senate-house, or in the council-chamber; in the offices of private devotion, or in the public observance of the rites and duties of a common faith.' Such is the majesty of England in the 19th century. Her annals commence with the records of a rude and barbarous people, thinly scattered over their native island. It concludes with the records of a nation in the highest state of civilisation, which not only inhabits the island of its nativity, but which has peopled colonies and kingdoms, and, with a noble Queen at its head, rules the world."

BRUNSWICK DYNASTY.—George I., 1714—'27; George II., 1727—'60; George III., 1760—1820; George IV., 1820—'30; William IV., 1830—'37; Victoria, 1837.

LONDON: 1876.

THE ROYAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT BRITAIN AND THE DRUIDS.

A DESIRE to become acquainted with the history of our native country—to learn something of the fair land in which we were born, and by the productions of which we are clothed and fed—is very natural and praiseworthy. It is both interesting and instructive to read of the People, the modes of Religion and Government, the Kings, the Warriors, Heroes and Sages, who in times past have breathed and lived in this favoured land in which we now dwell. By such knowledge we *may learn to imitate the virtues of the good and wise* men, and to avoid the evil example of those wicked ones who have occupied this island in former ages. It is the object of this work to impart that knowledge in a simple narrative, at once interesting and instructive; and which will convey to the majority of our readers as much information on the subject of the history of their own country, as could be gleaned from the pages of the more elaborate and important works of our standard historians.

How this island first became inhabited, no one can positively affirm. A monk, named Geoffrey ap Arthur, better known as Geoffrey of Monmouth, who lived in the twelfth century after the birth of our Saviour, tells us, that the original or first inhabitants of the island of Britain, were a Princess Albyne, and her thirty-two sisters, daughters to Diocletian, King of Syria. Married to men whom these proud ladies considered inferior to themselves, they treated them with "scorn and despight." Reproved by their father, to whom their husbands complained, they one night murdered their wedded lords as they slept by their side. For this they were punished by being sent adrift in a ship, with provisions for six months. They were drifted "to an isle that was all wilderness," where they resolved to remain; and from Albyne, the isle received the name of Albion. After they had resided here some time, "in single blessedness," they one day discovered that there were men on the island, whom, the legend tells us, were Satan and his companions, who had assumed the human form. From the unions which followed, a *race of giants descended, who peopled the caves and* hills. These giants held the island till the arrival of Brute, or Brutus, the descendant of Æneas, the son of Priam, the last King of Troy. After the fall of that city, Æneas took refuge in Lombardy, where he married the daughter of the king. Brutus was his great-grandson, who, unfortunately, killed his father. For this offence he was banished from Lombardy, and took shelter in Greece, where he found a colony of Trojans, who, being oppressed by the king, Pandarus, made him their leader, and left the country. After many adventures they landed in Albion, subdued the giants, and established themselves in the island; to which Brutus gave the name of Britain, and called the people Britons, after himself. The Gogmagog was the last of the giants; and the gigantic statues in the Guildhall, London, called Gog and Magog, represent him, and Corineus, by whom he was killed in a wrestling match. Another legend—first published towards the close of the fifteenth century, by Annius, a friar of the Dominican order, originally found in a work ascribed to Berosus, a

priest of the temple of Belus, in Babylon—tells us that the island was inhabited by a people called Celts, in the days of Noah; and that Samothes, the son of Japheth, whom Moses [illegible] Meshech [Gen. x. 2], was the first king. Three hundred years after, according to this legend, the island was conquered by Albion, the son of Neptune, whom the Greeks and Romans worshipped as the god of the sea. This legend also gives us the story of Brutus, which the chronicler Holinshed, who lived in the sixteenth century, firmly believed. To that chief the foundation of London is ascribed. He is said to have called the city New Troy, or Troy-novant; which afterwards took the name of Caer Town, or Lud's Town, from a British king.

These legends are, of course, all fabulous: though that Britain was inhabited several centuries before the Christian era, is undoubtedly true. The Celtæ, who originally came from the East, settled in Central and Western Europe. They were divided into two tribes—the Gauls or Celts, and the Cymri: and we cannot doubt that this island was peopled by their descendants;—England, Wales, and the Lowlands of Scotland, by the Cymri: Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, by the Gauls or Gaels. The name Britain, supposed by some to be derived from the Celtic *brith*, or *brit* (painted), was, the Welsh *Triads* tell us, given to it "by Prydain, the son of Aedd the Great, who called it *Inys Prydain* (the Island of Prydain);" in time altered into Britain. The name Albion, by which the island was known in the time of Pliny, is, no doubt, derived from its white cliffs; *alb* meaning white or fair, and *i*, *inn*, or *innis*, an island.

Britain appears to have remained unknown, except to the inhabitants, till it was discovered, several centuries before the Christian era, by the Phœnicians, an ancient and very intelligent people, at one time the greatest traders in the world. Some of their ships were driven to the island when on a trading voyage; and finding that the country produced both tin and lead, a little colony was probably left to profit by the mines which they had discovered. They found the island peopled, but we have no account of the inhabitants: for the Phœnicians, desirous of retaining the profit derived from the trade with these people to themselves, contrived, for a long time, to keep even the situation of the island a secret from other nations. They called the British Isles the Cassiterides, which means the Land of Tin. In time many more people came over the narrow sea from the opposite shore of France, which was then called Gallia, and the people Gauls or Celts. They appear to have prospered well, and multiplied rapidly. Some wanderers, also, arrived from Belgium and from Spain; the former, called the Belgæ, were supposed to have settled in Kent, and the latter in Ireland.

Britain, at the time it was invaded by JULIUS CÆSAR, was not one great united nation, as at present, but occupied by sixteen distinct "tribes" or "nations," each headed by a military chief. They lived in a state of rude freedom, cultivated the earth just sufficiently to afford them the means of existence, and generally employed the rest of their time in making war upon one another. The most powerful and extensive of these tribes, or nations, were the Brigantes, who are supposed to have occupied the greater part of the counties now called Durham, York, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. Another powerful tribe was the Trimbantes, who dwelt in Middlesex and Essex; Lud Town, or London, being their chief city.

The inhabitants of Britain at this period were a brave, hardy, powerful race of men; they dwelt in wretched cottages made of wood, and covered with straw; what they called a town was a piece of cleared land in the midst of a forest, which they walled round with the trees they had cut down; within this space they built rude hovels for themselves and their cattle. They also surrounded these wretched towns with a ditch and a bank, as an additional defence against their troublesome neighbours. Probably the ditch was also intended to drain the land, which was damp and marshy, and thus to preserve them from those diseases which are common to men and women who live in damp swampy places. They had, however, some towns, in the construction of which a great deal more ingenuity was displayed; these towns were, in fact, military fortresses, surrounded by one or two circular walls built of rough masses of granite, piled one upon another, and very cleverly fitted together without cement. These poor wild people, no doubt, did not construct such massive walls without a strong necessity for doing so, and not until they had been dreadfully harassed by their enemies: thus good arose out of evil; violence and danger making the Celts, or Britons, to this extent, intelligent and industrious. It seems they were also very expert in basket-making, and in several kinds of wicker-work, and they were probably a clever race of people; for, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, they possessed not only weapons and rude instruments for agricultural purposes, but chariots both for war and pleasure. Besides these, they made boats of the trunks of trees, hollowed out with sharp instruments, and others of wicker-work covered with the skins of beasts. They made swords, too, of copper and tin; but they were long awkward weapons, and very soft, and soon bent before the heavy blows of a powerful adversary; they had, also, daggers, spears, and shields of their own make; and appear altogether to have been a very ingenious people. Indeed, curious and contradictory as it may seem, they possessed the manners of savages,







while they practised many of the arts of civilised life, in a very rude, imperfect state, of course; but in a manner which must cause surprise, when we recollect what bad tools, and how few of them, they had to work with.

Among the singular habits that distinguished the ancient Britons, those living in the south of the island would not eat hares or poultry, while those in the north part of it abstained from fish: perhaps this strange avoidance of wholesome and delicious food had its origin in some of their idolatrous superstitions. Historians have said, that a part of the early inhabitants of this country were guilty of cannibalism, or eating the flesh of men and women; but this disgusting and revolting act has not been actually proved against them. Influenced also, no doubt, by that love of finery and decoration which is not peculiar to savage nations, the ancient Britons used to paint their skins and tattoo them in a manner similar to that performed at the present time by the inhabitants of the numerous islands in the South Seas. One historian relates, that the first morsel of food which was given to an infant, was put into its mouth by the father on the point of his sword; the parent, at the same time, praying that the poor little feeble thing might become a brave warrior, and die on the field of battle.

The religion of the ancient Britons was a superstitious and barbarous one. The priests were called Druids; they presided over all religious matters, and were also the judges, the physicians, the poets, and the schoolmasters of the country. They kept not only the people, but the kings of the different tribes or nations who inhabited England, under their control; the kings could do little without their permission. They were also the astronomers of that period; and it is supposed they really knew more of the sublime science of astronomy than could have been thought possible with their very imperfect means of obtaining information.

The Druids carried on the rites of their religion in magnificent groves of venerable oak trees, whose lofty branches, twining together at the top, made a kind of natural temple, the leafy roof of which shut out the rays of the sun, and admitted only a dim light, that gave a solemn air to the place, and produced a feeling of submissive awe and terror in the minds of the poor people, who were told that these places, or sacred groves, as they were called, were visited by the gods. The Druids worshipped a great many of these supposed gods. Under different names, Cæsar tells us, in his *Commentaries*, they adored Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva; the heathen deities of ancient Greece and Rome. To these idols they offered up horrible sacrifices—not only animals, but they murdered their fellow-creatures, and burnt the dead bodies upon their altars. All their criminals, and the prisoners they took in war, were thus immolated; and, not content with single murders, they sometimes made immense wicker baskets, in the shape of giants—so large, that they would hold a great number of people; and having crowded them full of men and animals, set fire to the whole, and drowned the cries of the expiring victims with songs, and the noise of musical instruments. At other times they crucified these wretched creatures, or shot them to death with arrows; and all these dreadful cruelties were done by the ignorant Druids to win the favour of the gods; as if any wise and powerful beings could possibly be pleased with such savage and disgusting scenes.

Besides the imaginary deities just mentioned, the Druids worshipped the Sun and the Moon; and regarded Serpents, Oak-trees, and the Mistletoe plant as very sacred things. The oak, they said, was the representative of Jupiter, and the favourite tree of heaven: the mistletoe they called by a name which meant all-healing; and as they paid great attention to the nature of herbs and flowers, it is very likely that they were acquainted with some medicinal properties of that plant which are not known now. When they found the mistletoe growing upon an oak, they made a solemn procession to the tree; and having, with a great deal of ceremony, cut off the plant with a golden knife, they sacrificed two beautiful white bulls under the tree, to ensure its divine and healing efficacy. It is a remarkable thing, that the mistletoe was also associated with superstitious customs both in Persia and India. An ancient Druidical rite is most likely still observed when pretty cousins are kissed under a bough of this plant at Christmas-time.

The Druids used to wear a serpent's egg, as a mark of distinction: it was set in gold; and was supposed to confer a magical power, or a capability of doing impossible things, upon the wearer of it. Barbarous as the Druids were, and ignorant of a great many simple truths familiar to all in this enlightened age, yet they possessed a great deal of strange learning, by means of which they imposed upon the poor credulous people. They had a considerable knowledge of mechanics; and were enabled by this means to erect vast, but rudely-formed temples, the ruins of one of which, named Stonehenge, may still be seen on Salisbury Plain. It is supposed to have been dedicated to the worship both of the Sun and the Serpent. The Druids, no doubt, told the people that they raised these temples by magic, or by divine assistance. They taught the Britons to be brave in battle, to respect the gods, and to do good to each other; and they said that, when people died, their spirits did not perish also, but passed into some other body, either of a man or beast, and so continued, in

one form or another, to live for ever. So that the spirit which animated a man might, at his death, pass into the form of a horse, an ox, a dog, a sheep, a fish, or even an insect. This idea was not peculiar to the Druids, but was taught by the wise men and priests of other ancient nations, and is called the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. The Christian religion has taught us to disregard all these wild notions; and since the Divine Saviour has himself deigned to become the teacher of mankind, even a child may know more upon such subjects than did the wisest men of the great and wonderful nations of times long passed.

CHAPTER II.

BRITAIN AND THE ROMANS.—B.C. 55—A.D. 449.

SUCH was the state and character of the people who lived in England at the time when the famous Roman conqueror, Julius Cæsar, thought fit to invade it. The Romans were a very talented, brave, and ambitious people, who thought they would be able to subdue the whole world, and rule over it; and, by their great energy and courage, they did conquer many nations in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and extorted submission and tribute from them.

It was on a summer's morning, fifty-five years before the birth of our Saviour, that Julius Cæsar, having determined on the conquest of Britain, came sailing in sight of the white cliffs of Dover, with eighty vessels and 12,000 men. He had just effected the subjection of the Gauls in France; and as the ancient Britons had frequently crossed the channel, and assisted their neighbours against the Romans, Cæsar thought this was an excellent excuse for punishing and reducing them to obedience also. He was the more eager to do this, as he had heard a great deal about the mineral wealth of this northern island. But if the Roman general thought to obtain an easy victory over the Britons, he was greatly deceived. When his vessels arrived off the coast, he saw the white cliffs covered with armed men, whose fierce looks and resolute attitude threatened a savage resistance; and when the Romans made their descent at Deal, they met with a brave and determined opposition; but the military engines, and superior discipline of the Romans, obtained them the victory. After this, Cæsar granted a peace to the Britons; but the very night when this peace was concluded, a storm destroyed almost the whole of his fleet; and the Britons, seeing his misfortune, thought to turn it to account. They had cut down all their corn, except in one large field, where the rich yellow grain was still left to wave in the gentle summer breezes. As the Romans were greatly in want of provisions, they sent two legions to cut down this corn, and bring it to their vessels; but the moment they arrived at the field, an immense number of stalwart Britons, with arms in their hands, rose suddenly from the corn, where they had been lying in ambush, and laid about them with such fury, that had not Cæsar hastened to the assistance of his soldiers, they would all have been killed upon the spot. Other Britons now came pouring out of the neighbouring woods, in their war-chariots, and a general battle ensued; and the Romans, if not beaten, were compelled to retire to their fortified camp, where they were kept for some days by heavy falls of rain. A third conflict soon after ensued, in which the Britons were defeated, and compelled to fly into the woods. They were not so thoroughly defeated, however, but that Cæsar expected a great deal more annoyance from them; so he set sail at midnight, and made the best of his way back to Gaul.

Cæsar did not give up the idea of conquering Britain; he was far too resolute a man for that. In the following spring, he got together an immense fleet of 800 vessels, and an army of 32,000 men; which he landed on a large flat between Sandwich and the spot where Walmer Castle now stands. A battle soon took place between the Britons and their invaders, somewhere near Canterbury; the Britons fought until evening, then retreated into the woods; and the Romans were compelled to return to the coast, and repair their ships, most of which had been injured, and many of them wrecked by a storm. The Britons then chose one of their native kings, whose name was Cassivellaunus or Caswallon, to be the leader of their united forces; and fought several battles against the Romans with such skill and resolute courage, that the very sound of the on-rushing of their war-chariots often struck terror to the hearts of their hardy and powerful enemies: still, they were usually defeated, and were at last glad to sue for peace, which Cæsar was by no means sorry to grant. Most likely he wished in his heart that he had never meddled with these brave islanders, who, although they

were beaten and driven into their thick forests one day, emerged from them in countless thousands the next, and just as ready to fight as ever.

Cæsar told the Britons that they must give hostages as a warrant for their peaceable conduct in future, and that they must pay a yearly tribute to Rome: this they agreed to do; but as the Roman general sailed away in a hurry, very few of the hostages were sent; and the tribute was probably never paid at all. Indeed, Julius Cæsar must be called rather the Discoverer than the Conqueror of Britain.

The Britons were now left undisturbed for nearly one hundred years; and during that period very little is known about them. It seems that numbers of them now and then crossed over the sea to Gaul, where they learnt a great many useful things which had been taught the Gauls by the Romans; and as they brought all this information home to their countrymen, it helped greatly to improve and civilise them. But the ambitious Romans again cast a longing look towards the beautiful island with the tall white cliffs; and in the forty-third year after the birth of our Saviour, the Emperor Claudius sent a skilful general, named Aulus Plautius, to Britain, with an army of 50,000 men. That the Romans did not expect a very easy victory is plain from their sending so large an army against a nation of comparative barbarians; and in this expectation they were by no means deceived; for although Plautius obtained several victories over the Britons, yet they fought with such spirit, and rallied so frequently, that the Roman general wrote to the emperor, and begged him to come over to Britain with another army to help him. Accordingly, the Emperor Claudius came to Britain; received the submission of four of the tribes; and, after remaining here a few months, returned again to Rome. A few years afterwards [A.D. 47], another general, named Ostorius Scapula, was sent to Britain; he was a brave and able soldier, and obtained many successes. The Britons chose one of their native kings, who was called CARACTACUS, to be their leader. He collected the Britons together, addressed them in eloquent and animating language, and determined, by one great effort, on driving away the enemies of his native land. The day of battle arrived, the two armies confronted each other, and the king, Caractacus, said to his warriors, "This day must decide the fate of Britain. The era of liberty or eternal bondage begins from this hour! Remember your brave ancestors, who drove the great Cæsar himself from these shores, and preserved their freedom, their property, and the persons and honour of their wives and children." After his brief address, Caractacus gave the word, and the rude islanders, rushing upon their foes, fought like lions. They had left their dear wives and children, and other members of their families—the women, the aged, and the infirm—hidden in thick forests, far from the field of battle; and the recollection of those loved ones gave a greater power to their strong brawny arms. But the contest was a very unequal one. The Britons had no breast-plates or helmets, and their copper swords soon bent before the well-tempered two-edged weapons of the Romans. They lost the battle; the wife and children of Caractacus were taken prisoners; and he, having escaped from the dreadful slaughter, was betrayed by his infamous step-mother Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes, who loaded him with chains, and gave him up to his enemies, who carried him and his family in great triumph to Rome. This event happened in the year A.D. 51.

When Caractacus was brought before the Emperor Claudius, the wife and family of the noble Briton knelt and wept for mercy; but he himself stood erect and stern; no misfortune could humble his great heart: he felt that he had done his duty, and calmly awaited his fate. It is much to the honour of the emperor that he was touched with pity for his princely captive, and he ordered Caractacus and his family to be set at liberty. It is not known whether they returned to their native land, or lived and died in Rome; but it was probably the latter; for Claudius did not want to have such a man for his enemy again.

But the Britons were not subdued yet: they rose again; attacked the Roman camp; slew a great number of its soldiers; and would have exterminated them, had not others arrived from Rome to their rescue. Thus affairs remained for some time; and the Emperor Nero, who succeeded Claudius, thought of taking away his army, and leaving Britain altogether. He had sent [A.D. 59] Paulinus Suetonius, a Roman general, to take the command; who, wishing to revive the spirit of his countrymen, attacked the island of Mona, which is now called Anglesea. The Britons considered it a very sacred place; for it was there that the chief Druids lived, and the most important ceremonies of their religion were performed. So they resolved upon a desperate resistance: women ran about among the warriors, dressed in a wild manner, their long hair streaming in the wind, while they uttered dreadful cries, and brandished flaming torches at their foes; and the Druids thundered forth curses upon the violators of their religion. For a time the Romans were terrified by this strange sight; but they soon rushed among the people, defeated them, and burnt the Druids in the very fires which they had prepared for the invaders.

This cruel act made the Britons hate the Romans still more; and something else soon after occurred which wrought them up to frenzy. BOADICEA was the widow of a native prince, and [illegible] his death th[illegible]man-

endeavoured to deprive her of the land he had governed. She resisted this act of robbery, when Catus, a ruffianly Roman officer, caused her to be scourged, her husband's relations to be sold for slaves, and the daughters of the unhappy queen to be treated in a shameful and revolting manner. But Boadicea was a woman of an heroic spirit; she begged for the assistance of the neighbouring tribes; this was instantly given, and they resolved on a fearful and terrible revenge: they fell upon the Roman settlements—especially that of the Trinobantes—with ungovernable fury, and burnt, hanged, or crucified every one they met. London was sacked and plundered; and, in a few days, no less than 70,000 Romans were put to death. The wicked Catus, who was the cause of all this violence and murdering, escaped out of the country.—On hearing of these disasters, Suetonius, who had been absent, returned hurriedly to Britain with a fresh supply of soldiers; and a battle took place [A.D. 62], between him and Boadicea. Before it began, this brave woman mounted a war-chariot, placed her two injured daughters beside her, and, with her beautiful long yellow hair streaming nearly to her feet, rode from rank to rank, imploring the Britons to avenge her wrongs, and to liberate their country. They fought bravely, but lost the battle; and the wretched Boadicea, in despair, took poison, and died. The Romans then began murdering the people, and burning their houses in every direction, in return for the cruelties the Britons had so lately inflicted upon them; and a Roman writer says, that not less than 80,000 of these brave people were slaughtered. Still their spirit was not broken, and Suetonius was obliged to leave Britain unconquered.

The Romans could not live very long quietly in their own country. Vespasian sent a general, named Cerealis, here, A.D. 71; who was succeeded by Julius Frontinus; and they both maintained the reputation of the Roman arms. In A.D. 78, Julius Agricola arrived, who devoted seven years to the conquest of Britain, especially the northern part, now called Scotland. The Britons of the north, however, were no more disposed to yield than were the Britons of the south: they got together an army, under a chief or king named GALGACUS, and fought with great fury; but they were beaten; and then numbers of them having, with many bitter tears, tenderly kissed their dear wives and children, killed them, to prevent their being taken captive and sold for slaves by the Romans. Thirty years more passed away; and then, in the reign of the Emperor Adrian [A.D. 117—138], the Britons of the north rose against the Roman power, and most savage battles were continually occurring.

endless struggle, for they left the Britons alone till the reign of the Emperor Severus [A.D. 193—211], who led a great army into the north of Britain, where he cut roads through dense forests, drained marshes, and in many respects improved the country; but the natives, who were astonished at these operations, very prudently avoided him. Agricola, when he was in Britain, had made a long wall, or rather a great mound of earth, with a ditch beneath it, to keep the northern tribes from invading the Romans who were settled in the south of Britain. This wall was about seventy-four miles long, and reached nearly from sea to sea, beginning at Newcastle, and extending almost to Carlisle. Adrian had repaired and strengthened this great wall; but Severus built a new one, not of earth, but stone. It was twelve feet high and eight feet thick. On the north side he dug a ditch thirty-six feet wide and about fifteen feet deep. And along the wall he built eighty-one castles, and 300 turrets to contain soldiers to defend it. So long as the Romans had any power in Britain, they kept this line of castles and turrets filled with soldiers.

As soon, however, as Severus had finished this great boundary, the Caledonian tribes began to attack him, so he made a vow that he would destroy them altogether; but a still greater destroyer arrested him on his way, and he died at Eboracum, which is now called York [A.D. 211]. His son Caracella made peace with the Caledonians, ceded to them a large tract of land that they wanted, gave the Britons the same rights as Roman citizens, and then left the island. Seventy years of quiet followed his departure.

At the end of this period the Britons had to contend with new enemies, and their coasts were plundered by Scandinavian and Saxon pirates. The Romans sent CARAUSIUS, a brave and skilful seaman, who was either a Belgian or a Briton, to drive these sea-robbers away. He did this very successfully; built ships of war himself, and became so powerful that he was called Emperor of Britain and the coast of Gaul. Under his directions the Britons first learnt to fight at sea; but he met the fate which has overtaken so many other brave and enterprising men in barbarous times: he was murdered [A.D. 293] by Alertus, an officer whom he thought his friend; and who usurped the imperial title, retaining it till A.D. 296; when he was defeated by an army sent against him from Rome.

Other troubles came upon the Britons; a number of savage people who were then called Scots, came from Ireland in boats, and plundered those who lived upon the British coast; and the Picts, from Scotland, used to get over the great stone wall which Severus had built, and burn and plunder too. The Britons had lost a great deal of their former courage and energy; many

interregnum, in A.D. 635, Oswald, the nephew of Edwin, succeeded to authority as the sixth Bretwalda. He was a good and powerful king, during whose reign churches and monasteries sprung up all over the north of England; and it is said that he made even the Picts and Scots acknowledge him as their lawful sovereign. He was engaged in a war with Penda, and fell in a battle with that sovereign, A.D. 644. His brother Oswy succeeded to the throne of Northumbria, and was elected Bretwalda. He continued the war with Mercia; and Penda fell in battle A.D. 655. He was a fierce and cruel king; ambitious and revengeful. Oswy rejoiced that Penda, who was the great enemy of the Christians, was dead, and he built twelve abbeys to show his gratitude to the priests who had prayed for his success.

Oswy died A.D. 670; and the dignity of Bretwelda remained for some time in abeyance. The seven kingdoms into which England had been divided, were concentrated into three, which were called Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex; the other four kingdoms were not strong enough to keep themselves independent and separate from the rest. Then the king of these three divisions began quarrelling and fighting, each wanting to be king of the whole of the country. Sometimes one prevailed, and then another; but at last Wessex proved to be the strongest, and England was first made one undivided kingdom under the rule of Egbert, who had previously [from A.D. 800] been King of Wessex only. This union took place A.D. 827; just 378 years after the Saxons, Hengist and Horsa, had first landed in the country.

Egbert's life had been a very remarkable and romantic one. He was the fourth in descent from Ina, the twelfth and the best King of Wessex; and was thought to have a better title to the throne than Bertric, or Beorhtric, the fifth king after Ilda. Having excited the jealousy of Bertric, he was compelled to fly for safety to the court of Offa, King of Mercia. Bertric sent messengers to Offa, begging his daughter Eadburgha in marriage, and also the head of Egbert. Offa very honourably refused to murder his defenceless guest, but he willingly gave his daughter to Bertric; and though he would not murder Egbert, he would no longer protect him; and that prince, again obliged to fly for his life, went to France, where the Emperor Charlemagne received him very kindly. Eadburgha one day mixed a cup of poison, intending it for a young nobleman who was a favourite of her husband's; and who, in consequence, had become an object of her jealousy. By some accident, Bertric himself drank from the fatal goblet, as well as the unfortunate young nobleman for whom it was meant, and both of them died. The people discovered the crimes of this wicked murderess, and they rose in great confusion, and would have killed her; but she fled secretly out of the country, and took the veil in a foreign convent. The nuns, on becoming acquainted with her antecedents, were shocked and disgusted with her former conduct; and as she did not behave very well in the convent, they would not permit her to remain among them. Some years afterwards, a foreign woman, with a striking figure, and features that, though they were then sallow and haggard, seemed once to have been beautiful, used to beg about the streets of the city of Pavia, in Italy. It was Eadburgha, the expelled murderess, and late Queen of the West Saxons.

When Egbert heard of the death of the usurper Bertric, he hastened home to Wessex, and was immediately hailed as king: he was a man of great talents, and bravery, and had learnt a number of useful arts at the court of Charlemagne. He soon subdued the Kings of Mercia and Northumbria, and finally, as already stated, became the sole King of England.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE DANES.—A.D. 783—940.

IN the last years of the Heptarchy, a new enemy appeared to disturb the peace of the country: a brave and savage people, called the Danes or Northmen, began to attack the coasts, and rob and murder the English who lived around them. Though usually called Danes, they came not only from Denmark, but also from Norway and Sweden, and other countries by the North and Baltic Seas. They were excellent sailors; and instead of fearing storms, they delighted in them. To die in battle, or to perish in a tempest, they thought equally honourable; and they assumed the proud title of VI-KINGS, or SEA-KINGS. Their religion was the same as that held by the ancient Saxons when they invaded England nearly 300 years before. Like them they believed in Odin and his wife Frea, and the rest of that fabulous family, but they

were by no means particular about moral obligations, and paid so little attention to promises and oaths, that they came to be known in England as the "truce-breakers." They were, however, a very persevering people, skilful soldiers, and well armed. Some of them carried a tremendous mace, with which they could strike their enemies dead by a single blow; others had heavy double-bladed axes, which inflicted the most deadly and disfiguring wounds; and they all appear to have been able to shoot well with the bow—an accomplishment which had been neglected by the Anglo-Saxons.

The first hostile appearance of the Danes off the English coast was made A.D. 783; and in 787, they landed, and committed great devastations, near Purbeck, Dorsetshire. In 794, they made a descent on the coast of Northumberland, but were repulsed; and after several visits to the coast, and successful invasions of Scotland and Ireland, in 832 they landed on the Isle of Sheppey, where they burnt and plundered just as they pleased. They met with so little opposition that they determined on trying the same scheme on a much larger scale the next year, and accordingly they came to England with five-and-thirty ships. But Egbert was ready this time, and a desperate battle was fought between them. The Saxons were astonished at the reckless ferocity of the Danes, who, at last, retired to their ships; but neither party seem to have gained any advantage. After a great deal of skirmishing, Egbert fought a second great battle with the Danes, and beat them thoroughly, killing many thousands of them; but this was his last act of importance; and in the year 836 he died.

Egbert was succeeded by his son Ethelwolf, who reigned for twenty-one years [A.D. 836—857]; but although [A.D. 833] he won a great victory over the Danes, he was not a very able king, and the country was again divided into separate monarchies. He had four sons who outlived him—Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred, who afterwards came to be known as the famous Alfred the Great. Ethelbald, the eldest, rebelled against his father, who, not liking to fight against his own son, made him king of all the western part of the country. It is very likely that this cruel conduct broke his father's heart, for the old king died not very long afterwards, and the unnatural Ethelbald succeeded to the whole of the kingdom. But he did not long enjoy what he had so wickedly gained; he died A.D. 860, and was laid in the grave by the side of his injured father.

Ethelbert, the second brother, then became king; but he too had but a short reign, during which he was occupied in fighting with the Danes, who worried him and his people incessantly. He was succeeded [A.D. 866] by his brother Ethelred, who fought no less than nine severe battles against the Danes in one year; and so many people were killed that it seemed as if England would become one great burial-ground. After reigning more than five years, Ethelred was killed also; and, in the year 872, the troublesome and almost worthless crown of England descended to Alfred, though Ethelbert, his brother, had children living; but they were very young, and no one thought of placing an infant on the throne in that stormy period.

ALFRED was only three-and-twenty years of age when he became king; and before he had been a month upon the throne, he was forced to go to battle against the troublesome and restless Danes. These terrible invaders had overrun and desolated a great part of the country; and ruined fields, smoking cottages, and disfigured corpses, marked their course wherever they went. But Alfred had a bold heart and a wise head, and had been bred up among battles; and although he was not very successful in his first engagement with the Danes, yet he fought so well, that they were glad to conclude a peace with him: but they still went on plundering those parts of the country over which he had little authority.

It has been already stated that the Danes were brave and excellent sailors, and so the Saxons had been many years before, when their ancestors invaded England; but they had gradually neglected navigation, until it had almost perished among them. Alfred saw the advantage of a naval force in encountering such enemies as the Danes; and he immediately set to work to build ships, to prevent the landing of his foes. His first fleet was small enough, and not manned by the best and most experienced of sailors; but the crews had stout Saxon hearts, and a confidence in their wise young king; so they manfully attacked seven Danish ships, and having taken one of them, put the rest to flight. Then the Danes again wished for peace, and swore by their golden bracelets, and, as Alfred wished it, by the bones of some Christian saints, that they would live quietly, and not attack him again; but they broke their oaths the very next night.

Alfred having, after great exertions, again defeated them, made peace with Guthrun, their king, and gave them some land to settle in, on condition that they would live quietly, and defend the country against marauders. But before this arrangement was concluded, in A.D. 877, another great army of Danes landed. The Saxons were defeated, and submitted in despair, and Alfred was himself compelled to fly to save his life. For some months in the year 878, he disguised himself like a peasant, and lived in a sort of island in Somersetshire, surrounded by swamps, and the little rivers called Thone and Parret. At length he strayed to the cabin of a swineherd, and begged for

shelter: the swineherd, though poor, was a kind sort of man, and he let Alfred remain there for some time. Tradition tells us that one day the swineherd's wife had been making some bread, and she set the disguised king to watch the loaves while they were baking, and see that they did not burn. Alfred promised to attend to them; but his mind was full of the wrongs of his unhappy people, and he occupied himself in thinking of them, and in preparing his bow and arrows against the time when he hoped again to meet their enemies on the battle-field. Thus engaged he quite forgot the bread-cakes, and at last they began to burn. At this moment the swineherd's wife came in, and rebuked him for his negligence. "You man," said she, "you will not turn the bread you see burning; but you will be glad enough to eat it." The poor woman little guessed that she was rating her noble and suffering king, who, when he again resumed his royal dignity, had the man educated by whom he was so hospitably sheltered; and he was ultimately ordained, and became Bishop of Winchester.

The Saxons found that they fared no better by submitting to the Danes than they did by fighting against them; so they once again took heart, and the men of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and other counties, gathered an army, and attacked Hubba, a Danish chief of great renown, just as he landed in Devonshire. Hubba, and some hundreds of his followers, were killed; and the Saxons captured the famous banner of the Danes. This banner they believed to be enchanted: it had been woven in one morning by three sisters, who accompanied their work by a number of magical incantations: a large raven was displayed upon it, which was said to spread its wings in the time of victory, but drooped them when defeat overtook its masters.

Alfred thought the time had now come for him again to appear among his subjects, and to take the field against the Danes; but, like a prudent general, he determined first to see the number and condition of the army which Guthrun kept together. He put on a new disguise, and went to the camp of the Danes in the dress of a harper. Delighted by his songs, and his assumed mirth, they let him wander about from tent to tent; and the Saxon monarch, having learnt a good deal of their future plans, retired in safety. He then sent secret messengers to many of his subjects to meet together in arms at Egbert's-stone, near Selwood Forest. At the appointed day a considerable army assembled, and suddenly Alfred reappeared among them. The people were delighted; they thought that he was dead, for he had been absent several months; but now that they saw him again their spirits rose to enthusiasm. In this mood he led them against the Danes, whom they soon defeated with very great slaughter. Guthrun, and the rest of his army, took refuge in a fortified camp; but Alfred besieged them there, and they were compelled to submit, or be starved. The generous conqueror not only gave them their lives, but also a large tract of land to settle on; only exacting the conditions that they would become Christians, and live like quiet, peaceable people. This noble conduct quite won the admiration of Guthrun, who consented to be baptised [A.D. 878], receiving the name of Athelstane, and remained afterwards the friend and ally of his victor. Alfred stood godfather to him, and made him some valuable presents. The Danes that were his followers gave up their old thievish habits, tilled the ground, and for a time lived like honest men.

For a few years there was peace in England, and those years Alfred spent in improving his navy, in rebuilding ruined towns, and in forming a kind of militia all over the country. People sowed and reaped in safety; battle-fields became corn-fields: and the sun shone upon rich golden sheaves and happy peasants, instead of glittering axes and blood-stained men. But fresh hordes of Danes made their appearance; and in the year 893, an immense fleet landed its countless troops of robbers on the coast of Kent, while eighty ships, under the command of a fierce chief, called Hasting, sailed up the river Thames as far as Milton. Alfred was soon ready; he drove them to seek refuge within a fortified camp; and when any straggling parties ventured out to seek provisions and plunder the country, they were generally killed by the Saxons, who were on the watch for them; so, in a short time, they were in danger of dying by starvation. Instead of eating up the fat English oxen, as they had expected to do, they were obliged to kill and eat their own horses; and Alfred would have soon driven them out of the country, but that they were assisted by the treacherous Danes, to whom he had, a few years before, given so much land, on condition of their living quietly. Guthrun was dead, but his followers joined the invaders, took to their old thievish ways, and became as great a pestilence as ever. As no amount of kindness could make these people grateful, Alfred thought he would try what a little severity would do; so when his fleet had captured two ships, that were filled with those Danes who had revolted from his government, he ordered them all to be instantly hanged. Some writers have blamed him for this; but in that age, and with such a people, it was necessary to make a terrible example, to deter them from future outrages and violations of faith. Life ought not to be recklessly sacrificed, for it is a sacred gift which God alone can bestow; but with such barbarous enemies it was impossible not to shed blood; and Alfred was justified in destroying these robbers, that his peaceable subjects might be preserved. It was three years before Hasting and his

army were driven out of the land; but they were expelled at last, leaving the dead bodies of many thousands of their countrymen to be the prey of birds and beasts. The old black raven on their banner began now to droop its wings in good earnest.

Quiet was again restored in England, but the health of its hero-king was fast failing; he was attacked by a mysterious disease, which baffled the skill of all his doctors, and caused him great suffering. But he bore it with a noble patience, and spent his time in arranging plans for the improvement and happiness of his people. He had always been fond of reading and poetry; but there were few books in the Saxon language; so he wrote a letter to the most learned of his bishops, recommending them to translate good and useful books from the Latin language, and to teach the English youths how to read them. For he said, "They cannot profit in any pursuit until they are able to read English." But Alfred was not contented with recommending other people to do useful things; he set an example himself, and translated many books into the Saxon language. Amongst these were Æsop's fables from the original Greek, and historical works from the Latin; besides which, he wrote many moral stories and proverbs himself. But printing was not invented until very long after Alfred's time; so books could only be multiplied by copying them: this was a work of very great labour; and the progress of learning was, in consequence, very slow indeed. Eight hours out of every twenty-four King Alfred set apart for sleep and refreshment, eight more to the duties of government, and the remaining eight to study and devotion. But there were no clocks in England; so Alfred invented a very curious means of measuring time. He had a number of candles made of exactly the same size and weight; each of these candles had several notches placed at regular distances. As it took about half-an-hour to burn from one notch to the next, and the candles were always kept burning, he could tell what hour it was by observing how much of his candle had been consumed. But the draughts of wind which blew into the room made the candles burn in an irregular manner, and this introduced errors into the calculations of the ingenious monarch. However, there is nothing like difficulty for sharpening the mind; and the old saying, that necessity is the mother of invention, proved true in this case. After reflecting for some time, Alfred made a sort of lantern of transparent pieces of horn, and by this means shaded his candles from the wind, and caused them to be records of the silent and ceaseless progress of time.

Alfred then turned his attention to reforming the laws, and placing justice within the reach of the poorest and most feeble in the land; and when any man appealed against the decision of the judges, he would hear the case and decide upon it himself. Towards wicked judges and magistrates, who sold justice and decided wrongfully, he was very severe; and in one year he put forty-four of them to death. Careless or ignorant ones he dismissed, and told them to learn and do their duties better for the future. He punished robbers so severely, and protected property so well, that it was said that golden bracelets and jewels might have been hung upon the trees by the highway, and no one would dare to take them. He had a survey made of the country, and built strong castles at such places where the enemy were most likely to land; he invited learned men to his court, and sent others into different countries to become acquainted with their arts and customs. In all things this wise, heroic, and benevolent king deserved the title which was bestowed upon him, of ALFRED THE GREAT; and for nine centuries succeeding generations have repeated his praises and honoured his memory. It was in the month of October, when the dead and yellow leaves were fast dropping from the trees, that this royal reformer, worn out by the pain he suffered from his strange disease, breathed his last amidst the tears of his friends and the sorrows of a nation. He died on the 25th of that month, in the year 901, at the age of fifty-three, and was buried at Winchester, leaving three sons and three daughters.

This wise and good king introduced more generally that mode of administering justice in England which is called trial by jury. He did not, however, originate it; as during the Heptarchy we read of "six Welshmen and six Anglo-Saxon freemen being appointed to try causes between the English and Welsh men of property, and made responsible, with their whole estates, real and personal, for false verdicts" [Lambarde's *Archaionomia;* a treatise on the ancient law of England]. It was long, however, before trial by jury superseded trial by ordeal. This was an appeal to the divine justice of God: the person who was accused of a crime might claim this trial; which being granted, he thrust his arm into a cauldron of boiling water, or carried a red-hot iron in his hand for nine paces; if he was not burnt by the water or the iron, it was supposed that the Almighty had interfered to save a guiltless man, and he was declared to be innocent; but if the contrary, he was pronounced guilty, and given over to punishment. There were other modes of conducting the trial by ordeal: sometimes the accused was to walk, blindfold, over red-hot ploughshares, placed on the ground at unequal distances; sometimes two pieces of wood, on one of which was marked the figure of the cross, were placed under a covering; if the accused drew the piece on which the cross was engraved, he was pronounced innocent; if the other, guilty. There was still another ordeal called the cornsed: it was a piece of bread which

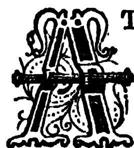
had been consecrated, and was then given to the supposed criminal to eat; if he could not swallow it, or turned pale and trembled, he was condemned; but if he ate it readily and cheerfully, he was liberated. No sensible man can believe in such presumptuous appeals to Divine Providence; though they were frequently made: and it is supposed that justice was, by that means, often evaded; as the monks who conducted these ceremonies are said to have anointed the hands or feet of those whom they wished to save with a preparation which is now understood by chemists, and prevents heated iron from injuring the naked flesh. The cornsed also has been supposed to have contained a mixture of drugs extremely repulsive to the taste, and sometimes even poisonous. This was given to the culprit, unless it was wished he should escape, then a piece of unadulterated bread was handed him.

Alfred's eldest son died without issue, before his father; and his second son EDWARD, the first of that name who reigned in England, succeeded him on the throne. His succession was disputed by Ethelward, his cousin, a son of Alfred's elder brother Ethelbert. He soon had numerous followers; and that part of the country where the Danes had settled, which was called the Danelagh, hailed him for its king. But although Edward had not the great and varied talents of his father Alfred, he was brave and skilful in war; he fought a great battle with his cousin, and left him lying dead upon the field. Some years afterwards he gained a great victory over the Danes, who thought, now that the wise Alfred was dead, they could plunder and burn as they pleased; but the sight of some thousands of their companions, cold and stiff, with their blood-bespattered and disfigured faces turned upward to the clear blue sky, convinced them that they were mistaken upon that point. Edward reigned four-and-twenty years, and then died [A.D. 925], leaving the sovereignty to his son Athelstane.

ATHELSTANE was worthy to be a grandson of the great King Alfred; he governed wisely, and defended the land in a skilful and powerful manner. During his reign the Danes again invaded England; their army filled 620 ships, a power greater than they had ever brought at one time before. But Athelstane defeated this immense army, killing such great numbers of them that the rest fled in terror, and did not appear again during his reign. He also defeated the Welsh, and imposed a tribute upon them. He was the first who called himself "King of the ENGLISH;" for even Alfred, though the ruler of the whole land, only bore the modest title of King of the West Saxons. Athelstane reformed the laws, was very regardful of the poor, liberal to learned men, and a great admirer of the BIBLE, which he was anxious to have translated into the language of his people. He died on the 17th of October, 940, and with him perished the glory of the house of Alfred. The next six kings were connected with him by blood, but not by genius; and when they quitted the scene, the line of Saxon monarchs was for a time extinguished.

CHAPTER V.

THE SIX BOY-KINGS, AND THE FINAL CONQUEST OF ENGLAND BY THE DANES.—A.D. 940—1013.



THELSTANE was succeeded by his brother EDMUND, who was scarcely eighteen years old; he was called the first of the boy-kings, because he was the first of six princes who became king, one after another, while they were very young. He was brave, and had so great a taste for elegance and improvement, that his courtiers named him "the Magnificent;" but he had more cruelty than either courage or good taste; and like a savage, he barbarously put out the eyes of two princes whose father had rebelled against him. Shortly afterwards he went to Gloucester to attend a festival which was given in memory of Saint Augustine; and while drinking with his nobles and officers, he saw a notorious robber, named Leof, among the guests. This man the king had condemned to punishment for his crime; and when he beheld him sitting placidly at the table in defiance of his sentence, his eyes flashed with anger, and in a loud tone he commanded Leof to retire. But the robber, who was a bold villain, would not stir; and Edmund, half-mad with passion, rushed upon him, and twining his hand in the long hair of Leof, endeavoured to throw him down. But this desperate ruffian drew a dagger, and in the struggle stabbed the king: thus a Christian celebration was turned into a scene of drunkenness and murder. All was confusion in an instant; the soldiers rushed to the assistance of their sovereign, but it was too late; and as they could not save, they determined to avenge him; so they fell upon Leof and cut him to pieces, but not before this

reckless man had killed several of his assailants. Edmund had only been king for six years.

EDRED, his brother, was the next who wore the crown; he was in his twenty-third year, the age at which his illustrious grandfather, Alfred, had assumed the regal power. Though young in years he was old in constitution, for he was afflicted by a terrible disease, and very feeble in his legs, and some say equally feeble in his mind, though, as other writers contradict this, we must be contented to remain in uncertainty upon that point. He showed no incapability in governing the country; but his apparent talent in this respect has been attributed to the counsels of DUNSTAN, the abbot of Glastonbury: of whom, as he was a strange and remarkable man, and connected with the history of the remainder of the boy-kings, a short account is given.

Dunstan was born in 915, of noble parents. He was a nephew of Aldhelm, the Archbishop of Canterbury; and as he had another uncle who was also a bishop, his parents thought that the best thing they could do for their son was to make a monk of him, in the hope that his uncles would advance him in the church. While a boy, instead of bounding about in the open air, gathering wild flowers in the woods, and sometimes bathing in the clear lazy streams which murmured pleasantly along between the grassy banks, he remained shut up at home, reading the doctrines, lives, and supposed miracles of the men who were deemed saints or holy men of the church.

This constant reading affected Dunstan's health and temper; and at length brought on a fever, in which he fancied saints and angels came to his bedside and talked to him; this, the result of delirium, he attributed to his great sanctity. When Dunstan grew up he was an excellent musician; he used to compose songs and sing them; he could paint and write very well; and what may seem odd now, he understood and practised the trade of a blacksmith; but that was not strange then, as all monks who were active and industrious learnt some useful craft. Dunstan was very ambitious to become famous; and being also both clever and cunning, he determined to try and establish his fame by working a miracle. So he went to the court of King Edred, and hanging his harp upon the wall, to the astonishment of every one, it began to play of itself. It was, no doubt, one of those instruments called Æolian harps, which, when placed in a certain position to allow the wind to blow upon them and vibrate the strings, emits very beautiful music. They are common enough now, but were unknown then; and it is very likely that Dunstan had found out the secret of making them, and wished to convince the king and courtiers that the harp was played upon by miraculous power. But things did not turn out as he expected; the courtiers were jealous of him, so they declared he was a sorcerer, and having bound him hand and foot, threw him into a marsh, and left him to die. But he managed to escape, and determined to try a miracle of another sort next time.

Near the church at Glastonbury he built a little cell, which was so small that he could scarcely stand up or lie down in it; and here he used to pray, and study, and work at his forge. One evening while he was thus employed, he said the devil came, and putting his head in at the little window, began to tempt him to do wicked things. Dunstan bore this for some time with patience, until at last the fiend became more urgent in his solicitations, when, taking his red-hot tongs from the glowing fire, Dunstan with them seized the tempter by the nose, who roared so loud that the whole neighbourhood echoed again. Ridiculous as this story is, it was believed by the people then; and the ambitious monk soon became noted for his exceeding piety. This was exactly what he wanted: his great reputation introduced him to the council of the king; and once in that position, he did pretty well as he pleased. But whether from the advice of Dunstan or not, Edred was fortunate in his government, the people were prosperous, and the Danes were defeated in several battles, and made to pay a heavy tribute. Edred died after a short reign of nine years, and left the throne to a son of his predecessor, Edmund.

EDWY [A.D. 955—958] is said to have been only fifteen when he was made king, though it is very probable that he was a few years older; for about that time he fell in love with a beautiful cousin of his, named Elgiva, and married her. The young king was a handsome, good-hearted, thoughtless lad, and would have been very happy with his pretty little wife, and very likely have done his best to make his people happy too; but he had offended Dunstan and the rest of the monks by marrying his cousin, which was against the regulations, and they determined to punish him accordingly. Dunstan was not long in finding a cause of quarrel with Edwy; morose, ill-conditioned people are seldom at a loss for that. The day the young king was crowned there was a great feast, and the bishops and nobles sat drinking a long while, a custom they were very much too fond of. But Edwy did not like all this coarse enjoyment, so he quietly left the hall, and went to sit and talk to his dear Elgiva and her mother. The company were offended at this, and Odo, the Archbishop of Canterbury, ordered some attendants to go and bring the king back: they did not like to act so rudely; but Dunstan started up, rushed without ceremony to the king's apartment, and after abusing the timid queen in a shameful manner, tore Edwy from her side, and pushed him by force back into the hall.

Edwy determined to avenge this insult; and as

Dunstan, who had been treasurer to the late king, was suspected of having taken money that did not belong to him, he summoned this proud priest to give an account of it. Dunstan does not seem to have been very pure in his office, for instead of rendering his account, he ran away and fled from the kingdom, and then the king pronounced a sentence of banishment against him. But Odo, the archbishop, got up an insurrection among the Danes, and set up Edwy's brother Edgar against him, declaring the latter king of the greatest part of the country. When this was done, Dunstan came back again from his exile. While things were going on in this way, some savage wretches, who appear to have been employed by the archbishop, seized the queen, and having burnt her in the face to destroy her beauty, sent her to Ireland and sold her for a slave.

The Irish people pitied her; cured her wounds, and then set her at liberty, when the poor girl immediately hastened into England to throw herself into the arms of her husband; but the grim archbishop was upon the watch. She was seized by some ruffians he had hired, who cut and mangled her in such a shocking manner, that in a few days she died in great agony at Gloucester. The unhappy Edwy only lived about a year after this dreadful occurrence; some say he died of a broken heart: this, though very likely, is not certain, and it is equally probable that he too was murdered by his ecclesiastical enemies.

Edwy's brother EDGAR, who had been opposed to him during his lifetime, was made king at his death, A.D. 958. Edgar also was only a boy of fifteen, and so for some time Dunstan governed the country as he liked; and in most things he governed very well, though he did not forget his own interest, for he made the young king create him Archbishop of Canterbury. Edgar was called the Peaceable, because during his reign there was no invasion from abroad, or disturbance at home; but he swept the British seas of pirates, and brought the Scotch and the Welsh, the chiefs of the Orkney Isles and the Isle of Man, and a considerable part of Ireland, to acknowledge his authority. In his private life he was exceedingly vicious and profligate. His court was crowded with worthless women; but he was not content with associating with the bad, unless he could also corrupt the good; and he sometimes made very dishonourable proposals to the daughters of his nobles. At one time he carried a beautiful nun, of noble family, away from her convent: at this Dunstan interfered, but not as he had done with Edwy. That unhappy young king was his enemy, but Edgar was his friend; or, to speak more correctly, his tool: so the troublesome archbishop merely condemned him not to wear his crown upon his head for seven years, and to fast for some time.

Edgar had heard of the great beauty of Elfrida, the daughter of the Earl of Devonshire; so he sent Athelwold, a favourite courtier, to see the lady, and bring him word if she was really so attractive as she had been represented. When Athelwold saw Elfrida, he was so dazzled by her beauty, that, forgetful of the trust reposed in him, he said nothing about his errand, and proposed to marry her himself. The lady consented; and Athelwold went back to the king, and told him that she was certainly rich, but not otherwise remarkable. The king, therefore, abandoned his purpose of marrying Elfrida; and soon after, the artful courtier begged his sovereign's permission to be allowed to solicit her hand for himself; her fortune, he said, would compensate him for the homely appearance of her person. This request was granted; but the king soon suspected the truth, and insisted on visiting the newly-married lady. The terrified courtier confessed to his wife the deception he had practised, and implored her to disguise her beauty by putting on an unbecoming dress and manner. This she promised to do; but she was an ambitious woman, and felt very angry in her heart with her husband for preventing her from becoming a queen; so she dressed herself in the most attractive manner, and completely captivated the heart of the wanton king. Athelwold was, shortly after this, found murdered in a wood, and it was suspected that the king himself was the assassin; for he very soon afterwards married the beautiful but treacherous widow. Edgar himself [A.D. 975] died at the early age of thirty-two, and the monks, who had profited very much by his government, declared that he was an excellent king. Indeed, one of them asserted, that Edgar was to the English what Romulus was to the Romans, Cyrus to the Persians, Alexander to the Macedonians, Arsaces to the Parthians, and Charlemagne to the French. It is to be regretted that the ecclesiastics of that age too often disgraced their sacred character by praising those who ministered to their ambition, however deserving of censure they might be.

In order to get rid of the wolves which infested England in the early part of his reign, Edgar consented to receive from the Welsh 300 wolves' heads per annum, instead of the tribute they had agreed to pay Athelstane. In consequence of this arrangement, such a slaughter of these animals took place before his death, that in a few years they were entirely extirpated. But there was another kind of wolves in England who were even more mischievous than their ravenous four-footed counterparts. These were wicked judges and magistrates, who sold justice, and decided in favour of those who offered the largest bribe. To the credit of Edgar it must be said, that he set vigorously to work to investigate these abuses, and to punish the delinquents. He travelled,

every year, through some part of his country, to hear complaints against unjust judges; and every one of them convicted of giving a sentence contrary to the law, was to be fined 120s., if he did it from ignorance; but if with a knowledge that he was deciding unjustly, he was to be dismissed for ever from his office, and branded with shame.

On the death of Edgar, EDWARD, his son by his first wife, was proclaimed king as Edward II. He was only a boy of about fourteen or fifteen, and is commonly called Edward the Martyr, in allusion to the cruel fate he met with. Elfrida disputed his right, and wished to make her own son, Ethelred, who was not six years old, king instead; but Dunstan would not have it; and the archbishop was more powerful than the queen; so he had his way, and Edward was crowned. Dunstan, after this point was settled, again used his power to promote his own views in the church. He and his followers declared that priests and monks ought not to marry; while another large body of the clergy contended that they ought to be allowed to marry if they wished to do so. Upon this subject there had been a great deal of quarrelling; and as Dunstan found it very difficult to persuade the clergy that they should abandon the happiness of loving and being loved, whilst they battled hard for the privilege of cheerful homes, with smiling faces and bright-eyed laughing children in them, he resorted to his old tricks, and determined to try the effect of a miracle or two. A synod was held at Winchester, and the married priests argued that the sentence against them should be recalled; but when this was proposed, a voice came from a crucifix in the wall, and exclaimed, "Do it not! do it not! you have judged well, and you would do ill to change it." This was done by some clever scheme of Dunstan's; but he played them a far more artful and mischievous trick than that. At another synod, at Calne, the married priests argued very well, and the wily archbishop was getting the worst of it; so he assumed a very humble tone, and said, "I am growing old now, and you endeavour to overcome me. I am more disposed to silence than contention. I confess I am unwilling that you should vanquish me; and to Christ himself, as judge, I commit the cause of his church." No sooner had he said this, than the flooring of the room gave way—that is, all of it except where Dunstan and his friends sat; of course, he had taken good care of that. The priests who were opposed to him fell through, and were dreadfully hurt, and some of them crushed to death. The people thought that the hand of God was visible in this supposed miracle; and thus Dunstan contrived to overawe those whom he was unable to convince.

Whilst Dunstan was thus promoting his views, Elfrida was equally active in her endeavours to carry out her's. She won over many nobles to her cause, who wished to place her son Ethelred upon the throne, should any opportunity occur for doing so. Elfrida was determined that an opportunity should not long be wanting; and one day, when the young king was hunting in Dorsetshire, near Corfe Castle, he thought he should like to visit his mother-in-law and his half-brother. Without saying a word to his friends and attendants, he rode away alone to the castle. Elfrida came out to meet him, her still beautiful face all radiant with smiles, and in an apparently affectionate manner entreated him to come in. Edward thanked her, but declined doing so; his company, he said, would miss him; he would drink a cup of wine to her and his brother's health, and then ride back to his attendants. The wine was brought, and as the fated young monarch raised it to his lips, Elfrida gave a savage glance of her dark eyes towards a fellow who stood behind, and this ruffian instantly plunged a dagger into his sovereign's back. Edward struck his spurs into his horse's sides, and tried to ride back to his friends, but he was soon exhausted from the loss of blood, and falling from his saddle, was dragged along till he died, leaving a dark red trail through the rich long grass. He had reigned only four years.

So the boy ETHELRED, who was scarcely ten years old, was, in 979, proclaimed king; but the nobles and people were so disgusted with the conduct of his wicked mother, that they would not have permitted him to be crowned if they could have got any one else of the royal family instead. There was a young lady who was a natural daughter of the gay King Edgar's, but she had become a nun, and was so terrified by her brother's murder, and the sad fate which seemed to attend so many sovereigns, that when the nobles begged her to become their queen, she said, "Not for the whole world; I detest violence and murder; I will remain here, and pray to God to give his people better and more gentle hearts." Thus the nobles were compelled to permit the son of the murderess whom they hated to be their king.

Dunstan had grown old, and in consequence of his tricks and pretended sanctimony, was much reverenced by the people, who thought him a saint. He was always a sour-tempered man, but had at last become very stern and morose indeed. He hated the young king and his mother; and, in crowning him, uttered a gloomy prophecy, and said that woe and ruin lay in wait for the land. To make things worse, Ethelred obtained from his people the unfortunate name of "the Unready;" so that he seems to have been despised as well as disliked. At first, his mother ruled in his name, and directed public affairs as she thought fit. But

when Ethelred got older, he would not permit this; so, as every one hated her, she was compelled to leave the court; and having no longer the power to do any great wickedness, she assumed a religious character, and built several monasteries to expiate her sins; the monks encouraging her, and telling her that if she built and endowed houses for the priests, those sins would be forgiven;—a vain promise; as we know that forgiveness of sins, which comes from God alone, is only to be obtained by sincere repentance, leading a new life, and faith in HIM who died to save such repentant sinners.

When Ethelred had been king nine years, Archbishop Dunstan died, A.D. 988. His reputation for holiness and sanctity, and the fame he acquired (without any grounds for it) for working miracles, caused him to be canonised after his death. With all his faults, Dunstan was an able statesman, and the weak, unready Ethelred soon had cause to regret his loss.

The Danes had not troubled England lately, as they had been occupied in plundering and fighting elsewhere; but Sweyn, the son of the Danish king, having quarrelled with his father, took to the sea, and turned his sails toward England. At first he came in 991, and plundered Southampton; then, sailing about, he landed sometimes in the south, sometimes in the north, burning and destroying, according to the custom of that barbarous people; and these depredations he continued for some years. At last Ethelred, instead of driving away the Danes at the point of the sword, adopted the cowardly course of buying their forbearance; and he gave them 10,000 pounds of silver to leave the country. The Danes took the money; but, as might be expected, these impudent robbers came again the next year for more; Olave, son of the King of Norway, then joining Sweyn. But Ethelred had been roused in the meantime by the complaints of his people, and had collected a large fleet to meet the Danes. The weak king, however, trusted the command of his ships to a traitor, Alfric, Duke of Mercia, who went over, with a great part of them, to the enemy. The Danes now (A.D. 993) demanded 16,000 pounds of silver as payment for mercy; and on their next invasion, 24,000 pounds, their price rising in proportion as the courage of the Saxons sank. To raise this money, the tax of Dane-gelt or Dane-geld was levied; which was an impost of 1s. upon every hide of land. Before the last payment was made, Olave, who had embraced the Christian religion, refused to fight against the English. Sweyn attacked the Norwegians, and Olave was killed. He was canonised by the pope; and several churches are dedicated to him. Ethelred soon after, in 1001, married Emma, sister to Richard II., Duke of Normandy, which alliance, he thought, would strengthen him against the Danes; but this foolish king behaved so ill to his wife, who, on account of her beauty, was called "The Flower of Normandy," that her complaints to her father caused him to be her husband's enemy rather than his friend.

The tyranny which the Danes exercised over the English became unbearable; and in the year 1002, one of those dreadful acts of vengeance took place which are sometimes perpetrated by a desperate and despairing people. The English kings had employed certain bands of Danes to assist in repelling the invasions of their countrymen; these men constantly robbed the people, treated them like slaves, and insulted their wives and daughters; and when any Danish pirates landed to ravage and plunder the country, these mercenary troops, instead of driving them away, welcomed and encouraged them. To get rid of this national curse, Ethelred resolved to massacre all the Danes in England: not only the insulting robber, but the peaceful settler—the unoffending women and the innocent babes—all were doomed to perish. He sent secretly to the cities, towns, and villages, charging the Saxons to rise in arms on the festival of St. Bride, November 13, and put all the Danes to death.

This dreadful order was strictly obeyed. Suddenly a great cry went through the land; the unarmed Danes fell in heaps; the streets and fields were soaked with blood, and the steam of the slaughter went reeking up to the calm blue sky. Even the sister of Sweyn, the King of Denmark, who was a Christian, and was married to an English earl, of English family, was compelled to witness the death of her husband and child, and was then murdered also, crying out, in her dying agony, that this savage act would soon meet its punishment by the ruin of the whole country.—And it deserved a severe retaliation, for it was a most unjustifiable deed. Ethelred should have encouraged the Danes to live peaceably, and have punished every outrage and robbery with inflexible severity, as the great Alfred had so successfully done before him, and not have involved the innocent with the guilty in one merciless and lawless destruction. Sweyn, the King of Denmark, swore he would have a terrible revenge. The Danes set eagerly to work, and built a new fleet expressly for the invasion of England. Their ships were remarkably large and gay; they were painted with bright colours, and had carved prows representing lions, dragons, bears, and bulls: Sweyn's ship was called "The Great Dragon." The prow was made like the head of an enormous serpent, while the gilded tail coiled over the poop. The army embarked [A.D. 1003] was very numerous; the troops were landed near Exeter, and marched through the country, making the people prepare feasts for them; and when they had ate and drank, they killed their entertainers and set fire to their houses. At last a

Saxon army advanced to meet them; but, with great heedlessness, Ethelred placed Alfric, who had previously betrayed the fleet to the enemy, in command. He was soon killed; and Edric, Ethelred's son-in-law, was appointed to succeed him. He was more faithless than Alfric; and betrayed his country by permitting the Danes to retire to their ships with the immense plunder they had gathered. The next year they came again, and burnt so many corn-fields that a famine arose, which caused these destroyers to return to their ships, and abandon a land they had so terribly afflicted. Two years after, when the corn was again springing from the earth, and the Saxons slowly recovering from the effects of the last invasion, Sweyn and his army came once more, and rambled over the wretched country, burning and murdering in the old way. Ethelred then gave him £36,000 to depart; and the miserable people were harassed nearly as much by the king's tax-gatherers as they were by the savage incursions of their Danish enemies. After Sweyn was gone, a new tax was laid upon the people, and more money was wrung from them to build a great navy, to prevent the Danes from coming back. The navy was built, but the command of it was again given to traitors, who, like madmen, made war upon each other, and burnt and sunk many of their own ships: a storm arose and destroyed a great many more; and the unhappy Saxons saw their last hope utterly perish. As soon as the Danes heard of these misfortunes, they came again with another large army, and did a great deal of mischief for three years. By that time the spirit of the Saxons was entirely broken. Ethelred, his wife and children, fled for safety to Normandy; and in the year 1013, Sweyn, the Dane, was acknowledged King of England. Fortunately for the people he did not live to oppress them long, for six weeks afterwards he died suddenly, on the 3rd of February, 1014. The Saxons then invited back the feeble Ethelred, only begging that he would try and govern them better than before; but the Danes proclaimed Canute, the son of Sweyn, King of England, and the work of war, treachery, and murder began again. In the midst of this strife Ethelred died, on the 24th of April, 1016, worn out by disease and anxiety, after having misgoverned the country for five-and-thirty years. His death was the greatest benefit he had ever conferred upon the people; and if he had died when a little harmless babe in his cradle, it would have been still better for them.

The Saxons chose the natural son of Ethelred, EDMUND, for his successor; who was as brave as his father was timid, and after fighting five battles with Canute, proposed to settle their claims by single combat. He said, "it was a pity so many lives should be lost and perilled for their ambition;" but Canute was a slender man: and Edmund, who, on account of his great strength, was called *Ironside*, was tall and stalwart, so the Dane did not relish that plan, but proposed that they should divide England into two parts, and govern it between them. This Edmund agreed to; but about a month afterwards, on the 30th of November, 1016, he died in a very sudden and mysterious manner; and it was generally believed that he was murdered by his servants, who were suspected of having been employed for that wicked purpose by Canute.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLAND DURING THE REIGNS OF CANUTE, HAROLD HAREFOOT, AND HARDICANUTE; THE THREE DANISH KINGS.—A.D. 1016—1041.

CANUTE had not much trouble in becoming king of the whole of England, for the Saxons were so weary of war that they were glad to submit to him. He said that he wished all past opposition to be forgotten, and he shook hands with the Saxon chiefs, and swore to be just and kind to them; but very soon after he caused many of them to be put to death or banished. This was a strange way of showing justice and kindness; but although Canute had a wise head, he had a very hard and savage heart. He took the two children of the brave Edmund Ironside, and because they had a better right to the crown than himself, wished to murder them; but being afraid to do that in England, he sent them to his half-brother, Olave, the King of Sweden, with directions to take their lives. But Olave pitied the royal disinherited orphans, and instead of killing them, sent them to the court of his relation, Stephen, the King of Hungary, who behaved very kindly to the children, and they were educated at his court.

There were two other princes that Canute wished to see in their coffins: these were Edward and Alfred, the sons of King Ethelred; who, with their mother Emma, had taken refuge at the court of her brother, Duke Richard of Normandy. Canute knew that the princes would be

powerless against him unless they were aided by their uncle; so he won the duke over to his interest by proposing to marry his sister Emma, the widow of Ethelred, and mother of the princes whom he feared. The "Flower of Normandy" was delighted at the idea of becoming a queen again; and consented to marry the man who had worried her husband to death, and robbed her children of their inheritance. From that time Canute gave the English people little cause of complaint. Though he was very stern at first, yet, when he had put down all opposition, he became more gentle, and the people were happier and more prosperous under his reign than they had been for many years before. He was fond of poetry and music, and even wrote some ballads of his own, which greatly pleased his people, both Danes and Saxons; for both these races loved such amusements: and when they sang the king's songs as they rowed down the rivers and walked in the fields, they got gradually to be fond of the man who had written them.

Canute's father, Sweyn, used to turn from paganism to Christianity, and from Christianity back to paganism, just as it served his purpose; but Canute was sincere in his belief, at least according to the notions of those times, and as he grew older became very devout. Then his conscience was troubled on account of the many people he had caused to be killed in his early life; and to atone for his offences, he resolved [about A.D. 1027] to make a pilgrimage to Rome—a poor atonement for the many thousand Saxons whom he had sent, mangled and blood-stained, to their graves, or to the wives and fatherless children they had left behind. At Rome he obtained from Pope John XIX. certain privileges for English pilgrims, and a reduction of the fees which the pontiffs exacted from the prelates, when they invested them with the pall, the insignia of their sacred office. On his return to England, he rebuilt many churches which the Danes had destroyed: endowed convents and monasteries; and displayed his faith in other ways, in conformity with the doctrines and principles of the Romish church.

Soon after his return from Rome he went to Denmark; from whence he wrote a very sensible letter to the priests, nobles, and people of England. Among other things, he said, "I beg and command those unto whom I have entrusted the government, as they wish to preserve my good-will, and save their own souls, to do no injustice to rich or poor. Let those who are noble, and those who are not, equally obtain their rights, according to the laws, from which no deviation shall be allowed, either through fear of me, or through favour to the powerful, or for the purpose of supplying my treasury. I want no money raised by injustice." These commands, being merely the dictates of common honesty and justice, do not raise our admiration now, because it is everybody's duty to be honest and just; but such was the disorder and misery of the English in that remote time, and they had seen so many weak and tyrannical sovereigns, that to them an honest and just king was as welcome and wonderful a being as a beneficent angel from heaven.

The people were glad to see their king back in England, and he continued to rule them wisely and peacefully. One day, disgusted with the flattery of his courtiers, who told him that he was so great that everything was possible to him, he determined to read them a lesson. Sitting down by the sea-shore when the tide was rolling freshly in, he looked upon the vast waters, and said to them, "Ocean! the land on which I sit is mine, and thou art a part of my dominion, therefore rise not; obey my commands, nor presume to wet the edge of my robe." The sea paid no attention to this command, and wave after wave rolled on the stony beach, until the king was sitting with his feet in the water. Then he turned to his flatterers, and frowning sternly, said, "Confess ye now how frivolous and vain is the might of an earthly king compared to that Great Power who rules the elements, and can say unto the ocean, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.'" The humbled courtiers were silent; and the king added, that the lofty titles of Lord and Master were not due to man, however great his virtues or lofty his rank; but belonged only to him whom both the land and sea obey. It is said, also, that he took his glittering crown from his head, and determined never to wear it again, but ordered it to be placed on the top of the crucifix at Winchester. But for wise and simple, king and parasite, there is but one doom; and about six years after he came back from Rome, Canute entered that dark path from which no one ever returns. He died at Shaftesbury, in the year 1035, after having reigned eighteen years.

Canute had been King of Denmark and Sweden, as well as of England, and at his death he divided his kingdoms between his three sons—HAROLD was to have England, HARDICANUTE Denmark, and SWEYN Sweden. But the people were not so settled that they cared much for the will of a dead king; and Earl Godwin, the most powerful noble in the country, and the Saxons in the south of England, wished to have one of the sons of Ethelred, or else Hardicanute, for their sovereign. The nobles divided themselves into two great parties, and a civil war seemed certain; but they were wise enough to come to an arrangement without fighting, and it was settled that Hardicanute should be king of all the country south of the river Thames, and that Harold should rule over all the north of it. But although people were so ready to fight for Hardicanute's title to

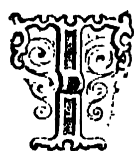
the crown, he did not himself care for it, but remained in Denmark, leading a free and easy life, constantly eating, drinking, and making merry. While this was going on, Edward, the eldest of Ethelred's sons, came from Normandy with a few ships, thinking that his mother Emma, the widow of Canute, would assist him to obtain the crown. But she appears to have had little love for her children by Ethelred, and instead of helping Edward, she did all she could against him, and he was glad to get back to Normandy, saying that he would never set foot in England again. Soon after his brother Alfred came over, induced to do so by a letter written to him by his mother. He brought with him 600 armed Normans; and this so excited the jealousy of Earl Godwin, who went to meet the young prince, that it is supposed he determined upon their destruction. Having taken them to Guildford, he lodged the Normans in small bodies at different parts of the town; and at night, when they were sound asleep, they were set upon by King Harold's soldiers, bound with ropes or chains, and hurried away. The next morning nearly all of them were savagely murdered. A worse fate remained for the unfortunate prince that led them; he was taken before Harold, who, having insulted his wretched victim, sent him to Ely to be tried by the Danes for disturbing the peace of the country. These unjust and cruel judges condemned him to have his eyes torn out, which was instantly done; he was then sent to the monastery of Ely, where, a few days after, he died in great misery. Some people think that Earl Godwin enticed the unfortunate prince over to England with the intention of betraying him to death. Whether he acted thus treacherously or not, he certainly deserted his cause after his arrival, and abandoned him to his enemy Harold.

HAROLD then made himself king of the whole of England; but Ethelnoth, the Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury, refused to crown him, and, laying the crown and sceptre upon the altar, said, "I will neither give them to thee, nor shall any bishop consecrate thee on the throne." So Harold put the crown upon his head himself, and wore it for four years, dying in the year 1040. No one seems to have cared much about him, and the only thing he was famous for was his fondness for hunting, and his dexterity in running after the game, which gained him the name of "Harold Harefoot;" though some historians have said this cognomen was bestowed upon him in consequence of his feet being covered with hair.

At the time of Harold's death HARDICANUTE was at Bruges, in Flanders, preparing to invade England; he had been urged to do so by his mother Emma, whom Harold had driven away from the court. The invasion was prevented by the English and Danish nobles waiting upon Hardicanute, and begging him to accept the crown, which he did. But the English soon repented of their choice, for he loaded them with taxes; and when the people of Worcester refused to pay them, he burnt that city to the ground. He professed to be very much shocked at the murder of his half-brother Alfred; and he ordered the body of King Harold to be exhumed from its grave and beheaded, and then both head and body to be thrown into the Thames. Not satisfied with this disgusting act of vengeance, he accused Earl Godwin of assisting in the murder; but that nobleman took an oath that he was innocent, and made Hardicanute a present of a noble ship, the figure-head of which was of gold: it contained eighty soldiers, all magnificently dressed, and remarkable for their manly appearance. Each of them had a battle-axe, ornamented with silver; a sword with a golden hilt, and a golden bracelet upon his arm: if the king was not satisfied with the oath, he was with the present, and so no more was said about the death of the prince. Hardicanute continued to be a confirmed glutton, and spent most of his time in feasting with the Danish chiefs by whom he was constantly surrounded; to be a great drunkard being a recommendation to the royal favour. At the marriage feast of one of his Danish thanes, the company sat drinking until a late hour, when the king rose to pledge them; but he was so intoxicated that he fell senseless with the wine-cup in his hand; and in spite of the efforts of his attendants to revive him, he expired. Thus perished, A.D. 1041, the last of the Danish kings in England. He had reigned scarcely two years.

CHAPTER VII.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR; HAROLD THE SECOND; THE INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE NORMANS.—A.D. 1041–1066.



THERE being no Danish prince in England to claim the crown, EDWARD, the only surviving son of the weak King Ethelred, was chosen; and the English people were delighted in having a Saxon king again. There was a good deal of opposition to him at first; but this was overcome by the rich and powerful Earl Godwin, who was a man of such great talents, that, from a poor friendless cow-boy, he had become the greatest and most loved of the English nobles. But Edward never liked the earl, and always suspected him of having caused the murder of his brother, Prince Arthur. Godwin was aware of the king's suspicions, and made it a condition of his assistance, that Edward should forget all past wrongs, give him some rich estates, and also marry his daughter Edith. This was agreed to; Edward was made king, and then married Edith, who was a good, cheerful, and beautiful girl; but he never loved her; and behaved to her in a very ungenerous and repulsive manner. He was an obstinate and unforgiving man; and had not forgotten that his mother Emma had acted ill to him and his brother Alfred, and much preferred the children she had by Canute; so he seized a great part of her property, and sent her, for the remainder of her life, to a monastery at Winchester.

In some respects, Edward was a good king. He reduced taxation, made many excellent laws, administered justice as well to the poor as the rich, and would have been very popular, but for his extreme fondness for the Normans. Having been brought up in the Norman court, where he had lived since he was thirteen years old, for nearly twenty-seven years, he had, when he returned to England, nearly forgotten his native Saxon language; and he surrounded himself with Norman favourites, giving them profitable places and pensions, which made his English subjects very jealous. But no one was more jealous than Earl Godwin and his six sons; and as the earl was also very angry with the king for treating his queen Edith so ill, he did all he could to make Edward disliked. At length, a haughty young foreign noble—Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who had married Edward's sister—came to the English court on a visit. On his return, he entered Dover with his train, all clad in armour, and they marched in an insolent manner through the town; and, without asking leave, chose the best houses in which to sup and sleep for the night. One of the Dover men would not submit to this; and, standing in his doorway, determined that no one should enter without his permission. A foreign soldier soon came swaggering up, and was about to push his way into the house, when the stout Englishman thrust him into the road: with an oath the Frenchman drew his sword, and wounded the Englishman; but the man of Dover was bold and resolute, and he killed the Frenchman on the spot. When Count Eustace heard this, he and his armed men broke into the Englishman's house, and murdered him by his own fireside. Then they rode through the streets, brandishing their swords, and galloping over defenceless women and children. This was too much to be borne; the Dover men armed, and attacked the ruffianly intruders; and, having killed nineteen of them, and wounded many more, Count Eustace and his followers made the best of their way out of Dover, with a great deal less bravado and insolence than they had entered it. The count instantly rode to Gloucester, and complained to the king; and Edward, believing all he said, sent a message to Earl Godwin, saying, "Go and punish the men of Dover for attacking my relation, and disturbing the peace of the country." "It ill becomes you," replied that patriotic noble, "to condemn, without a hearing, the men whom it is your duty to protect."

The king was exceedingly angry, and summoned the earl to appear before him and his Norman court, to answer for his own conduct. Godwin was too good a judge, however, to trust himself in their hands; for he well knew that the Normans hated him, and he declined going. The king then threatened to banish him and his family, and to confiscate their property. To prevent this, the great earl armed: the people said he did right; and they crowded to his standard in such numbers, that soon he was at the head of an immense army. Then Godwin marched to Gloucester, where the king was, and insisted that Count Eustace and his companions should be delivered up to punishment. This the king resolutely refused; and, managing to get a little time, he sent for two great nobles who were enemies of Godwin, and they came with a large army to the assistance of the king. But when these armies met, they said that it was wrong that Englishmen should be required to destroy each other for the sake of the Normans; and, like wise and noble fellows as they were, they refused to fight for such a cause, but shook

hands with hearty good-will. Then the king and the earl contrived to make up their quarrel, and swore "God's peace, and full friendship for one another."

This professed friendship was very insincere on both sides, and the semblance of it was not long kept up by either party. The king [A.D. 1041] went on gathering troops; while those of Godwin, who had joined him out of a momentary excitement, gradually dwindled away, and went to their homes. Then the king again summoned the earl to appear before him, and to come without any escort at all. Godwin applied for securities, that he might come and go in safety; and this being refused, he would not obey the summons. Edward and his council, for his contumacy, pronounced a sentence of banishment against him and his sons; and the earl, fearing his life was not safe, embarked in the night, with his family, in a vessel well loaded with treasure, and sailed to Flanders. Edward was delighted at his triumph; but he lived to regret his injustice.

The king seized the estates and houses of the banished earl, and gave them all to his Norman favourites; and as if the ruin of the family was not sufficient, he vented his passion upon his beautiful and patient wife, who was Godwin's daughter. He took away her jewels, her money, and her attendants, and shut her up in the monastery of Wherwell, of which one of his sisters was lady abbess; and if she was as revengeful and mean-spirited as her brother, the poor queen must have led a sad life indeed. The monks praised Edward very much for this petty cruelty, and, under their direction, he became more sanctimonious and morose every day.

The Normans now flocked over to England in crowds, and the king welcomed them all, and provided for them at the expense of his English subjects. Not contented with this, in 1049 he invited William, the Duke of Normandy, to come and visit him—an invitation which that prince very gladly accepted. William was the son of Duke Robert of Normandy, and a poor girl, who was a tanner's daughter. The duke had seen her one day when he was returning home from the chase; she was washing clothes in a brook; and he was so struck with her great beauty, that he proposed for her to come and live with him. Her name is differently given—Arlete, Harlotta, or Herleva: they all come from an old Norman word, which means "the much loved"—a very appropriate name for a gentle and beautiful girl. Her son William grew up a fine bold man, of a courageous, high spirit; very fond of horse-riding and fighting, but proud, revengeful, and pitiless. In time, he became the Duke of Normandy; and his great natural talents won him the admiration of his people, and the respect of surrounding countries.

When Duke William came to England he was very kindly received by Edward; and it is supposed that the king thought of making his Norman cousin heir to the kingdom, and that, during this visit, he communicated his intention to him. Whether he really did so, no one can tell; but it is certain that, on William's return to Normandy, he began to aspire to the English crown. After this visit, the Normans who surrounded Edward grew more haughty than ever; and the jealousy of the English people toward them rose to absolute hatred. This was very well known to the banished Earl Godwin, who had his spies all over England; he knew, also, that the people looked upon him as a patriot, and longed for his return; so having collected a few ships with the remains of his treasure, in 1052 he sailed to England, and landed near Hastings. He was soon joined by his brave son, Harold, who had fled to Ireland, and brought with him, from that country, a little army to assist his father. The people were delighted at their arrival, and flocked to them in great numbers. The banished earl and his son sailed boldly up the Thames to London, without having to strike a single blow. The earl sent a message to the king, respectfully demanding his estates, and a repeal of his sentence; but Edward was obstinate and blind to the consequences, and he refused; and it was not until he found that his own soldiers loved the earl in their hearts, that he was compelled to submit. Then the Norman priests and courtiers, who had hated Godwin, and tried to ruin him, fled from the country to save their lives. Robert, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury, and William, the Norman Bishop of London, were in such terror that they rode to the Essex coast, and getting into a crazy open fishing-boat, sailed to France in great danger. The witenagemote, as the parliament of that time was called, decided that the Normans were the cause of the late disturbances, and therefore they banished them all as outlaws. The earl had his large estates restored, and the king was obliged to call his wife, Edith, from the monastery, and give back her jewels, and let her sit by his side as queen; but he did not do it with a very good grace, and he hated her and her father worse than ever. The earl did not enjoy his triumph very long; he died [A.D. 1053] of a fit of apoplexy at Windsor, and Harold, his eldest son, who was a noble and accomplished young man, succeeded to his estates and title.

All the English people loved Harold, and even the king did not hate him so much as he had hated his father, Godwin; for Harold let him have back some of his Norman monks and favourites, and he also served him faithfully in the field, driving out his enemies, and establishing peace and order. The Welsh people had been very troublesome, frequently invading the borders of the country, and committing many robberies and murders. Harold proceeded against these desperate

men, and struck such terror into them, that they seized their own king, Griffith, and having cut off his head, offered it as a token of submission. Harold sent the ghastly present to King Edward; and as the Welsh found that they could not rob and murder without being severely punished for doing so, they took to working for their bread instead of stealing it, and both they and their neighbours were greatly benefited by the change.

The old king, who was surrounded by his monks, and was himself more like a monk than a king, wished to go on a pilgrimage to Rome; and as he had no children, he was urged to appoint a successor. He would have liked to name his cousin William, the Duke of Normandy; but his people disliked the Normans so much that he had not the courage to do so, therefore he sent to the court of the German emperor, and invited over a son of Edmond Ironside, who was called Edward the Outlaw, and had been absent from England more than twenty years. This Saxon prince was glad enough to come, and the people welcomed him very heartily, for they had not forgotten his brave father; but the old king refused to see him, and shortly after his arrival, the prince died very suddenly [A.D. 1057]. It was thought he was poisoned, and some suspicion fell upon Harold, because he expected to become king himself upon Edward's death; but there is no other reason to suppose him guilty of such a murder; and he was, all his life, so brave and generous, that it is not at all likely he had anything to do with it. It might have been done by the orders of the jealous and ill-tempered old king, or by those of his cousin, the Duke of Normandy, who still hoped to succeed to the English throne; or indeed the prince might have died naturally, though it scarcely seems probable that he did.

The same year that Prince Edward died, another English noble of distinction went to his eternal resting-place. This was Leofric, Earl of Mercia, of whom a singular and very interesting story is told. It is not strictly authenticated, but rests upon as good an authority as exists for many other circumstances received as legitimate history. Leofric had laid an exorbitant tax upon the people of Coventry, who, it appears, were subject to him; this tax they were unable to pay, and they implored the earl to relieve them from it. This he had no intention of doing; but he answered, jestingly, that if they could persuade the Lady Godiva, his wife, to ride naked on horseback from one end of the town to the other, he would consent to remit the tax. The poor townsmen had no hope that a high-born and beautiful woman would perform so extraordinary an act, and they abandoned themselves to despair. But they were mistaken: they did not know the kind heart of that noble and heroic woman. She consented to do so, if every one would remain within doors, and not look at her from their windows; then, letting down her long, rich auburn hair, with no other covering than that afforded by this beautiful natural ornament, she rode through the town, and freed the people from her husband's oppressive edict. One man, it is added, was ungenerous enough to look out of a window; but he was punished for his insolence with death. In commemoration of this event, there long was, and probably now is, a picture of Earl Leofric and his kind-hearted lady, in a window of Trinity Church, at Coventry, and beneath it this inscription:—

"I Luric, for the love of thee,
Do set Coventry toll-free."

About this time Harold crossed the sea to Normandy, to obtain the liberty of his brother Wulnot, and his nephew Haco, who had been given by his father to King Edward as hostages, and been sent by the king to Duke William for security. Unfortunately he was wrecked upon the territory of Guy, the Count of Ponthieu, who, instead of assisting him in his distressed situation, made him a prisoner in the castle of Belram, intending to keep him there until he should pay a ransom for his release. Harold was very angry at such shameful and cruel treatment, and contrived to send word of his situation to William, the Duke of Normandy, who obtained him his liberty; but not until he had paid a large sum of money to Guy, who sold his brave captive just the same as if he had been a horse or a sheep. When William had Harold at his court he was very polite to him; but he took care not to let him go until he extorted a promise that he should marry his daughter Adela, and help him to obtain the English crown when Edward died. Harold expected to succeed to the throne himself, therefore he was much perplexed; but he knew he was entirely in the power of the Norman duke, and he was obliged to make the promise. But William was not satisfied with that; he desired to bind Harold by an oath. A Bible was brought and placed upon a table covered with cloth of gold. When Harold had sworn, the cloth was removed, and under it was a tub full of the bones and relics of dead saints, which, according to the superstition of those times, made the oath more sacred and binding. The vow that Harold had been obliged to take to save his life and obtain his liberty, was afterwards broken by him.

In less than a year after Harold's return to England —on the 5th of January, 1066—King Edward, who was then in his sixty-fifth year, and almost childish, died. In his last moments he wandered a great deal in his mind, repeating threatening passages from the Bible, and saying that a terrible judgment was hanging over the Saxon people. As he had yielded in everything to

the priests, and been very liberal to them, they returned the compliment by making a saint of him; and, a century after his death, he was canonised, by Pope Alexander III., as Edward the Confessor. The priests had so far worked on the mind of the superstitious king, that they persuaded him he was devout enough to work miracles himself; and one old writer goes so far as to assert, that he did restore sight to five or six blind men. He used, also, to touch poor people who were afflicted with a disease called the king's evil, in the belief that his touch, like that of the divine Jesus, would effect a cure—a custom which continued to be practised by English sovereigns up to the time of Queen Anne. In spite of his obstinacy and sour monastic temper, Edward loved peace and order, and would not consent to oppress his people with heavy taxes. One day his courtiers showed him a great heap of gold and silver which had been collected, supposing it would give him pleasure to behold so much wealth; but the thought of the poor people from whom it had been wrung so affected him, that he fancied he saw the devil dancing joyfully about it, and ordered the whole to be returned to those from whom it had been taken.

As soon as Edward was buried, Harold caused himself to be proclaimed king; and, a few hours after, he was solemnly crowned, in the presence of a great concourse of priest and nobles. He was already popular with the people, but he did everything he could to bind them more closely to him. He was liberal and courteous, reduced the taxes, and yet set to work to improve the country, and defend it against its enemies. But the Duke of Normandy soon heard of the death of Edward. He was out hunting at the time: he put away his bow and arrows, hurried home to his palace, and sitting down, remained silent for a long while. Soon after, however, he sent ambassadors to England, to remind Harold of his oath, and to require him to fulfil it. Harold replied, "It is true that I made an oath to William; but I made it under the influence of force. I promised what did not belong to me, and engaged to do what I never could do; for my royalty does not belong to me, nor can I dispose of it without the consent of my country."

This answer threw William into a terrible passion. He called Harold an infamous oath-breaker, and said he would come over and wrest the crown from him by force. He got together a great army of Normans, and invited free-lances and fighting-men from every country round to assist him in the invasion of England. For months he had workmen employed in building ships and forging armour, and swords, and arrows; and at length he collected an enormous fleet, consisting of nearly 3,000 ships, of which 700 are said to have been very large ones, though, of course, nothing in comparison with the great war-ships of the present day. Besides these ships, he had an army of 60,000 men; and he was so elated at the martial appearance of this great force, that he considered the conquest of England as certain. What added still more to his confidence was, that the pope, Alexander II., blessed the expedition, and sent him a consecrated banner and a ring, said to contain one of the hairs of St. Peter; and thousands of ignorant, superstitious people thought, that, under such circumstances, it was not only a proper, but a very religious thing, to go and murder the English.

The first attack on Harold was made by his own brother, Tosti, who was a treacherous and cruel man. He had been placed as governor over that part of England called Northumbria, and had behaved so badly, that the people rose in rebellion, and drove him away. As Harold would not compel the Northumbrians to submit to his tyranny, Tosti had fled to Flanders, vowing hate and vengeance. William gave the traitor a few ships, with which, in the spring of 1066, he came and attacked the shores of his native country. Although he did a great deal of mischief, he was soon beaten off by the Earls Morcar and Edwin, grandsons of Leofric. Then he sailed to Norway, and begged Harold Hardrada, the king of that country, to help him against England. The kings of those times were generally ready for mischief; so Hardrada collected a considerable fleet, and, in the following summer, in company with Tosti, made a descent on the Yorkshire coast, near Scarborough. That place was taken and burned; and the invaders advanced to York. At Fulford, near that city, they were met by an army under the command of the Earls Morcar and Edwin, who, after a desperate fight, were shut up in York. Harold had been engaged watching for the arrival of William from Normandy; but as soon as he heard of the defeat of Morcar and Edwin, he marched down to York with his army, very much to the surprise of the enemy, who by no means expected him so soon. He found the invaders encamped at Stamford Bridge, near that city; and preparations were immediately made for battle. As Hardrada was getting his army into order, his horse stumbled and threw him. Harold, seeing this accident, inquired, "Who is that chief in the sky-blue mantle and the splendid helmet, who has just fallen from his horse?" He was told it was the King of Norway. "He is a fine powerful-looking man," returned Harold; "but I augur that fortune has forsaken him."

Before the engagement, Harold, who was averse to fight against his brother, false and worthless as he was, sent twenty horsemen to offer him the whole of Northumbria, or even a third of England, if he would lay down his arms, and live with him in peace. "And what territory," said Tosti, "will Harold give to my







ally, Hardrada, the King of Norway?" "Seven feet of English ground for a grave," was the bold answer; "or a little more, seeing that Hardrada is taller than most men." "Ride back, ride back," said Tosti, "and bid King Harold make ready for the fight; for I will not forsake my friend."

The battle began at an early hour on the 5th of October, and a fierce and savage one it was; the brave Harold was the conqueror; and the traitor Tosti, and the tall Norwegian king, with nearly all his hardy captains, and some thousands of his soldiers, were left dead upon the field. Even the ships of the Norwegians were taken by Harold; but this generous man gave Olave, the son of the dead King Hardrada, twenty-four of them, and sent him back to Norway with all his soldiers that were left alive, only making them promise that they would never invade England again.

Three days after this victory, William of Normandy landed his great army near Hastings: Harold was feasting at York when he heard the news; but he marched to London with wonderful rapidity, where, in a week, he got his army into order, for it had been terribly shaken in the late battle, and then he marched towards Hastings to meet the invaders. He halted at a place which was then named Senlac, but which has ever since been called Battle, in memory of the great conflict which took place there. One day was spent in negotiations, but these led to nothing; and on the next day—Saturday, the 14th of October, 1066—the great struggle took place.

With the first dawn of morning the two armies were in readiness; Harold stood beneath his standard, which floated proudly in the air; and his noble figure, cased in bright armour, reflected the yet faint rays of the rising sun. Beside him were his two brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, and a band of the bravest nobles and chiefs of England. The Norman army was divided into three great columns, one of which was led by William himself; he rode on a spirited Spanish horse, and wore round his neck some of those saintly relics upon which Harold had sworn. Before his army rode a gigantic Norman, who sang gaily, in defiance of the English; and, throwing his sword frequently into the air with one hand, caught it with the other. An English knight rode out from the ranks to meet the arrogant giant, but the Norman ran him through the body; a second rode forward, and was felled to the earth; but a third knight went, trembling for the honour of his country, and striking at the Norman with his battle-axe, laid him dead at his feet. Then the Normans raised a great shout of, "*Dieu aide! Dieu aide!*" to which the English replied by another shout of, "Christ's rood!—the holy rood!" and the air was darkened by the flight of arrows, and rang with the stroke of battle-axes on the broad metal shields. The English foot-soldiers stood firm as a rock, and repelled the Norman horsemen, driving great numbers of them into a deep trench, artfully covered over with withered branches and grass, where they perished miserably. Then the Normans began to waver; and many said the duke was killed; but William tore off his helmet, that they might see his face, and rode like a madman through his army, shouting, "Here I am! look at me! I am still alive; and I will conquer by God's help."

Thus encouraged, the Normans charged again, and the wild roar of battle rose to the clouds; the dust was laid with streams of blood; and the trodden-down grass was no longer green, but red. Still the English stood firm; and their foes shrank in terror from the dreadful blows of their ponderous axes, which no armour could resist. "Shoot upwards," cried William to his archers; "shoot into the air, and let the arrows fall upon their faces!" This order was at once obeyed; and showers of arrows fell like hail upon the English, blinding and confusing them; yet, smarting in agony, they still fought like madmen. Then William and his horsemen pretended to retreat; the furious English followed them, when suddenly the horsemen turned round, the English fell into disorder, and were killed in great numbers. Three times was this stratagem repeated, and three times did it succeed. At length, Harold, who had fought all day like a lion, was shot in the left eye by an arrow: it pierced his brain, and the heroic Saxon fell dead upon the field. His nine months of kingship was purchased by an early and painful, though most glorious, death. The English now gave way, though they still fought for a time around their standard; and Harold's brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, were killed in defending it; but at length it was taken, and the consecrated banner of the Normans floated proudly in its place. The English then gave up in despair, and fled into the woods, the battle having lasted nine hours.

The sun set upon that field of blood; the roar of battle was succeeded by a solemn silence, broken only by the feeble wail of some wounded soldier dying in agony and solitude. Here and there gleamed the red torches of those who searched for some slaughtered friend; and, in the sad homes of England, thousands of newly-made widows wept for the death of those they had loved; and little orphans gazed in frightened wonder at a sorrow they did not yet understand. But William of Normandy sat in his tent carousing with his chiefs, and rejoicing in the fall of a nation's liberty.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FIRST, CALLED THE CONQUEROR.—A.D. 1066—1087.



HE Norman duke was so delighted with the great victory he had gained over the English, that he had a magnificent abbey erected on the spot, and called it Battle Abbey. When the building was just begun, it was discovered that there was a scarcity of water in that place, and it was suggested to William that a more favourable spot should be chosen. "Work on! work on!" said he; "if God gives me life, there shall be more wine for the monks of the abbey to drink than there is now clear water in the best convent in Christendom."

Though William had won the victory at Hastings, he soon discovered that he had not conquered the country; and a portion of his fleet which arrived afterwards, and landed by mistake at Romney, was attacked by the indignant people, and the marines and soldiers nearly all put to death. On hearing this, William marched to Romney; murdered great numbers of the inhabitants, and set fire to their houses. After this, he went to Dover, where, having burnt the town and captured the castle, he led his army direct to London. Many of the Saxon nobles and clergy were assembled there, and they chose Edgar Atheling, a grandson of Edmund Ironside, and crowned him as King of England; but on the approach of William, the Londoners, after a little fighting, were compelled to submit, and Edgar, who was a feeble-minded young man, submitted also, and voluntarily took the oath of allegiance.

William I., or as he is more commonly called, William the Conqueror, was crowned King of England, by Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminster Abbey, on Christmas Day, 1066. A Norman bishop asked the Normans, in French, if they would have William for their king, and they answered, "Yes," with a loud shout. Then Aldred, the Saxon Archbishop of York, put the same question to the English, and they raised their voices in the affirmative: they also joined in the shouting, which was misunderstood by the Norman soldiers outside the building, who thought the people had risen against William, so they instantly set fire to all the English houses near the abbey, and an alarm being spread, the nobles and attendants ran out of the church, and the half-crowned conqueror was left almost alone. Thus the ceremony was finished in great confusion; but William gave a solemn promise to treat the people as well as the best of their native kings had done.

For a time William behaved to the English with some lenity and consideration, and only confiscated the estates of those who had fallen in battle, or who would not submit to his authority. These estates were bestowed on his Norman followers; but they were not so easily satisfied; every one wanted an English estate or a rich English wife, and they cast their greedy eyes upon every Englishman's property, and behaved as insolently as they well could. They did this in hopes the people would rise in rebellion against their new king, so that there would be more confiscations, and more property to be shared among the Norman spoilers.

A few months after his victory at Hastings, William went over in triumph to Normandy, taking with him a great number of the English nobility. He left his half-brother Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and Fitzosborne, one of his most renowned knights, to govern England in his absence. Some writers suppose that William went to Normandy that his absence might encourage the English people to revolt, and so afford him an excuse, on his return, for greater severity than he had hitherto practised, and for giving all the estates of the English nobles and gentry to his Norman favourites. If this was his object, he certainly accomplished it: Odo acted so ill, that the whole country was indignant; the men of Kent rose in arms, but their insurrection met with no success. Then the men of Hereford, led by a chief called Edric the Forester, drove the Normans out of their county; and the two sons of the brave King Harold came with a number of ships from Ireland, and landed near Bristol. Unfortunately, the troops they brought with them plundered the country, and the Bristol people drove them away as enemies. But the hatred of the English for their Norman invaders increased; there was even a talk of a general massacre of them, like that to which the Danes were subjected in the reign of King Ethelred; and the Normans, in great terror, sent to King William, and implored him to return to England, which, after an absence of eight months, he did. He brought with him his wife, Matilda, who was crowned as Queen of England [A.D. 1068], by Aldred, Archbishop of York.

William thought matters had been carried too far, for he tried to pacify the people with soothing words, and declared that justice should be done equally, both to Saxons and Normans. Notwithstanding this, the men of Exeter rose and fought bravely against him for eighteen days, but they were compelled to submit.

The Conqueror next turned his arms against Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Gloucestershire, and defeated the native English there also, treating them with such severity that a great number fled in despair to the woods, and maintained themselves as robbers and outlaws. Then the Earls Edwin and Morcar took up arms, and a battle was fought between them and William, near the river Humber; but the Norman had a much larger army, and, as usual, he won the victory. The defeated English fled to York, but William followed them, and massacred nearly every one. He built a strong castle at that city, and left a large number of knights and soldiers to defend it, which they found it no easy work to do, for they could scarcely venture outside the walls in small parties without being set upon and murdered by the disinherited English, who infested the woods and glens.

William then thought he could extend his dominion still farther north; and he sent Robert de Comine, with 1,200 soldiers, to Durham. The bishop of that town came out, and warned him not to enter, as the inhabitants had determined to destroy him and his troops, or perish in the attempt to do so. Comine laughed at the warning, entered the town, and took up his lodging in the bishop's palace. His unruly soldiers murdered a few defenceless people, and then ate and drank until they fell asleep. In the darkness of night, signal-fires were seen blazing upon the neighbouring hills; and, with the dawn of morning, hosts of Englishmen rushed into Durham, and, falling upon the Norman soldiers, massacred them all.

The aroused Northumbrians did not rest here. They invited over an army of the Danes [A.D. 1069], who came in 240 ships, and, joining with the English nobles and Edgar Atheling, and supported by Malcolm, King of Scotland, fell upon the garrison at York, and put to death no less than 3,000 of the Norman invaders. When William received information of these events, he swore a terrible oath, that he would utterly exterminate the Northumbrian people. The following spring, he went to York with a powerful army, and did his best to fulfil his vow. He marched over the country from York to Durham, burning towns and villages; murdering men, women, and children—even killing the sheep and cattle. He strove to leave nothing alive; and the country, from the Humber to the Tyne, was one dismal, smoking ruin; while the roads were filled with ghastly, disfigured, and putrefying corpses. One old historian says that more than 100,000 victims perished. These inhuman horrors were followed by those of famine and pestilence. Such are the results of invasion and conquest.—After the suppression of this movement, Edgar Atheling returned to Scotland; and the king (Malcolm) soon after married Edgar's sister Margaret. Several nobles submitted to William; amongst them, Waltheof, one of the most important, whom the king created Earl of Huntingdon, Northampton, and Northumberland, and gave him his half-sister Judith in marriage. He seems, however, to have had an increasing dislike and fear of his English subjects, and he endeavoured, in all ways, to humble and crush them. Not content with confiscating their estates, he seized their money and furniture, saying, that they belonged to discontented, rebellious vassals; and he even attempted to abolish the English language, and substitute the Norman or French instead. Every kind of oppression and insult was resorted to, until the English were driven almost mad. A number of them went to Ely, then a sort of island, surrounded by swamps, and shallow streams of water; and there they raised a fortified place, which they called the Camp of Refuge. It was commanded by Hereward, the Lord of Bourn, in Lincolnshire, who, for his bravery and patriotism, was called "England's darling." Earl Morcar, and a great many nobles, priests, and people of all classes, flocked to it. The Norman tyrant became alarmed, and went into Cambridgeshire with an army, bent on his usual merciless work of extermination. But his soldiers could not cross the swamps and bogs to get at the English; and William, who was a man of great ability and resolution, built a wooden causeway, two miles in length, with little bridges over the streams, to enable his army to pass. During the progress of this work, Hereward used to attack and kill the workmen and soldiers in so sudden and mysterious a manner, and strike such terror into the Normans, that they believed he was in league with the devil. William was so frequently baffled, and so many of his soldiers were slain, that he began to think so too; and he determined to try a little witchcraft himself; and accordingly engaged a sorceress to assist him against the English. She was placed on the top of a movable wooden tower, to protect the works. The cunning Hereward, who was always on the watch, set fire to a large tract of dry reeds and rushes, and the flames spread with such fury, that the sorceress was burnt to death in her own tower; and hundreds of workmen and soldiers perished also. After some time spent in this resolute defence, famine [A.D. 1071] attacked the little island; and the monks of Ely, faithless to their countrymen, showed the Conqueror a way by which he could safely cross the fens, on condition that he would leave their monasteries untouched. The Normans rushed into the Camp of Refuge, and killing 1,000 Englishmen who opposed them, compelled the rest to submit. Some of these the merciless king condemned to have their eyes put out; others to have their right hands chopped off; others to lose a foot, or to pine for the rest of their lives in prison. This

was the fate of Earl Morcar; whilst Edgar Atheling, renouncing all claims to the throne, retired to Rouen, where he lived on a pension allowed him by the Conqueror. Edwin, Morcar's brother, attempting, when he heard of the defeat at Ely, to fly into Scotland, was betrayed by some of his followers, and slain by the Normans. The brave Hereward did not submit. He dashed through the marshes, where the Normans dared not follow him, gained his own estates in Lincolnshire, and still maintained himself against William, who at last entered into terms with an enemy whom he could not conquer, and permitted him to enjoy his estates in peace. The Normans had now been seven years in England, and during the whole of that time the Saxon population had struggled to regain their independence; but now their spirit was broken, and they submitted in moody silence.

The Conqueror did not obtain his own way in everything. He had promised the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son Robert, who, on account of the shortness of his legs, was called Curthose. When Robert attained his majority, he desired his father to fulfil his promise, and make him sovereign of Normandy; but the old king answered, "My son, I will not throw off my clothes until I go to bed!" meaning that he would not part with any of his authority until his death. Then Robert, who was passionate and impatient, rebelled [A.D. 1078] against his father, and gathering a small army, sailed over to the continent, and went to the castle of Gerberoy, in the Beauvoisis. From this place he used to issue forth occasionally, and plunder the surrounding country. In a furious rage King William went over to Normandy, and laid siege to Robert's castle. One day, the father and son, who did not recognise each other on account of the helmets they wore, met in fight together, and the prince wounded, and would have killed his father, had he not recognised his voice. Shocked at the dreadful crime he had so nearly committed, the prince fell on his knees and implored forgiveness. William rode away smarting from his wound, and bitterly cursing his son; but he afterwards forgave him, and they were reconciled. Prince Robert feared that this forgiveness was not sincere, so he fled from the court, followed by fresh curses from his father, whom he never saw again.

On William's return to England, he commenced [A.D. 1080] a survey of the whole country, which he entered in a book called Domesday Book, together with an account of the nature of the land, and, in some counties, the number of people who lived upon it. This interesting work is still in existence, and is preserved in the Chapter-house at Westminster. It is also said, that William made a law that all the people should extinguish their lights and fires on hearing the curfew-bell, which rung at sunset in summer, and at eight o'clock in winter. Some writers have doubted whether this regulation was made by William, and say that it was practised in England before his time, and also in other countries. It was probably not a tyrannical law, but merely a precaution against fires.

William had not time for many pleasures, but he was exceedingly fond of hunting. He had a number of royal parks and forests in different parts of the country, but he did not possess one near his favourite residence at Winchester. Therefore he seized a large part of Hampshire, and demolishing the towns and villages, he turned the land into a hunting-ground, and called it the NEW FOREST, driving away the people without any recompense, and leaving them to starve or to beg. Not contented with this, he made some stringent laws for the protection of the deer and game; for though he himself was so fond of hunting, he would not let any one else enjoy it without his permission. He decreed, that whoever killed a stag or a deer, should have his eyes torn out, and this barbarous punishment was frequently carried into effect. When age was growing upon William, his son Richard was gored to death in the New Forest by a stag, and the poor suffering people said it was God's judgment on him for his father's crime in laying waste the country.

William had a dispute with the King of France, to settle which, in 1087, he went over to the continent; but he fell ill, and was obliged to keep to his bed. He had grown exceeding fat and corpulent, and the French king made a vulgar joke about his great size, which put him into such a passion that he swore he would set all France in a blaze. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered, he led an army into the Isle de France, which burnt the ripe corn and pleasant villages, tore up the vines, and left nothing but black smoking ruins in its wake. This was the Conqueror's last burning and murdering excursion. Having set fire to the town of Mantes, and reduced it to ashes, he rode up to view the ruins, when his horse, treading upon some hot cinders, plunged violently, and threw its rider against the high pommel of the saddle. He was carried to Rouen, suffering great pain; the blow had produced an internal injury, and it was soon very plain that he was dying. For the sake of quiet he was removed to the monastery of St. Gervas, outside the city, and then he began to repent of the cruelties he had committed, and sent money to rebuild the churches he had burnt, and to reimburse the monasteries he had robbed: he also ordered the prisoners he had kept for years pining in dungeons to be released. Then he made his will, leaving Normandy to his son Robert, England to

William, and 5,000 pounds weight of silver to his youngest son, Henry.

The sun was rising in its power and beauty on a fine morning on the 9th of September, and gilding the ivy-decked walls of St. Gervas, within which the dying tyrant was roused from a dull stupor by the distant sound of bells. "What bells are those?" said he, faintly. His attendants told him that the bells were tolling the hour of prayer in the church of St. Mary. "I recommend my soul to my Lady Mary, the holy mother of God!" he exclaimed; and, breathing a deep sigh, he died.

Then the courtiers, knights, and priests abandoned the dead man, and rode off in a hurry to look after their own property; the servants cleared the room of everything of value, and rode away too; and the body of the Conqueror was tumbled from the bed, and left lying upon the ground, neglected and alone. His sons were absent; and there was no one even to discharge the funeral expenses of the man who was, a few hours before, the master of kingdoms. At length, a gentleman of the neighbourhood undertook to bury the body; and it was taken, by a procession of monks, to the church of St. Stephen, at Caen. On its way through the city a fire broke out, and those who had been following the coffin deserted it, and ran to extinguish the flames. But the funeral proceeded; the prayers were said; and, as the body was about to be lowered into the grave, the Bishop of Evreux spoke an oration in praise of the dead king. At the close of the bishop's address, a man stood boldly out from the crowd, and said, in a loud, stern voice, "Bishop, the man whom you have praised was a robber; the very ground on which we are standing is mine, and is the site where my father's house stood. He took it from me by violence, to build this church on it. I reclaim it as my right; and, in the name of God, I forbid you to bury him here, or cover him with my glebe!" This startling statement was notoriously true; and the bishop was obliged to promise the man 60*s.* for the grave, before he would allow the king's body to be buried there. Then it was lowered into the earth; and the great Conqueror, who, for twenty-one years, had been the scourge of England, was seen no more. He died in the year 1087, at the age of sixty-three. Besides his three sons, he left five daughters—Cicily, Constantia, Alice, Adela, and Agatha.

William was a man of stern and violent temper; haughty and unforgiving, cruel and avaricious; still he possessed great talents, especially those requisite for ruling rough and reckless people; and, if he was the greatest tyrant, he certainly was also the greatest prince of his time.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE SECOND, CALLED RUFUS, OR THE RED.—A.D. 1087—1100.



ILLIAM, who was called RUFUS, on account of his red hair, had left his dying father, and, without waiting to close the eyes of the parent who had bequeathed him a kingdom, hurried over to England to claim the crown. He first seized his father's treasures, and then induced Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to undertake his cause. That prelate hastily summoned a council of the chief bishops and barons, who decided that William should be King of England, according to the will of his late father; and that Robert, the eldest brother, must be contented with the duchy of Normandy. Some of the great barons would have preferred Robert; but he was absent, either in France or Germany, spending his time in dissolute and abandoned company; and therefore, on the 26th of September, in the year 1087, William Rufus was crowned King of England, at Westminster Abbey.

His first act of power was a very ungenerous one; he again imprisoned those Saxon nobles whom his father, on his death-bed, had caused to be set at liberty. Then he gave some of the gold and silver he found in the treasury to a goldsmith, to be worked into decorations for his father's tomb; but he would have merited the name of a good son far more had he attended to the old king in his dying hours, and have seen him laid in the grave in a becoming manner.

William had not long worn the crown before a conspiracy was formed among the Norman barons to dethrone him, and make his elder brother, Robert, king in his stead. Most of these barons had estates both in England and Normandy; and they thought, if those two countries were separated, and governed by different men, they would lose their property either in one or the other. Robert was crowned Duke of Normandy; and although he was an indolent and dissipated man, the barons preferred him to William; so they sent

messengers to him, who said it was unjust that he should only rule over a duchy, while his younger brother possessed a kingdom; and that, if he came to England with an army, the barons would rise in his favour, and make him king. Rufus, who was a brave, clear-headed man, learnt what was going on, and soon proved himself more than a match for his elder brother. He called the English chiefs together, made them a great many promises, and, having won their confidence, and gained their assistance, he scattered the Norman fleet, defeated the conspirators at home, and drove them out of the country.

Instead of ruling England, Robert soon showed that he was incapable of governing Normandy. His troublesome barons made war both upon him and upon one another; and a rich citizen, named Conan, conspired against him, and undertook to deliver up the city of Rouen to William, the English king. Robert was much distressed, for he had spent all his money in pleasure and rioting, and he could not maintain his authority without a further supply. In this difficulty he sold about a third of his Norman dominions to his younger brother Henry, for the small sum of £3,000. The two brothers joined their forces, and put down the conspiracy, shutting the traitor Conan up in a strong castle for the remainder of his life. Henry would have had him hanged or beheaded; but Robert, who was merciful and forgiving, said, "Let him live; imprisonment for life is a dreary and terrible thing; it is punishment enough!" The cool and vindictive Henry did not think so; and going to the castle where Conan was confined, he invited the captive to the top of a lofty tower, and pointed out to him the beauty of the scenery. The eyes of the traitor rested on the prospect with delight, and thoughts of future liberty and happiness no doubt filled his mind, when suddenly Henry seized him round the waist, and hurled him violently over the battlements. The body fell to the earth a crushed and lifeless heap, and the unmoved prince, whose savage love of vengeance induced him to forget his high rank, and personally discharge the revolting office of an executioner, turned to his astonished attendants, and remarked that it was not proper that a traitor should escape the death which he deserved.

Royalty seems often to extinguish natural affection. William Rufus, seeing the difficulties of his brother, in 1091 invaded Normandy, with the intention of seizing Robert's dominions. The interference of the French king as mediator led to the conclusion of a peace, very much to William's advantage, between the brothers; one condition being, that the survivor of the two should inherit the dominions of the other. No sooner were the two elder brothers reconciled, than they united in a quarrel against their younger brother Henry, who was so shrewd and clever that both of them were jealous of him. Henry took refuge in a strong castle built on the top of a lofty rock on the sea-shore. Here he might have remained safely enough, but there was no fresh water, and soon his soldiers were seized with the dreadful pangs of thirst. When Robert heard of this, instead of profiting by the calamity, he permitted the besieged men to come safely out of the castle and obtain water, and even sent his brother Henry a supply of wine for himself. The more resolute William Rufus was angry at what he deemed an act of foolish mercy; but the good-natured Robert said, "How can I suffer my brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?" Little, indeed, did he then think how this cruel and unnatural brother would, in after times, repay his forbearance, and that in imprisonment and blindness he would ever repent of his mercy.

But though William was stern to his enemies, and generally very rapacious and unforgiving, he had some rough generosity of feeling. Riding one day quite alone near the besieged fortress, he was attacked by two brawny soldiers in Henry's service. One of them struck him from his horse, and raised his sword to despatch him, when William exclaimed, "Hold, knave! I am the King of England." The soldier dropped his weapon, and raising the fallen monarch, expressed his regret for the violence he had committed. "Make no excuse," said Rufus, "thou art a brave knight, and henceforward shall fight under my banner." Then making the man a rich present, he took him into his own service. Soon after this Henry was compelled to submit; his brothers took away all his property, and allowed him to go to Brittany, where, for nearly two years, he wandered about in great poverty and distress.

When Rufus returned to England, he made war upon the Scotch, who had invaded and plundered a part of the country in his absence. He defeated them in two battles; in the last of which their king, Malcolm, was killed. Then William quarrelled again with his brother Robert, and war was renewed between them. After some reverses, William was gaining possession of Normandy, when he was obliged to return to England to fight the Welsh, who plundered and killed the people living on the English borders during his absence: but he defeated the invaders; pursued them over hill and dale, watering the virgin soil with blood, and manuring it with dead bodies, until he drove those hardy marauders into the wild recesses of their native mountains, though not without losing a great many of his own soldiers, and running many risks of defeat and disgrace. Immediately after this a conspiracy was got up against him in the north of England, by Robert Mowbray, the Earl of Northumberland; but the active

William crushed this too, and threw Mowbray into a dungeon at Windsor Castle, where, after lingering for thirty years in captivity, he died grey-haired and withered with age and sorrow.

After William had been king for about two years, Lanfranc, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and the king then took for his counsellor a dissolute priest, whose name was Ralph, but who, on account of his violence and extortions, was afterwards called Ralph Flambard, or the Firebrand. By his advice, William did not appoint a new archbishop, but kept the revenues of the see of Canterbury himself; and when any other bishops died he would not appoint successors, but seized the profits of their estates. This he did for about four years, when, being taken seriously ill, he became very penitent, and appointed a monk named Anselm to the archbishopric of Canterbury. But as soon as William recovered he forgot his penitence, laughed at his fears, and went on in his old course of extortion and injustice. Anselm expostulated with the king, and urged him to appoint bishops and abbots to the vacant places. "What!" said the Red King, "are not the abbeys my own? Do what you please with your property, but leave me the same liberty with mine." As he could make no impression on the king, Anselm went to Rome, and laid the dispute before the pope. Rufus confiscated the archbishop's estates for leaving the country without his permission; and when the pope sent a messenger to England, to demand the restitution of the property, Rufus swore that he would have his eyes torn out if he did not instantly leave the country. He did leave the country pretty quickly; and Anselm, knowing the king's temper, remained an exile during the life of Rufus.

At this period, a wonderful excitement arose in men's minds, and spread itself over a great part of Europe. Pious pilgrims had been in the habit of travelling to Jerusalem, to pray at the sepulchre of our Saviour. This they had been permitted to do by the Saracens, who possessed the city upon the payment of a trifling sum of money. But the Turks, who wrested Jerusalem from the Saracens, were not so tolerant, and under them the pilgrims were insulted, and sometimes cruelly treated. An enthusiastic and eloquent monk, named Peter the Hermit, who had performed the pilgrimage, was so indignant at the manner in which the Christians were treated, that he applied to the pope, Urban II., imploring him to rescue the Holy City from the hands of the unbelievers. The pope begged the assistance of the various monarchs of Europe in a cause which he assured them was so acceptable to God, and so serviceable to religion, and he called some great meetings to forward the purpose. In the meantime [A.D. 1094], Peter the Hermit visited the principal cities of Europe, preaching with great fervour and eloquence, and promising his listeners present glory on earth, and eternal happiness in heaven, if they would enlist in the holy cause, and fight for the rescue of the tomb of the Saviour from the hands of scoffers. His eloquent appeals had great effect; the enthusiasm became almost universal; men of all ranks flew to arms, and princes and peasants were equally ready to depart for Palestine. Such was the excitement, that even women disguised themselves as men, and mingled in the armies. But they were not all religious people who went to the Holy Land; great numbers of them were idle, ill-disposed men, ready to join in any scheme that would give them opportunities for violence and plunder; others were great criminals, robbers, and murderers, who trusted that, by serving in a cause which was considered holy, they would obtain pardon for their crimes. Indeed, every country sent forth its ruffians and vagabonds, very sincerely hoping, no doubt, that they might never return.

Robert, the Duke of Normandy, was most anxious to lead an army to Jerusalem; but, as usual, this good-tempered, dissipated prince had no money, so he offered to sell the government of Normandy to his brother, the King of England, for five years, for the sum of £10,000. William, who cared nothing about the crusade, as this religious war was called, or indeed about religion at all, gladly accepting the offer, paid the sum required; and when the foolish Robert went to Palestine [A.D. 1095], he sailed over to Normandy, and took possession of that country. The Normans generally submitted very quietly to this change of rulers; but the people of Maine objected to be sold in any such manner, and they revolted against him. He was, however, as active and clever in putting down rebellions as his father, the Conqueror, had been: he soon compelled the people of Maine to recognise his authority; and that effected, he returned again to England.

About three years afterwards, as William was hunting in the New Forest, he received intelligence that the men of Maine had again rebelled against him. Instantly he gave up the chase, and rode off to the nearest sea-port town. His astonished courtiers reminded him that it was necessary to wait for the collection of an army. "Not so," answered the brave and energetic king; "I shall see who will follow me; and, if I understand the temper of the youth of this kingdom, I shall have people enough."

Reaching the coast, he embarked in the first vessel he found there. The wind blew furiously; great waves rolled past the ship, and broke upon the shore; the sailors were alarmed, and begged him to wait until the wind was hushed. "Weigh anchor, hoist sail, and

begone," was the impatient answer of Rufus; "did you ever hear of a king that was drowned?" He landed safely; and the news of his arrival dispersed the rebels, as they supposed that he must have brought a great army with him, and fled before they had time to learn the truth. The Red King then took to burning and laying waste the country, after the fashion of his father; but, in consequence of a wound he received, he again returned to England.

William obtained a great deal of money from constantly robbing the church; and the neighbouring princes on the continent believed him to be very rich: so another petty French sovereign, William, Duke of Guienne and Count of Poitiers, who, after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099, wanted to join the crusade, offered to sell him his dominions. William accepted the offer, and began to collect the money, when an incident occurred which put an end to his bargains and battles for ever.

Rufus was very fond of hunting, and frequently enjoyed that amusement in the forest his father had made with so much cruelty, by pulling down the towns and villages upon it, and driving away the inhabitants. The people said the New Forest was haunted by fiends and spectres, who might be seen in the dark nights gliding about among the trees, and uttering wild cries and moans. It was regarded as a cursed place, on account of the evil that had been done there, and the English people did not like even to wander near it. Among other stories that were told, one was, that a terrible demon had appeared there to some Norman hunters, and revealed to them that a dark punishment would fall upon the Red King in the shady glens of this wild forest. These tales, the result of ignorance and superstition, caused the New Forest—which was gloomy and solemn enough at night, with the wind making a rustling and moaning noise through the leaves and branches, and now and then some startled deer fleeing into the dark coverts—to be regarded as a haunted spot. But no spirit, good or evil, ever wandered there: the place was pure and innocent enough; and the only demons who frequented its grassy plains were the Norman tyrants who hunted over them. However, as the Conqueror's eldest son was gored to death in that forest by a deer, and a son of Duke Robert's was accidentally shot there by an arrow, no wonder, in that superstitious age, that the ignorant people connected these facts with supernatural visitations; or that they should think and say that more blood of the Norman's family would be spilt upon that fatal ground.

On the 2nd of August, 1100, William Rufus, with a large and merry party of courtiers, went to the New Forest to hunt. Among the party was his younger brother Henry, to whom he had been reconciled; and who, a short time previous, had come to England from Brittany. The king had slept the night before at a lodge in the forest, and was roused from his sleep by a frightful dream; but when the morning broke, and the sun shone brightly into his chamber, he rose in great spirits, and ate and drank heartily. An artisan brought him six new arrows, which he admired for the neatness of their make; and, turning to his bow-bearer, Sir Walter Tyrrel, he gave him two of them, saying pleasantly, "Good weapons are due to the sportsman who knows how to make a good use of them." Then a monk came hurriedly forward to seek the king; he had been sent from the abbey of St. Peter's, at Gloucester, to warn William not to hunt that day, for one of the monks had dreamt that a sudden and awful death awaited him. Rufus laughed, and exclaimed, "The man is a right monk, and to have a piece of money he dreameth such things. Give him 100 pence, and bid him dream of better fortune to us." Then, turning to his bow-bearer, he added, "To horse, Walter!"

Away rode the hunters, their spurs and weapons jingling, and the forest echoing with their shouts. The panting deer fled before them; and when the poor animals fell dying in the long rank grass, the royal party raised a loud laugh of joy and triumph. The day wore away, and the red sun was sinking in the west, when the king and Sir Walter found themselves separated from the rest of the party. Suddenly a noble stag bounded between them; the king drew his bow, but the string snapped. "Shoot, Walter!" he called to his companion, who stood at some little distance from him; "shoot, in the devil's name!" Tyrrel did shoot; the barbed arrow whizzed through the air, glanced aside against a tree, and entered the bosom of the Red King. It had pierced his heart, and, with a groan, he fell dead upon the sward.

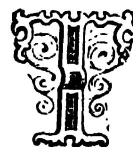
Terrified at the accident, Sir Walter Tyrrel fled to Normandy, and at night the body of the king was found by a poor charcoal-burner, who put it, all stained with dust and blood, into his cart, and drove with it to Winchester. Then the courtiers assembled, and buried their king there, in the cathedral church of St. Swithin's, and many eyes gazed upon the royal grave, but none were wet with tears. He was killed in the thirteenth year of his reign, and about the fortieth of his age.

Sir Walter Tyrrel afterwards declared that he did not shoot the arrow, but that the king was assassinated by some unseen hand. This might be true, for Rufus had many enemies; and even his brother Henry, who was quite wicked enough for such a deed, has been suspected of his murder: but it is likely that Sir Walter feared to acknowledge that, even by accident,

thousands of the bravest and noblest British youths having been taken away by the emperors to fight the battles of Rome. Nearly one hundred years passed in this manner, when the Roman emperor, Honorius [A.D. 395—425], formally gave up his claim to Britain, and acknowledged the independence of its people. After so many years of war, they seem to have parted as pretty good friends at last; and the incursions of the Scots and Picts continuing, in A.D. 446, the Britons addressed their old enemies in a very humble letter, which they called "The Groans of the Britons." It said—"The barbarians chase us into the sea; and the sea throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves." But the great Roman power was now failing; it could scarcely defend itself against its own enemies, and was no longer strong enough to assist the Britons against theirs. Five hundred years had elapsed since Julius Cæsar first came from Gaul. Notwithstanding all the dreadful wars and acts of cruelty which had taken place during this long time, the invasion of the Romans had effected some good. They had taught the poor islanders many of the arts and graces of civilised life; they had dug wells, constructed roads and bridges, and, what was far more valuable and important still, it was from Rome, during this period, that the early Christians came to Britain, and won its people from the gloomy and savage superstitions of the Druids, to the mild and gentle precepts of the Saviour of the world. The Druids uttered terrible curses against the teachers of the new religion, and threatened them with the vengeance of their gods. As these deities were perfectly imaginary, the threats and curses had no effect, and the principles of Christianity spread rapidly in the rude forest-towns of Britain. The Romans, however, had previously introduced the magnificent idolatry of their own country, and even erected temples for the worship of Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, and Venus. Our fine cathedral of St. Paul's, at London, is supposed to stand on the same lofty spot which in those remote times was occupied by a pagan temple dedicated to Diana. But the people were disgusted by the avarice and cruelty of the pagan priesthood, and the religion of ancient Rome never took deep root in the soil of Britain.

CHAPTER III.

THE SAXONS AND THE HEPTARCHY.—A.D. 449—827.



THE Britons were terribly harassed by the Picts and Scots; they were also constantly fighting among themselves; and the religious quarrels between the Druids and Christians, increased the difficulties of their position: the followers of the false and the True God were alike harsh and vindictive against each other; and the holy doctrines of the blessed Saviour, which should have been a fountain of peace and love, were turned aside from their proper uses, and produced fresh quarrels and distress. Things were in this state when VORTIGERN, a British prince, determined [A.D. 449] to invite the Saxons, who sometimes plundered the Kentish coast, to join the Britons in defeating their other enemies; and he promised, for this assistance, to give them the Isle of Thanet to live in. These Saxons were a brave, hardy, but barbarous race of people, who inhabited the north-west of Europe, from the Cimbric Chersonesus, or Denmark, to the Rhine. Though known under the general name of Saxons, they consisted of three different tribes, called the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons. All three of the tribes sent warriors to Britain; and from the Angles the name England is derived.

The Saxons eagerly accepted the invitation of Vortigern; and Hengist and Horsa, two chieftains, who were brothers, came over [A.D. 450], bringing with them a little army in three vessels. At first, they behaved very justly to their British friends, and drove the Picts and Scots from the country. Then they invited the British king, Vortigern, to a feast, where the young and beautiful Rowena, who was Hengist's daughter, went and knelt gracefully before Vortigern, and, with a sweet smile, presented him with a golden goblet, full of wine, saying—"Dear king, your health." Vortigern fell deeply in love with this fair Saxon girl, as her father, no doubt, wished and expected that he would do; and, in a short time, the British prince and the Saxon maiden were married, and ruled together, Vortigern renouncing Christianity for her sake. But the Saxons soon wished to obtain the whole of the island for themselves; and quarrels began to arise between them and the Britons. Crowds of Saxons continually came over to Britain, and settled there,

driving the original owners of the land away, or else fighting with, and killing them. The Britons had not quite lost their old courage, and a great many fierce battles took place accordingly; but still the bold Saxons contrived to settle in the land, in spite of all opposition. One body of them founded a little kingdom in the east of Britain, and called it ESSEX; another body settled in the west, and named their country WESSEX. Then came a great number of the Angles, who were divided into two parties, the Southfolk and the Northfolk, and settled in those parts of the country which have ever since borne the names of Suffolk and Norfolk. At length, after a hundred and fifty years of fighting, in the course of which the Britons were driven into those parts of the country we now call Wales and Cornwall, seven small kingdoms were established in the land—viz., Kent; South Saxons, or Sussex; West Saxons, or Wessex; East Saxons, or Essex; Northumbria; East Angles, or Anglia; and Mercia;—which are known as THE HEPTARCHY, or seven Saxon kingdoms. This part of our history may be passed over very briefly, for two reasons: one, that very little is known about it that can be perfectly depended upon; the other, that what is known is very little more than a succession of battles, and acts of robbery, which are tedious to relate, and not very instructive or useful to listen to.—During this period [A.D. 506—542], the famous King Arthur is supposed to have lived. But though we read so much of him in the old Sagas and chronicles, it is very doubtful if ever there was such a person at all; or, if there were, whether he had not the heroic deeds of a number of people attributed to him. It is most probable that he was a poetical or imaginary character, invented by the ancient British bards to keep alive the spirit and bravery of their countrymen. If he really was a British prince at this time, instead of constantly beating his enemies, he was constantly beaten by them, and would not have been very likely to obtain the reputation of being a brave and successful warrior.

When the Saxons arrived here, the Christian religion was widely spread through the country. Under the Saxons, who were heathens, that religion was almost lost and extinguished. The superstitions of the Saxons, like those of the Druids, were wild and savage. They supposed that an imaginary being, whom they called Odin, was the father of the gods. He was named the terrible and severe god, the god of battles, and the father of slaughter. His wife, Frigga, or Frea, was the goddess of love and pleasure. They worshipped several false gods: Thor, who presided over tempests; Balder, over light; Kiord, over the seas and rivers; whilst Tyr was the god of heroes; Brage, of orators and poets; and Heimdal, the door-keeper of heaven, and the guardian of the rainbow. Besides these, there was an almost endless number of inferior gods and goddesses, genii, and spirits. Those Saxons, they said, who were brave in battle, should, when they died, ascend to Valhalla, where they would spend their days in fighting, and their nights in feasting, and drinking good draughts of mead out of the skulls of their enemies; but the cowardly and idle people, after death, would go to Niflheim, where they would dwell in the palace of Anguish, and be fed from the table of Famine. These were the strange and fanciful ideas the Saxons had upon the subject of religion; but during the Heptarchy all this was destined to pass away, and the Christian religion to take the place of this wild and brutal superstition.

The seven kingdoms of Britain, though they were each ruled by a distinct sovereign, ultimately recognised one of the seven monarchs as a chief over all the rest, and they called him the Bretwalda, that is, supreme commander or Emperor of Britain. The dignity was elective; and Ethelbert, King of Kent [A.D. 560—616] was the third Bretwalda, and one of the most important, as through him the Christian religion was restored to the land. Ethelbert had married a young and very beautiful woman, who was a Christian, and she begged her husband to permit her to follow the religion in which she had been educated. To this he consented, for he seems to have been a just and good man, though he did worship Odin: perhaps the gentle submissive manner of his queen attracted him to the religion she followed. However this may be, Augustin, a Roman monk, induced King Ethelbert to be a Christian; and the king having become one, a great many of his subjects very speedily followed his example. Augustin was a prudent man: and, instead of destroying the temples of the old religion, he converted them into Christian churches; and such was the success resulting from his labours, that, in less than ninety years after he came to England, Christianity was established over the whole country: not, however, suddenly; there was a great deal of changing and occasional going back to the old superstitions, as might naturally be expected among an ignorant people; but the truth triumphed at last, as it usually does.

The fourth Bretwalda was Redwald, the King of East Anglia [A.D. 599—624], who erected a Christian altar by the side of a statue of Odin, that he might please the deities both of Christianity and paganism. The fifth Bretwalda, Edwin, King of Northumbria [A.D. 617—634], was a wise and good man, who governed so well that a young timid girl might walk from one town to another without any fear of violence or rudeness from the rough people, half soldiers, half peasants, whom she chanced to meet. Edwin lost his life in a battle with Penda, King of Mercia; and, after a short

he had slain his king, and therefore misrepresented the story.

Rufus was unjust, rapacious, domineering, and sometimes cruel; but he possessed great bravery, decision, and talent, and was both a better man and a better king than his father. He had quarrelled with the monks, and robbed and abused them; and the monks, who were the only authors of that age, took their revenge by writing his life, and blackening his memory. But, with all his faults, he spent a part of his wealth in improving the country, and certainly left it in a better and more tranquil condition than that in which he found it at the commencement of his reign.

CHAPTER X.

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FIRST, CALLED BEAUCLERK, OR FINE SCHOLAR.—A.D. 1100—1135.



PRINCE HENRY soon learnt the news of his brother's death: but instead of going to perform the last duties which humanity, if not affection, exacts from us towards the dead, he rode away, as fast as he could, to secure the royal treasure at Winchester. When he arrived there, breathless with haste, William de Breteuil, the treasurer, refused to give him the keys. "You and I," said that upright officer, "ought to remember the faith we have pledged to your brother, Duke Robert; he has received our oath of homage, and, present or absent, has a right to this money."

Henry paid very little regard to an oath; so drawing his sword, he threatened to kill the treasurer unless he gave him the keys; and as some powerful barons who entered sided with him, De Breteuil was forced to resign them. Having by this violent and dishonest act secured the treasure which belonged to his elder brother, Henry hurried to London, and collecting a great assembly of prelates and nobles, he, by bribes and promises, induced them to proclaim him king; and three days after the death of Rufus—on the 5th of August—he was crowned at Westminster Abbey.

But where was Robert Curthose, the Conqueror's eldest son, to whom the right of succession really belonged? He had led an army to Jerusalem, to assist in recovering the tomb of our Saviour from the hands of the Turks; there he had fought with such courage and intrepidity, that when he returned to Europe he was received and honoured everywhere as a hero. In battle he was as brave and successful as, in the art of government, he was incapable and unfortunate. Passing through the sunny land of Italy, he was honourably entertained at the baronial residence of many a Norman noble, and he remained for some time at the castle of Count Conversano, standing pleasantly situated on a hill not far distant from the Adriatic sea, from which soft breezes tempered the glowing heat of summer. Behind the castle were the thick forests and the rich plains of Apulia, and above them rose the dim blue outlines of the distant mountains. Besides the natural attractions, there were horses, hawks, and hounds, minstrels and *jongleurs*, and all the amusements in which nobles of that age indulged. These delights were very much to the taste of the brave but indolent Robert, and he remained among them so long, that he lost the crown of England. But a greater charm than all these principally caused him to prolong his stay; the count had a beautiful and gentle daughter, named Sibylla, whom Duke Robert loved and married, and then there was so much feasting and rejoicing, that when he arrived in Normandy, Rufus had been dead some weeks.

Robert was joyfully received by the Norman people, and he determined on an attempt to gain the crown of England; but he had a cunning and remorseless adversary in his brother. Henry, knowing that he had no right to the throne, endeavoured, by many artful means, to obtain the affections of the people, the barons, and the clergy. He gave the people a charter of liberties, in which he promised to do justice to every one without regard to rank; he promised to fill up all the bishoprics which Rufus had kept vacant; and he put Ralph Flambard, who was universally disliked, into prison. Then he proposed to marry the lady Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III., the King of Scotland, who was a descendant of the Saxon kings of England, her mother being sister to Edgar Atheling; and Henry knew how the people would rejoice to see one of that race again upon the throne, and that the alliance would greatly strengthen his claim. But the Normans did not wish Henry to marry a Saxon lady, and they said that Matilda, who had been brought up in a convent, had taken the veil. The young lady, who had no objection to become a queen, denied this, and said that her aunt had compelled her to wear a black veil to protect her

from the rudeness of the Norman soldiers; but that she had never become a nun, and was free to marry if she pleased. The clergy decided that this was correct, and accordingly Matilda and Henry were married, to the great joy of the people; and thus the Norman and Saxon races began to mingle together, until at last all distinction was lost between them, and they became one great united nation. Matilda was a loving gentle wife, and very accomplished and charitable; but Henry was by no means an excellent husband; for, besides being very inattentive to his queen, he was much too gay in his conduct to other ladies.

Ralph Flambard made himself very merry in prison, and laughed and joked with his keepers, until they began to be quite attached to him; and one day they permitted a rope to be sent into his room, concealed in an immense flagon of wine. The guards drank the wine until they all became tipsy, and then Ralph took the rope, and getting out at the window, slid to the ground, and escaped to Normandy, where he offered his services to Duke Robert. Roused by the representations of the active Flambard, Robert came over with an army to England to claim the crown. Henry was not behindhand; he also had collected an army, and the forces met; but as the Normans were averse to make war upon their own countrymen, peace was made between the brothers, and Robert gave up England for a yearly pension of 3,000 marks, and retired to Normandy.

Many of the great Norman barons had been favourable to the cause of Robert, and Henry therefore determined upon their ruin. He summoned Robert de Belesme, the Earl of Shrewsbury, to answer some charges against him; upon which the earl, who knew that he was marked for destruction, armed his vassals, and defied the king. But the contest was a very unequal one; Belesme was driven from his strong castle, and banished the country. His two brothers, who were powerful nobles, were banished also; and in this manner Henry got rid, one by one, of the barons whose fidelity towards him he at all suspected. This was a violation of the peace between Robert and himself, for he had sworn to pardon every one who had shown a preference for that prince's claim to the English crown. The generous Robert came to England without any army, to expostulate with his brother, and plead the cause of the banished barons. The treacherous Henry pretended to be delighted to see him; but in reality he made him a prisoner, and would not let him go until he had promised to give up the pension for which he had sold his right to England.

Robert then returned to Normandy; he had lost his beautiful Italian wife Sibylla, who left him an infant son, and he became careless and dissolute again. His low favourites robbed him of everything, even of his clothes, and he is said to have sometimes lain in bed all day, because he had not proper apparel to put on. His barons oppressed the people, and made war upon each other, and the country was thrown into confusion. Indeed, Robert was very unfit to govern, so his crafty brother determined on seizing Normandy, and governing it for him: not from any wish to restore order and prosperity, but because he had an intense desire to extend his dominion, and to tear from his brother the little wealth and power which his craft had left that simple and dissolute ruler. Henry went twice over to Normandy with an army; and the second time [A.D. 1106] he defeated Robert in the battle of Tenchebrai, and took him prisoner, after a valiant resistance. Thus Normandy was subdued and made subject to England—singularly enough, upon the very day forty years after William the Conqueror had first landed in this country. Edgar Atheling, who had accompanied Robert in the crusades, and had joined the army with him, was also taken prisoner at the battle of Tenchebrai, and brought to England, where he lived on a small pension allowed him by Henry.

The captive duke was carried to England, and shut up in Cardiff Castle, Glamorganshire. At first he was allowed some little liberty; but as he very naturally attempted to escape, the cold-hearted, remorseless king ordered his sight to be destroyed by scorching his eyes with a red-hot copper basin. This savage act was executed upon the brother who a few years before had pitied him, and saved him from perishing by thirst. Duke Robert, blind and desolate, separated from his young son, and, doubtless, thinking often of the beautiful wife he had been so proud of, and of the lovely gardens and rich olive groves near the shores of the Adriatic, where he first beheld her—perhaps thankful, too, that she had died before these sad troubles came upon him—wore out eight-and-twenty long gloomy years of captivity, and died at last in prison [A.D. 1134], at the age of eighty;—a sad fate; and sadder still, from the reflection that this prolonged misery was inflicted by the hand of a brother.

When Henry first seized the crown of England, he recalled Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, not from any religious motive, but because that stern ecclesiastic was much loved by the people; and Henry wished, by gratifying them, to obtain their affection, and so seat himself more securely on the throne. But Anselm had not returned long before a quarrel arose between him and his sovereign, which threatened very serious consequences. The subject of dispute was, whether the king or the pope should appoint the bishops of this country. The king very naturally thought that he had a right to appoint bishops to

vacant sees in the land of which he was the chief ruler; but the pope, Pascal II., contended that he was the representative on earth of the Divine Saviour; that the scriptures proved that Christ was the door through which all priests must enter the church; and that as he was the representative of Christ, no bishop could be properly appointed except by him. The king said he would rather lose his crown than part with his right in the appointment of his bishops; and the pope replied, that he would rather lose his head than allow him to retain it.

When bishops took possession of their ecclesiastical rank, they received from the hands of the king a ring and a crozier, as tokens of the authority confided to them; this was called their investiture; they in return submitted themselves to his power; and this action was called their homage. Now as the king might refuse to grant the investiture, or receive the homage, he had in reality the power of refusing any candidate whom he did not like. It was the exercise of this power that the pope objected to, and which the king determined to retain. The dispute on this subject arose during the reign of Rufus, and was revived by Anselm refusing to do homage to Henry for his archbishopric. After some years of discussion, during which the pope several times threatened to excommunicate Henry, the matter was compromised by the king giving up the right of investiture, and the pope permitting the bishops to do homage to their sovereign. Three years after this settlement Anselm died, very much to the joy of the crafty Henry, who kept the see of Canterbury vacant for five years, and put its rich revenues in his own pocket.

Soon after Robert of Normandy had been taken prisoner by his unnatural brother, his little son, who was but five years old, was seized and brought to his uncle. Henry longed to murder the poor boy, as in him his father's right to the throne would be preserved; but the child's tears softened him for a moment, and he gave him into the custody of a kind-hearted Norman nobleman, who was called Helie de St. Saen. Henry soon repented of his mercy, and sent some soldiers to bring back the child. St. Saen, suspecting the motives of the king, fled with the boy to the continent; and William Fitz-Robert, as he was called, grew up to be a brave, handsome young man. He was protected by the French king, Louis VI., and by the Earls of Flanders and Anjou; and the latter promised to give him his daughter for a wife when he should be old enough to marry. The frontiers of Normandy were invaded by these allied princes, and a petty war was carried on for about two years. Henry lost many towns and castles, and began to be very much alarmed, especially as he heard that a plot was formed to assassinate him. Powerful as he was, he lived in fear of his blind, helpless brother, who was wasting away his life in prison, and that brother's brave young son, whom he thought might live to revenge the fate of his father. For a long time King Henry slept with a sword by his bed-side; and if any noise woke him in the night he started in terror, believing it to be the stealthy footstep of an assassin. At last he bribed Fulk, the Earl of Anjou, to desert Fitz-Robert; and proposed that the earl's daughter should be married to his own son, William, instead of to the fugitive prince. This offer the earl accepted, and, in consequence, abandoned the cause of the son of Duke Robert.

In A.D. 1110 Henry contracted his daughter Matilda, who was a little girl only eight years old, to the emperor, Henry V., of Germany, to whom she was afterwards married. It was agreed that an immense dower should be paid with her; and he taxed the people with great severity to enable him to raise the money, demanding from each of them the instant payment of a considerable sum. Soon after a war with the Welsh arose. They had began plundering in their old way, but were driven back into the mountains. In 1118 Henry lost his Saxon wife, who had been much loved by the nation, and was called Matilda the Good; indeed, every one loved her except her husband, who was so selfish and cold-hearted that he seems to have cared for no one except his children. About the same time, owing to the King of France, Louis VI., and several other continental princes, having embraced the cause of William Fitz-Robert, Henry became engaged in a continental war, which continued for seven years. He joined his forces in Normandy; and at the battle of Brenville, as it is called, which took place near the town of Noyon, Louis VI. was riding at the head of 400 knights, when he was met by Henry of England with 500. A general encounter took place, during which Henry was twice struck upon his steel helmet by a French count, but was not much hurt. After fighting some time, the French knights declared themselves beaten; and although 140 of them were taken prisoners, the dead on both sides only amounted to *three!* A great many compliments were passed from side to side, respecting each other's bravery, the captive knights were ransomed, and this battle ended the war. Though the French king had taken up arms chiefly to serve the cause of William Fitz-Robert, and place him on the English throne, yet, in the treaty of peace, the cause of the young prince was quite forgotten.

The king's son, Prince William, was now eighteen years of age, and before returning to England, Henry caused the Norman barons [A.D. 1120] to swear fealty to him as their future sovereign. When the ceremony of swearing allegiance was over, King Henry, with his train and the young prince, embarked at Barfleur, to

return to England. Before they entered the ship, Fitz-Stephen, a mariner, knelt to the king, and said, "Sire king, my father served yours all his life by sea, and it was he who steered the ship in which your father sailed for the conquest of England. I beg you to grant me the same office in fief; I have a vessel called the *White Ship*, well equipped and manned with fifty skilful mariners." The king had chosen his vessel, and therefore could not grant Fitz-Stephen's request; but he said that Prince William and his friends and attendants should sail in the *White Ship*. Then the king embarked, and a gentle south wind sprung up, and with music and rejoicing the royal fleet sailed over the calm sea.

The *White Ship*, however, remained by the shore: it contained the prince, his half-sister Lady Marie, a crowd of young nobles, and many high-born and beautiful women. Fitz-Stephen declared that his vessel would fly like a bird over the waters, and soon overtake the rest; so three casks of wine were given to the sailors; the prince and his companions feasted upon the deck; and the young nobles and the lovely court ladies, with their golden ringlets floating in the sea-breeze, danced till darkness put an end to the revelry. When the ship started, the sailors were all intoxicated; but fifty stout fellows sat down to the oars, and the vessel glided rapidly over the waters. Though in November, it was a clear, moonlight night, and the mirth still continued; the prince encouraged the mariners to row faster yet, and overtake the fleet: they increased their exertions, and the vessel appeared to fly through the waters. Suddenly a great shock was felt—it had struck upon a rock: the water rushed in, and a wild cry of terror rose into the air. Destruction was certain; but the brave Fitz-Stephen, true to his trust, hurried the prince and some of his companions into a boat, saying to them, "Row to the shore, and save yourselves; the rest must perish."

The prince put off from the devoted ship; but his half-sister Marie, with frantic shrieks, implored him to return for her. He was touched with pity, and put back to take her into the boat; such numbers leaped in that it upset, and the prince, his sister, nobles, mariners, and all, were drowned! Then the *White Ship* sank too; and of 300 people who had embarked in it, but three were left struggling with the waters. Two of these were Berold, a butcher of Rouen, and Godfrey, a young noble, who were left clinging to a piece of the floating wreck. The third was Fitz-Stephen, the brave but foolish captain; swimming towards them, he asked what had become of the prince? They answered, he was lost: only they remained alive. "Woe, woe to me!" he exclaimed; and, without any further effort to save himself, sank to the bottom. After clinging for some hours to the fragment of the wreck, the young noble was numbed with the cold, and exhausted; so recommending his companion to the mercy of God, he let go his hold, and sinking down through the dark deep waters, was seen no more. The butcher was a stronger man, and still clung fast; and when the morning dawned, some fishermen saw him from the shore, and put off in a boat, and saved him. Of all that gay and brilliant company—brave men and beautiful women—this poor man, in his rough sheep-skin coat, was the only one left alive.

The sad news soon reached England, but no one dared tell the king; and for three days Henry was anxiously expecting his son. Then the courtiers sent a little boy to him, who cried bitterly, and falling at the king's feet, said that the *White Ship* was lost, and every one in it was drowned. Henry fell senseless to the ground; and from that moment, it is said, he never was seen to smile.

When the king recovered from this shock he married again [A.D. 1121], in the hope of having a son to whom he could leave his crown. His second wife was Adelais, the daughter of the Duke of Louvain; but as three or four years passed away, and she brought him no children, he determined that his daughter Matilda, who had been married to the Emperor of Germany, but was now a widow, should succeed him as sovereign of England and Normandy. The barons were indignant at the idea of being governed by a woman; but Henry, by bribes and promises, induced them to swear to secure her succession; and as perjury had come to be regarded merely as a fashionable vice in his court, they all took an oath, which none of them intended to keep. The king [A.D. 1127] married his daughter to Geoffrey, the son of Fulk, Count of Anjou. All distinguished people seem to have had a nick-name in those days; and Geoffrey was called Plantagenet, because he used to wear a sprig of the Spanish broom plant—called by the French *planta genista*—in his cap. From this incident arose a name which, in after years, became famous in English history. In this marriage, King Henry was influenced by motives of policy; the Earls of Anjou had long been troublesome enemies, and now this match bound them to him as friends.

Through the influence of the French monarch, William Fitz-Robert had been created Earl of Flanders in the place of Charles the Good, who was murdered in a church at the foot of the altar. At first, the Flemish people made no objection; but shortly after they rebelled against their new ruler, and were secretly assisted by King Henry, who never relaxed the jealous hatred he bore to his brother's son. Fitz-Robert was an active soldier, and obtained a victory over his enemies [A.D. 1128]; but he received a wound in his

hand, which mortified, and caused his death. Thus was Henry rid of one whom he hated, and who he feared might succeed him on the throne.

Henry spent the last four years of his reign abroad, being, during that time, constantly disturbed by the quarrels between his daughter Matilda and her husband Geoffrey Plantagenet. His health and spirits began to decline; and having one night eaten heartily of lampreys, they brought on indigestion, which turned to fever, and after seven days' illness, he died at midnight, on the 1st of December, 1135; being sixty-seven years old, and having reigned thirty-five. His body was brought to England, and buried at Reading Abbey.

Henry had great natural talents; and his learning was so extensive that he was called BEAUCLERK, or the FINE SCHOLAR; he was very proud of this distinction; used to say that an ignorant king was no better than a crowned ass; and in the lawless age of violence in which he lived, he zealously endeavoured to establish the supremacy of intellect over force. He delighted in the society of poets and learned men, whom he respected and honoured; he caused the laws to be fairly and justly administered, his people calling him the "Lion of Justice;" and, during his reign, the social condition of the people was greatly improved, and the prosperity of the kingdom increased. Undoubtedly his ambition led him into great crimes; and he committed many acts that cannot be justified. Still, he was a wise and successful king, and he left his dominions in a state much superior to that which he found them when he ascended the throne.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REIGN OF KING STEPHEN.—A.D. 1135—1154.



HENRY had caused the barons to swear that his daughter Matilda, the ex-empress of Germany, and wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, should succeed to his crown. The king was exceedingly anxious upon this point, and took every precaution to secure his daughter's succession; but no sooner had the grave been closed over his remains, than his plans were defeated by the appearance of another candidate for the vacant throne, in the person of his nephew, Stephen.

This Stephen was son of Adela, a daughter of William the Conqueror, and wife to the Count of Blois. The late king had invited two of her sons to England, and acted very generously towards them. Henry, who was a priest, he made Abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of Winchester; while to Stephen he gave a rich and amiable wife, who brought him the sovereignty of Boulogne and some rich estates in England.

But Stephen's ambition made him forget this kindness: he had long cherished a secret hope of obtaining the English crown; and when the news of his uncle's death reached him, he hurried to Winchester and seized the royal treasures. Most of the barons and clergy were quite ready to forget the oaths they had sworn to Matilda, and to acknowledge Stephen as their king; but the Archbishop of Canterbury objected, and Stephen could not be crowned without him: so he bribed the steward of the late king's household to swear, that Henry, on his death-bed, had disinherited his daughter, and named him his successor. The archbishop either was convinced, or pretended to be so, that this was the fact; and Stephen was crowned king at Westminster Abbey, on the 26th of December, 1135.

The usurper did his best to conciliate the barons, clergy, and people, and for nearly a year he reigned in peace. The King of Scotland armed in behalf of the rights of his niece Matilda; but Stephen bought him off, and he retired; the barons, however, became dissatisfied, and conspiracy after conspiracy broke out amongst them. The king, who was brave and active, suppressed them as rapidly as they arose; and usually pardoned his troublesome nobles upon their promising him to live peaceably for the future. At length, the Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of the late king, and a very good soldier, defied Stephen [A.D. 1138], and adopted the cause of Matilda. Then the great barons renewed their acts of rebellion, and King David of Scotland again invaded England with a numerous army, which ravaged the country, burnt the villages, and murdered the people, not even sparing the young helpless infants. The nation was long distracted by a great number of petty sieges and battles, in which the royal cause was generally successful. The result was, that the barons were, one after another, subdued, and the Scots defeated in an engagement near Northallerton, fought on the 22nd of August, and called the Battle of the Standard, from a crucifix the English had fixed on the

top of the mast of a ship, and which, being fastened to a car with four wheels, was drawn before the army. In the centre of the crucifix was a silver box containing a consecrated wafer; and the ignorant soldiers supposed that this wafer wonderfully assisted them in gaining the victory.

Stephen might now have got on pretty well, but he had the misfortune to quarrel with the monks. Many of the bishops were just as warlike and troublesome as the barons; and they built so many castles, and kept so many armed men, who plundered and oppressed the people, that the king thought it necessary to interpose his authority. Among the most powerful and wealthy prelates was Roger, Bishop of Sarum. He had been only a poor parish priest; but Henry Beauclerk had made him his chaplain, because he could say mass faster than any one else. Roger, although a grasping, avaricious man, possessed great talents. He rose to the episcopal bench; and rebuilt the cathedral of Salisbury in a very tasteful and elegant manner. He lived in great magnificence: patronised artists and learned men; and built many mansions and castles. So great was his influence that he made his two nephews bishops also—Alexander of Lincoln, and Nigel of Ely. Still Roger was not satisfied: he went on grasping and gaining; and at last King Stephen determined to commence his work against the bishops with him. A riot arose between Roger's men and those of the Earl of Brittany: this was sufficient; and the king arrested the bishop and his two nephews, declaring he would not set them at liberty until they surrendered all their castles. Nigel escaped; and flying to his uncle's strong castle at Devizes, set the king at defiance: Stephen swore that the two bishops, Roger and his nephew Alexander, who still remained his prisoners, should be kept without food until the castle was surrendered; and they were actually kept fasting for three days, when the nephew yielded, to save the lives of his uncle and brother.

This act of Stephen's turned all the clergy against him; even his own brother Henry, the Bishop of Winchester (who had been appointed legate to the pope, Innocent II.), deserted his cause; and when Matilda and the Earl of Gloucester landed in the kingdom [A.D. 1139], Henry was one of the first to welcome them. Then the country was divided into two great parties, and became the scene of a remorseless civil war; the fields remained uncultivated, travellers were robbed and murdered, and no one was safe out of the fortified castles which raised their grim stone walls in every direction. At first, the war was in favour of Stephen; but fortune changed; and in a battle fought near Lincoln [A.D. 1141], he was taken prisoner by the Earl of Gloucester. In that battle he had fought with astonishing courage, standing unaided after his soldiers had fled, and slaying with his broad battle-axe several of the men who attacked him. At last his axe broke from the tremendous blows he dealt with it; his sword also broke, and the king fell senseless from being struck with a great stone that had been thrown at him. He was taken prisoner, and carried to Matilda, who had her royal captive loaded with chains, and shut up in a dungeon at Bristol Castle. After this victory, Matilda was acknowledged as queen, and crowned at Winchester by Stephen's own brother Henry, as sovereign lady of England and Normandy. Thus, after six years of restless blood-stained royalty, Stephen was as unhappy and helpless as the meanest of the poor miserable people whom his usurpation had reduced to beggary and famine.

Matilda, though singularly active and courageous, was an overbearing, insolent woman, who soon managed to turn most of her friends into enemies; she even insulted the Bishop of Winchester, who had placed the crown upon her head; and he, probably regretting the part he had taken against his deposed brother, determined to attempt his restoration. The Londoners, too, were much attached to Stephen. They drove Matilda from their city, and the war commenced again; Queen Maude, the brave wife of Stephen, leading the army for her imprisoned husband. Matilda was reduced to extremities, and the Earl of Gloucester taken prisoner. As he had been the life of her cause, and she was helpless without him, she consented to release the king in exchange, so Earl Robert and King Stephen were both set at liberty, and the struggle stood just as it did at the first. A good deal more fighting took place; even the churches were seized upon and fortified, fosses were dug in the churchyards, the bones of the dead were exposed to view, and the oppressed and wretched people were reduced to despair. All this went on for some years, when the Earl of Gloucester died of a fever, and then Matilda, worn out with the struggle, gave up the war [A.D. 1146], and retired to Normandy.

Stephen was a most unlucky monarch; no sooner had he a chance of restoring tranquillity than he managed to quarrel with the Archbishop of Canterbury; and that unchristian priest, indifferent to all the sufferings which the people had so long undergone, laid the kingdom under an interdict. Instantly the churches were closed; the monks and priests refused either to marry the living or bury the dead; the bells ceased to ring, and were even removed from the steeples, and laid upon the ground; and all religious services and consolations were refused to the people, who were so terrified that they compelled the king to become friends with the archbishop. Thus this wicked and ambitious priest was enabled to rebel in comparative safety against his sovereign.

Seven years after Matilda had quitted England

[A.D. 1153], her son, Henry Plantagenet, who was now about eighteen years old, and who had acquired great wealth and power from his marriage with Eleanor, the divorced queen of the French king, invaded it with a small army, and civil war was again declared. But the barons were at last tired of bloodshed. Their lands were devastated, their vassals slain, and the grim lank spectre of famine appeared even at the baronial board; while in some places plague and fever rose from the rotting bodies of the unburied dead; so the Earl of Arundel spoke out boldly, and said, "That it was an unreasonable thing to prolong the calamities of a whole nation on account of the ambition of two princes." Every one agreed with the earl: the two armies looked at each other, not with malignant fierceness, but with mutual sorrow for their wretched country; and a peace was concluded between King Stephen and Prince Henry. It was agreed that Stephen should be king for the rest of his life, but that he should adopt Henry as his son, and make him his successor. Every one seemed satisfied with this arrangement except Stephen's eldest son, Prince Eustace, who was thus disinherited, and deprived of the kingdom. He had no idea of yielding up his slender chance of the crown to promote the tranquillity and happiness of the nation; but, influenced by his ambition, in a fit of passion he left his father, intending to get up another war. He seized upon the abbey of St. Edmondsbury, and establishing himself there, lived by plundering the surrounding country. This did not last long: one day, when at a drunken feast, he was seized with a sudden frenzy, and died mad; it is not improbable that he may have been poisoned.

After the treaty was signed, Prince Henry went back to Normandy, and England was left to Stephen; but he did not enjoy it long, for in about a year he died, after a short illness, at the age of fifty. His death, which occurred on the 25th of October, 1154, ended a sad unhappy reign of nineteen years. He was buried at the monastery of Feversham, in Kent; but his grave was afterwards robbed for the sake of the leaden coffin in which the body was contained, and the corpse thrown into the river which flows past the town. "So uncertain," says the chronicler Speed, who relates this incident, "is man (yea, the greatest princes) of any rest in this world, even after burial; and restless may their bodies be also, who, for filthy lucre, thus deny the dead the quiet of their graves."

If we except the perjury and usurpation by which Stephen obtained his crown (crimes which, however, should never be lightly regarded), he was not a bad man; he never employed tortures, or willingly oppressed the people; he was brave, active, and possessed of considerable talents, and would very likely have been an excellent king, had he been permitted to govern the land in peace. But during his reign the people suffered more than they did under any of his Norman predecessors. The contending armies, many of both being the vilest characters in the land, plundered and desolated the country, and put the unhappy people to shocking tortures, to make them reveal where they had concealed their goods. Some they hung up by the thumbs, or by the feet, and half-smothered them with smoke; many they starved to death; while others they threw into dark unwholesome dungeons, with snakes and toads, and loathsome crawling things. An old Saxon writer said, "When the townsmen had nothing more to give, they set fire to all the towns. Thou mightest go a whole day's journey, and not find a man sitting in a town, nor an acre of land tilled. The poor died of hunger, and those who had been men well to do, begged for bread." If King Stephen could have foreseen these terrible results when he first laid his hand upon the crown, he might have wished himself an obscure peasant tilling his little plot of land in peace and safety, rather than a monarch, whose hours could be counted by the groans of his people, and whose ambition had made his country a land of torture and misery.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND, CALLED PLANTAGENET.—A.D. 1154—1164.



A NEW period in English history dates from the death of King Stephen. After him began the rule of the PLANTAGENETS, a family which produced many sovereigns of great strength of mind and decision of will; which continued to rule the country for upwards of three centuries; and the last crowned member of which sank in dust and blood on the battle-field of Bosworth, before the victorious representative of the House of Tudor. These three centuries may be called the iron age of England—the age when the sword was the source of power, when the strength and authority

of the great barons rivalled those of the king, and the feudal system of internal government was predominant over the country. During these three eventful centuries there occurred a succession of battles, acts of personal bravery and heroism alternating with deeds of oppression and torture, usurpations, treacheries, assassinations and executions. When this period passed away, England awoke as if from a dream, and entered on a new course, but not a better or a nobler one; for the second great period of English history is, in many respects, worse than the first.

When King Stephen died, Matilda's son, HENRY PLANTAGENET, was besieging a castle on the borders of Normandy. On hearing that the throne of England now awaited his acceptance, he betrayed no anxiety, but very coolly remained until he had captured the castle; and being also detained at Barfleur by a storm, he did not arrive in England until six weeks after Stephen had breathed his last. He was received not only without opposition, but with great joy; for barons and people were alike tired of the sad desolation which had so long overspread the country, and longed for a king whose right to the crown was generally acknowledged, and who was already reputed to have a wise head and a firm hand. With him came his wife Eleanor, a woman of great strength of mind and sternness of character, but who did not possess any remarkable affection for her husband; indeed, he had only married her on account of her great fortune and territorial possessions. She had been previously united to Louis VII., of France, who had divorced her on account of light and improper conduct. Six weeks after her divorce, she became the wife of the heir to the English crown.

Henry and Eleanor were crowned King and Queen of England on the 19th of December, 1154. There was much feasting and rejoicing at court; and what was better, the poor, harassed, and almost beggared people rejoiced too, and set to work to retrieve their ruined land and houses with hopeful hearts and sturdy hands. They had a faith that Henry, though but young (he was three-and-twenty when he became king), would be just and good to them, and his conduct speedily strengthened this supposition; for his coronation was no sooner over, than he set resolutely to work to reform the dreadful abuses and oppressions which had crept into use during the unhappy reign of Stephen.

He first banished all the hordes of foreign soldiers who had been brought over to England during the long civil war which had devastated the country, and who, having got possession of some of the many castles which now raised their grim stone walls in every direction, lived like bands of robbers, on plunder and outrage. He then called a great meeting of his nobles, and obtained their sanction to resume to himself all the lands and castles which had been granted to their respective supporters by Stephen and by Matilda. The resumption of these estates he considered necessary for the proper support of the dignity and power of the sovereign. Without them, he would have been a poor, and consequently feeble king; and that he resolved he would not be. Gathering a considerable army, he summoned the holders of those estates to surrender them: this they were naturally very disinclined to do; but those who resisted had their castles taken by storm or reduced by famine; and in the end he recovered the disputed lands, and caused about 1,100 castles, which had been little better than dens of thieves, to be reduced to ruins. This conduct gained Henry some bitter enemies; but it also won for him the love of his people, who were glad to see their tyrants struck down, and security of person and property restored to the peacefully-disposed and toiling thousands. Having thus acquired the means of carrying out further reforms, this wise and resolute young king issued a new coinage of a proper weight and purity (for even the coin had been tampered with and debased during the wretched reign of Stephen), and created the Earl of Leicester grand justiciary of the kingdom; granting him, also, the means of enforcing his decisions.

In little more than a year, England was restored to a tranquil state; and then Henry went abroad to wrest the earldom of Anjou from the hands of his younger brother, Geoffrey. This earldom had, it is said, been given to Henry by his father, on condition that, if ever he became King of England, he was to resign Anjou to his brother. The latter, therefore, invaded Anjou and Maine, which ought certainly to have been given up to him; but the active and ambitious Henry stormed and took several castles which held out for Geoffrey, and finally purchased his brother's claim for a pension of £1,000 a year. The disinherited prince, however, did not long continue to receive this money, for he died about two years afterwards, in A.D. 1158.

On Henry's return to England he resolved to check the Welsh people, who were constantly making incursions for the purpose of plunder, and marking their progress by cruelty and desolation. Leading an army into Wales [A.D. 1157], he penetrated into the beautiful and mountainous country as far as Coleshill Forest. There the wild hardy Welsh suddenly issued from the dense woods, and pouring down from the mountains in thousands, attacked Henry's army in a narrow pass. Taken by surprise, and in a place where the troops could not form, the English were thrown into confusion, and slaughtered in heaps. The Earl of Essex threw away the royal stadnard, and, like a spiritless coward, ran for his life, crying out in his terror that

the king was killed. Had not Henry possessed more presence of mind than this miserable nobleman, it is very likely that he would have perished, and all his army with him; but he was of a different nature: rushing among his scattered soldiers, he called aloud to them that he was unhurt, spoke some hasty words of encouragement, and placing himself at their head, succeeded in fighting a passage out of that dreadful valley of slaughter. Notwithstanding this great loss, Henry firmly established himself in Wales, built castles, and cut roads through its forests; and after a few months the Welsh were glad to enter into a peace very advantageous to the English king, merely for the sake of getting rid of him.

Henry's next act of public interest was not a very creditable one, and proceeded from no better motive than an inordinate desire to extend his dominions, and increase his wealth. His brother Geoffrey, from whom he had taken the earldom of Anjou, was, soon after that occurrence, invited by the citizens of Nantes, a state in Lower Brittany, to become their ruler. Geoffrey accepted the invitation, and governed them until the time of his death, which occurred about a year afterwards. The people of Nantes then again submitted to the authority of Conan, the hereditary Duke of Brittany, under whose rule its inhabitants were before they voluntarily chose Geoffrey Plantagenet for their prince. Nantes was an independent state; it was in no way connected with England, and Henry had no more right to it than he had to the empire of China. But prosperous kings have too frequently confounded power with right; and sacrificing what they know to be just, to what they think to be desirable, commit actions which in private men would be called by no milder terms than chicanery and theft. Henry did so in this case, for he set up a claim to the city of Nantes, on the absurd ground, that as his brother Geoffrey had governed it, it descended to him by hereditary right. His brother was not an hereditary but an elected sovereign, and could not, therefore, bequeath a right which he himself had never possessed; but in spite of this plain undeniable fact, and the representations of the people of Nantes, Henry led an army against that city, affected to treat its inhabitants as revolted subjects, and finally terrified them into submission to his rule. This was a desertion of that honourable conduct which had restored prosperity to his own country, and won him the hearts of his people; but regal power seems but too often to have the effect of corrupting the minds of those who possess it.

Having succeeded in his design upon Nantes, Henry next made a claim to the earldom of Toulouse, which he asserted belonged to his wife Eleanor, though that lady's right to it was very shadowy and imperfect. But, right or wrong, Henry could not resist the temptation to add an important earldom to his already extensive dominions, and he raised an army accordingly. The manner in which he did this was novel and singular, and a striking instance of that acuteness and foresight which he always exhibited. By the feudal law the barons were bound to assist their king in his wars, as a return for the estates which they held in his dominions; and the vassals of the barons who lived on those estates were bound to follow their lords to battle in the same manner. The king was in name, though in name only, the owner of all the land under his rule; and the military services of the barons were regarded as a sort of rent which they owed to their sovereign. The vassals of the barons, who lived upon the estates of these powerful nobles, gave their services as a direct rent. They paid no money for the land they occupied, but gave their labour of service to their lord whenever he required it. In fact, they lived upon his property much in the same way as his cattle did, and were not unfrequently sold with the estates. They were called *serfs* or *villains* (hence arose the use of the word villain as a term of reproach), and were in a state of modified slavery.

An army composed of barons and their retainers was a very undisciplined and intractable body; the vassals were more attached to the noble on whose estate they lived, and with whose person they were familiar, than they were to the king, who was almost a stranger to them; and they naturally obeyed their lord rather than their sovereign. Indeed, they were always ready to make war, even upon their king, at the command of their more immediate lord. But there was another objection to an army of this character, which rendered it almost useless for foreign warfare; the barons and their vassals were not bound to serve the king for a longer period than forty days; and it would have taken Henry and his army that time to reach Toulouse. He therefore proposed that the barons and knights should pay a certain sum in money instead of giving their personal attendance. As most of them very wisely preferred staying at home, and attending to their own affairs, to fighting in a foreign land, they willingly consented to such an arrangement; and the money which King Henry derived from this commutation of personal service, or *scutage*, as it was called, is said to have amounted to the enormous sum, in that day, of £180,000. By this wise scheme the politic king was enabled to hire a well-disciplined army of foreign mercenaries, who would obey him implicitly, and fight for him resolutely, for just so long a period as he continued to pay them.

With these troops, and some of his own English barons, the king set sail for France; and after taking the

town of Cahors, marched against Toulouse. There he was met by the French king, whom he would not attack, because, according to the strange system then universal throughout Europe, Louis, the French king, was his superior lord; but the wily Henry had, no doubt, some other motive for his forbearance. He usually gained from Louis what he wanted by the arts of diplomacy; and he doubtless found that was a cheaper and less troublesome way than fighting for it. After a time, Henry abandoned his project against Toulouse, and made a peace with the French king. He probably saw, that if he persevered in his claim it would lead him into a long and expensive war; and as his prudence was equal to his bravery, he wisely declined proceeding to extremities in a matter in which he might have failed.

The peace was no sooner agreed upon than Henry was again involved in a quarrel with Louis. An arrangement existed between them, that the King of England's son Henry, who was seven years old, should be married to the King of France's daughter Margaret, who was only three years of age; and the fortress of Gisors was placed in the hands of the Knights Templars, who were to surrender it to Henry when the marriage took place, as a part of the dower of the little princess. Of course, it was not intended that the young people should be married until they were of a proper age to enter into so serious a contract; but King Henry wanted the fortress of Gisors, so he sent Thomas à Becket, his chancellor and favourite, to bring the infant princess to London, where the little creature was immediately married to her juvenile suitor, and the king demanded the fortress of the Templars, who, as the marriage had been solemnised, immediately surrendered the dowry which had been committed to their charge. The French king was exceedingly angry at this duplicity; he banished the Templars, who were suspected of having been bribed by the English king, and declared war against Henry; but on the mediation of the pope, he consented to a reconciliation.

At this period the power of the church was enormous in England; and as it was constantly increasing, it threatened in time altogether to usurp the authority of the state. It is right, and of essential importance, that religion should be universally respected, and its divine precepts made the rule of our conduct and our guidance through life; but it is not proper that the church should have more power than the state, or indeed that it should possess any great political power, which is only likely to render it ambitious rather than religious, and intent on gathering treasure on earth, rather than imploring blessings from heaven. Besides, the priests of that age were seldom meek, benevolent, and learned servants of our Divine Saviour, but often troublesome agitators, bent on the acquirement of wealth and station. King Henry determined to subdue the ecclesiastical power, and for that purpose took a step which might have terminated in his ruin, and which did subject him to personal disgrace, and many years of vexation and bitterness. Before relating this event, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the life of Thomas à Becket, the chancellor and favourite companion of the king; for the biography of this extraordinary man is woven up inextricably with the history of his country.

His birth was the result of a very romantic incident. His father, Gilbert Beck, or Becket, was a Saxon yeoman, who went to Palestine to fight against the Saracens; but as far as Gilbert was concerned, the Saracens had decidedly the best of the contest, for they took him prisoner and shut him up in a dungeon. The daughter of the Emir, to whose custody he had been committed, saw the English captive, and, being of a gentle and affectionate nature, first pitied, and then loved him. The result of this attachment was, that she assisted him to escape, and Becket regaining his native country, established himself as a citizen and tradesman in London.

The generous Saracen maiden felt very sad and lonely after her lover was gone. She pined for his society, and at length determined that she would leave her home and country, and try to seek him out. This was a wild and almost impossible design, for she could not speak English, and knew nothing more of the young Saxon who had won her noble heart, than that his name was Gilbert, and that he lived in a city called London. But sincere love gives strength and courage to those who feel it. The maiden fled from her father's house to the nearest seaport, and by repeating the word London to the sailors whom she saw there, made them understand that she wished to go to that distant city. Having arrived in safety in the place where her lover dwelt, she went from street to street, calling aloud, "Gilbert! Gilbert!" no doubt much to the surprise of many a grey-headed, sober old citizen, and to the amusement of many young and thoughtless ones. She was, however, rewarded for her heroic constancy by meeting her Gilbert, who seems to have been very glad to see her; for, after she had renounced her Mahometan faith, and become a Christian, they were married, and doubtless lived very happily together.

From this union proceeded Thomas à Becket, who was born in London in 1119. As the boy was handsome, intelligent, and possessed very engaging manners, his father naturally supposed that he would rise to distinction, and he therefore bestowed on him an excellent education. Thomas first became a clerk to the sheriff of London, in which position he attracted the notice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who trusted

him with duties of great importance and responsibility, and at length recommended him to the king as a man of great talent and merit. Henry was so pleased with the intelligence of Becket, that in a short time [A.D. 1157] he raised him to be chancellor of the kingdom. In that age the chancellor held great power, more than is now possessed by the prime minister: he had the custody of the great seal; all vacant prelacies and abbeys were held by him; he was entitled to a place in the councils of his sovereign; and was in possession of other sources of power and wealth. Besides this great dignity, the king made Becket provost of Beverley, dean of Hastings, constable of the Tower, and even committed to him the education of his eldest son.

Possessed of so many profitable appointments, it is no wonder that the clever and engaging son of the London tradesman became one of the wealthiest and most important persons in the country. He was fond of gaiety and magnificence; lived in a palace; treated his numerous guests with delicate viands on plates of silver, and the rarest wines in golden goblets; his numerous pages and attendants were attired in rich and gorgeous costumes; and even many knights and gentlemen of rank professed themselves his vassals. On one occasion, when he accompanied Henry to the wars, 1,900 knights were in his suite, 700 of whom were members of his household; and he was followed by 4,000 hired military retainers.

King Henry not only confided much important business to the care of his chancellor, but made him partaker of all his feasts and pleasures. Becket was accomplished in many things to which he could pay very little attention. He was an excellent horseman; expert in hunting and hawking; brilliant and witty in conversation; and although a priest by profession, could wield a sword or poise a lance with almost any knight whose life was devoted to arms. This ready capability for both business and pleasure so delighted the king that he was seldom long out of Becket's society. An amusing anecdote is preserved of their social familiarity. One bitter winter's day, the king and chancellor were riding together through the streets of London, attended by a train of courtiers, when a grey-haired old man approached, shivering with cold, and protected from the weather only by a thin and ragged garment. Seeing this pitiable object, the king, who though generally stern and dignified enough, yet loved a jest, turned to his companion and said—"Would it not be very praiseworthy to give that poor man a good warm cloak?" "It would, surely," replied the chancellor; "and you do well, sir, in thinking of such good actions." "Then he shall have one presently," said the merry king; and seizing Becket's gorgeous cloak of scarlet, lined with ermine, he tried to pull it from his shoulders. The astonished chancellor at first resisted this rough fun; and the king and he struggled together until both of them very nearly rolled off their horses; he then surrendered his cloak: the thankful beggar limped away with the gaudy robe; and the courtiers smiled at the wit of their sovereign.

After Henry had worn the crown for seven years, Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, died [A.D. 1162]; and the king thought that Becket, who knew his intention of restraining the power of the clergy, and had frequently seemed to favour this cherished project, would be the very man to put in the place of the departed prelate. He thought that his friend and favourite—the man on whom he had showered wealth and opulence with an unsparing hand—would, when supreme head of the English church, compel its ministers to lower their arrogant tone, respect the sovereign of their country, and obey its laws. The king naturally supposed that the son of the tradesman would be content to remain the second man in his dominions, and permit him, as the first, to rule the state, and curb the usurpations of the church on secular authority. Shrewd, however, as Henry was, he had mistaken the character of his versatile and accomplished minister.

When the king communicated to the chancellor his intention of making him archbishop, Becket gaily lifted his gorgeous robe, and said with a laugh, "A fine saint you have chosen for so holy an office." But though he pretended he was unfit for such a solemn employment, he was very careful to accept it; and, after about a year's delay, was installed primate of all England. From that moment he changed his whole conduct; he laid aside his gay attire, dressed in the plainest manner, and wore sackcloth next his skin. He lived on the coarsest kind of food, and drank water, made unpalatable by an infusion of bitter herbs; scourged his naked back until the blood sprung from the discoloured wales he inflicted upon himself; and every day, in a proud and impious imitation of the Divine Jesus, he knelt and washed the feet of thirteen beggars. Besides this, he gave away large sums to hospitals and convents, seemed to be constantly engaged in prayer and holy duties, and in a very short time obtained what he was scheming for—the reputation of saint, and the affections of the people. "What a meek, pious, humble man our new archbishop is," said they, admiringly; but they little thought that this pparent holiness was merely a mask for inordinate ambition—a cloak to set the power of the priesthood above all law, and to enable the wily prelate to trample the authority of the king beneath his feet.

Becket did not wait for Henry to commence any of his ecclesiastical reforms: he first resigned the chancel-

lorship, that he might break off all friendly communication with the king. Soon after, he summoned the Earl of Clare, a wealthy and popular nobleman, to surrender to him the castle and barony of Tunbridge, on the pretence that, as it had been included in the endowments of Canterbury before the time of the Conqueror, it properly belonged to him as the representative of that see. He also claimed from other barons property which, he said, had been usurped from the church; and, upon the same ground, demanded even from the king the castle of Rochester.

Bold as this conduct was, the ambitious prelate did not stop here. He appointed a monk to a living which was in the gift of a certain William de Eynsford. The intruding monk was violently expelled by the patron of the living; upon which Becket immediately excommunicated him. Eynsford complained to the king; and Henry, who had broken off all friendly intercourse with the encroaching archbishop, sent him a stern command to absolve Eynsford, and remove the curse he had pronounced against him. The proud priest answered, "That it was not for the king to inform him whom he should absolve, and whom excommunicate." On receiving this reply, Henry fell into a violent passion, and threatened Becket with his vengeance; and the archbishop, not being yet familiar with royal anger, reluctantly obeyed the mandate of the king, and absolved his vassal.

It was necessary to the national welfare that the priests should be restrained by the same laws to which laymen were subject; but they could only be summoned before ecclesiastical courts, the judges of which generally viewed the crimes of members of their own profession with so lenient an eye, as almost to confer on them an exemption from punishment. Priests were constantly guilty of crimes of the darkest nature; and when Henry had sat on the throne not more than ten years, it was found that, since his accession, no less than one hundred murders had been perpetrated by them. Most of the priests charged with those crimes escaped with trivial punishment, and none of them received sentence of death. In one instance, a priest in Worcestershire had grossly injured the daughter of a gentleman; and, as if such a wrong was not evil enough, this clerical savage had afterwards murdered the father of the unfortunate young lady. A cry of popular indignation followed this wicked act, and the king demanded that the criminal should be delivered up, and tried by the secular laws of the land. Becket immediately interfered in favour of the miscreant, urged the privileges of the church, put the murderer for protection in the bishop's prison, and finally, only sentenced him to be degraded from the priesthood.

Availing himself of the excitement caused by this circumstance, the king summoned an assembly of all the bishops, and demanded, whether they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? They replied, they were willing to do so, "saving their own order." This evasive answer meant that they would obey the laws when it answered their purpose to do so; but that when the laws interfered with their interests, or checked their excesses, they would still plead their ecclesiastical privileges, and refuse to be tried, except by a clerical court. Henry perfectly understood this, and leaving the assembly in great indignation, he, the next day, deprived Becket of the manor of Eye and the castle of Berkhampstead. The bishops were alarmed, and began to tremble for their own property, so they agreed to obey the laws without any reservation; but Becket still held out until the pope (then Alexander III.) sent his legate, and advised the troublesome archbishop to submit.

Henry, who was supported in this quarrel by his chief barons, was no longer satisfied with the general consent of the bishops to observe the laws of the country, but he drew up a series of articles defining the power of the clergy, and limiting their usurpations. He then summoned the bishops to a great council at Clarendon, in Wiltshire, and required them to set their seals to these conditions. This important meeting, which was a sort of minor reformation, took place on the 25th of January, 1164, and the articles, sixteen in number, were called THE CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON. The principal enactments were, that all causes, except those strictly connected with the church, and entirely confined to ecclesiastical matters, should be tried by the civil courts. The clerks in orders, for civil crimes, should also be tried in civil courts, and should not leave the country without the king's consent. That the bishops should be elected in the presence of the king, and do him homage; and that the sovereign should receive, and appropriate to his own use, the revenues of vacant sees. Appeals to the pope, and the payment of "Peter's pence," a tribute exacted by the pontiffs, were prohibited. The bishops, though they did not approve of these Constitutions, as they saw that the king was no longer to be trifled with, solemnly promised to observe them. Even Becket himself took an oath to abide by them "*legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve.*" Pleased with this triumph, the king sent the Constitutions to the pope for his confirmation; but the crafty pontiff, who at once perceived that they would lessen his power in England, immediately rejected them; and then the archbishop, in defiance of the oath he had so recently taken, refused to observe them, and declared that when he took his oath, it was with a mental reservation in favour of his ecclesiastical privileges.

Henry became furious at this perfidious conduct, and determined on the ruin of the trickster, whom no oath could bind—the ingrate, who embittered the life of the king, whose favour had raised him from obscurity. He summoned the archbishop to appear before the council held at Northampton, which found him guilty of a breach of allegiance, and an act of contempt against his sovereign, and inflicted on him a heavy fine. The next day, the king claimed a large sum from Becket which he said he had lent to him, and on the third day he demanded the enormous amount of 44,000 marks, equal in value to about £400,000 of our present money, as a balance due to the crown, which Becket had left unaccounted for during the time he was chancellor.

Becket was astonished. The king would not accept any excuses, but insisted on the payment of a sum which he knew very well the prelate could not pay. Whether the money had been misapplied or not, does not appear; but it certainly had not been accounted for; and the Bishop of London, who hated Becket, sneeringly remarked, that "the archbishop thought, that, as sins were remitted by baptism, so debts were discharged by promotion." For a moment this bold man seems to have trembled at the consequences of his own conduct; but he soon recovered his haughty pride of heart. Feeling convinced that the king had resolved upon his ruin, he yet determined to make another bold effort to retain the power which was crumbling from his grasp.

One morning in the October of the year that he had signed the Constitutions of Clarendon, Becket dressed himself in his pontifical robes, and, proceeding to church, celebrated with great solemnity the mass of St. Stephen, the first martyr. It began with these words—"Princes sat and spake against me." After this plain allusion to the king as an oppressive prince, and to himself as a lowly martyr to pure and high principles, the archbishop rode to court, and entered the royal presence, bearing the cross in his own hand instead of having it carried before him as usual. The king, who was indignant at this parade, and perhaps suspected that Becket intended to excommunicate him, rose abruptly and left the room, followed by all the bishops and barons. Left in the hall with only a few poor frightened priests, the prelate seated himself upon a bench, with the crucifix still held erect before him as a protection.

In a short time the Bishop of Exeter came, and throwing himself on his knees before the unmoved Becket, represented to him the violent passion of the king, and begged him to submit to his sovereign, and thus save himself and his brethren from ruin. The brief and contemptuous answer he received was, "Thou fearest! flee then; thou canst not understand the things that are of God!"

The doors of the apartment into which the king had retired then opened, and all the bishops issued in solemn procession; and pausing before Becket, one of them, speaking for the rest, thus addressed him:—"Thou wast our primate, but we now disavow thee, because, after having promised faith to the king, our common lord, and sworn to maintain his royal customs, thou hast endeavoured to destroy them, and hast broken thine oath. We proclaim thee a traitor, and tell thee we will no longer obey a perjured archbishop, but place ourselves and our cause under the protection of our lord the pope, and summon thee to answer us before him."

A bitter smile played upon the white lips of Becket; in a scornful tone he said, "I hear," and again relapsed into a calm, dignified silence.

Shortly the doors of the inner chamber again opened, and the grim, steel-clad barons entered, preceded by the Earl of Leicester, who began to read a sentence of imprisonment against the fallen priest. Then Becket rose, and fixing his keen eyes upon the noble, said, "Son and earl, hear me first. Thou knowest with how much faith I served the king; with how much reluctance, and only to please him, I accepted my present charge, and in what manner I was declared free from all secular claims whatever. Touching the things which happened before my consecration, I ought not to answer, nor will I answer. You, moreover, are all my children in God, and neither law nor reason permits you to sit in judgment upon your father. I forbid you, therefore, to judge me. I decline your tribunal, and refer my quarrel to the decision of the pope. To him I appeal; and now, under the holy protection of the catholic church and the apostolic see, I depart in peace." Having thus spoken, Becket passed through the scowling crowd of courtiers and attendants, and leaving the palace, mounted his horse and rode away amidst the applause of the people, who regarded him as a saint, and shouted, "Blessed be God who hath delivered his servant from the hands of his enemies."

Becket's appeal to the pope only added to the enmity of the king, because it was settled, by the Constitutions of Clarendon, that to appeal from any English court to the Roman pontiff was an unlawful act. The archbishop, therefore, fearing the results that might arise from his conduct, and believing that his life was not safe, disguised himself as a monk, hurried by night to the sea-coast, embarked in a little boat, and after a fortnight of peril, landed at Gravelines in Flanders.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND.—A.D. 1164—1172.



FROM the seaport where he landed, Becket proceeded to throw himself at the feet of Pope Alexander, at Sens, and into the hands of that pontiff he resigned his archbishopric. The pope received the fallen prelate very kindly, and gave him an asylum in the noble abbey of Pontigny, in Burgundy. Becket was also encouraged by the King of France and the Earl of Flanders, who were both interested in disturbing the peace of Henry's kingdom; and the arrogant priest then declared that his cause was the cause of God; that he was the champion of heaven; and that in his person Christ was crucified afresh.

These assertions, which were as foolish as they were daring and impious, soon reached the ears of King Henry, and irritated him to such an extent as to drive him to commit an act of shameful injustice. Not content with confiscating all the property of the fugitive archbishop, he banished all his friends and relations, with their wives and children, amounting altogether to 400 persons, and drove them forth to beg or starve in a foreign land. Thus to punish the innocent who were in his power, because he could not avenge himself on the guilty who was beyond it, was both senseless and tyrannical; but it seems that Henry's anger against Becket was so great, that it disturbed the usual strength and coolness of his judgment.

In the second year of his banishment the deposed archbishop ascended the pulpit of the church of Vezelay, during the festival of the Ascension, and, in the presence of a great multitude of people, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against four of the favourite ministers of the king; against every one who supported or obeyed the Constitutions of Clarendon, which he declared to be abrogated or annulled; and he only withheld the curse of Rome from Henry himself upon a pretence that he might give that monarch time for repentance. When Henry heard of this act of the troublesome priest, he fell into a transport of rage so violent as to resemble madness. He tore off his clothes, rolled upon the ground, and gnawed the rushes, then used as carpets, with his teeth.

A war was afterwards carried on between France and England, because the French king supported the cause of Becket; but it terminated in a truce, at which it was proposed that Henry and his rebellious priest should be reconciled. The pope also assisted in bringing about an arrangement, which Henry, although he now bitterly hated Becket, was not averse to; for both pontiff and king were tired of the struggle, and each respected and dreaded the power of the other.

The conference took place at Montmirail, in Perche; the kings of France and England met; and the stern Becket stood once again in the presence of his insulted sovereign. The moment was a solemn one; the peace of a kingdom depended on the submission of the banished priest to the laws of his country. But neither fear nor misfortune could tame the primate: he said he was willing to be reconciled to his king, and obey him in all things, "saving the honour of God and his church."

Struck with the obstinacy of Becket in reverting to the original cause of the dispute, Henry thus addressed the French king:—"Do you know what would happen if I were to admit this reservation? That man would interpret everything displeasing to himself as being contrary to the honour of God, and so would invade all my rights; but to show that I do not withstand God's honour, this is my offer. There have been many kings of England before; some who had more power than I, and others who had less. There have been also before him many archbishops of Canterbury—great and holy men. What the greatest and holiest of his predecessors did unto the least of mine, that let him do unto me, and I am contented therewith." Still Becket insisted on his reservation, saying, "that he would not give up the honour of Christ that he might recover the favour of a man;" and the French king was so struck with Henry's fairness and moderation, that he declared that the archbishop wished to be "greater than the saints, and better than Saint Peter." Disgusted at Becket's arrogance, both the sovereigns mounted their horses and rode away, without taking any further notice of him; and thus the conference ended.

Another attempt at reconciliation was broken off because Henry would not bestow upon the archbishop the kiss of peace. He excused himself from doing so by saying that he had taken an oath never to kiss Becket; but no doubt a sense of natural repugnance prevented him from saluting the man whom he so bitterly disliked. As Becket insisted on every formality, and would not be reconciled without the kiss, and as Henry as resolutely refused to give it, the conference again ended abruptly.

At length, in the summer of 1170, the king and prelate met again at Touraine, in France; and, on the 22nd of July, all difficulties being overcome, peace was made between the king and Becket. The arrangements were exceedingly honourable to the latter, who was restored to his archbishopric, and all claims against him abandoned. The king even humbled himself so far at this meeting as to hold Becket's stirrup while he mounted his horse, when he was setting out to the coast, to embark for England. After six years' absence the exiled priest again trod the soil of his native land, disembarking at Dover on the 1st of December. It might have been expected that, thus restored to his home, and reinstated in his see, Becket would have lived in peace and charity, as became a minister of the word of God; but even before landing in England, he again lighted in it the flames of dissension. In the preceding June the king had caused his eldest son to be crowned, not as his successor, but his colleague. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of York, assisted by the Bishops of London and Salisbury; and Becket, who was then in France, and who deemed the right of crowning the sovereign to be inherent in the Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained from the pope letters of excommunication against the three prelates, for what he considered an invasion of his rights. Those letters one of his adherents, who preceded him to England, succeeded in delivering to the three astonished prelates. When the archbishop himself arrived, after a sort of triumphant progress to several towns, he proceeded to Canterbury, and on Christmas-day he ascended his pulpit in the noble cathedral of that city, where he preached a sermon on the words, "I come to you to die among you." He plainly feared the probable consequences of his factious conduct; yet even at this period, when he seems to have been haunted by the dread of assassination, and the grim red-handed shade of murder disturbed his sleep in restless dreams, he would not permit his fears to have an influence upon his actions. The sacred service over, he solemnly excommunicated a knight who was called Ranulf de Broc, and two of his own clergy, who had treated him disrespectfully on his return to England. Descending from his pulpit, the archbishop left the church; he had preached his last sermon, and was never to bless or curse his fellow-creatures more.

King Henry was residing at Bayeux, on the continent, when the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London and Salisbury, who had been excommunicated by Becket, entered his presence, and begged him to interfere and restrain the haughty primate. They exclaimed earnestly—"We implore it both for the sake of royalty and the clergy; for your own repose as well as ours. There is a man who sets England on fire; he marches with troops of horse and armed foot, prowling round the fortresses, and trying to get himself received within them." The Archbishop of York added, that so long as Becket lived, the king could never expect to enjoy peace or tranquillity.

Henry at once saw that the apparent reconciliation between him and Becket was valueless; that his personal humiliation to that arrogant priest was in vain; and that the primate would either raise the authority of the church above that of the state, or perish. In a paroxysm of fury he roared out, "How! a fellow that hath eaten my bread, a beggar that first came to my court on a lame horse, dares insult his king, and tread upon the whole kingdom, and not one of the cowards I nourish at my table—not one will deliver me from this turbulent priest."

It seems that, in the hour of passion, the king wished for the death of the archbishop; but there is plenty of evidence to show that he never sanctioned his assassination. He was a prince of too much wisdom not to know the terrible results which such an act would probably bring upon him. A sentence of interdict upon his kingdom, and of excommunication against himself, were, little as we may regard such solemn mockeries now, subjects of awful consideration in those times of superstition, even to the most powerful princes of Europe. The thoughtless words of King Henry were, however, not without effect; the mailed warriors about him were stung at his taunt of cowardice; and four knights, gentlemen of the king's household, whose names were Reginald Fitzurse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard le Brez, or le Bret, commonly known as Brito—all gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber—having exchanged dark and meaning glances, soon afterwards retired, unsuspected, from the royal presence.

Calling a council of the barons, the king passed some time in considering what should be done to restrain the usurpations of Becket; and, after a little delay, three commissioners were despatched to arrest him on a charge of high treason. In the meantime the four knights crossed the sea to England, and reached Saltwood Castle, near Canterbury, in the night of Monday, the 28th of December. Taking with them twelve retainers, in case they should meet with resistance, these desperate men, on Tuesday the 29th, proceeded to Canterbury, and went to the palace of the archbishop: there, forcing themselves into his presence without any sign of courtesy or respect, they sat down on the ground before him. Proudly, and without any show of fear, did the prelate meet the dark scowling glances that were bent upon him; but for some time neither he nor they spoke a word.

Becket at last broke this strange silence by asking

the conspirators what they wanted? Reginald Fitzurse replied, "We come, that you may absolve the bishops whom you have excommunicated, re-establish the bishops whom you have suspended, and answer for your own offences against the king." Rising with stern dignity, the archbishop spoke at some length in a bold and angry tone: he would not, he said, absolve the Archbishop of York, but would extend that grace to the two other bishops, if they would submit themselves to his authority, and to that of Rome.

"But of whom, then," demanded Fitzurse, anxious to involve the prelate in a quarrel, "do you hold your archbishopric—of the king, or of the pope?"

"I owe the spiritual rights to God and the pope," answered Becket, "and the temporal rights to the king."

"How!" exclaimed the knight bluntly, "is it not the king that hath given you all?"

"No!" replied Becket, in an indignant tone, "No! to God, and to his earthly representative, the pope, I owe my spiritual authority, and my worldly wealth to the king?" Then he told his strange visitors that it did not become men of their rank to threaten him beneath his own roof, and added, with an angry frown, that if he were threatened by all the swords in England he would not yield. The knights rose, saying, "We will do more than threaten," and with dark and savage looks strode away, and left the palace.

Shortly afterwards they returned, each encased in armour, and carrying a naked sword; but Becket's servants had shut and barred the palace gates. Fitzurse beat against them with his heavy mace, but the sturdy doors would not yield. At length the solemn voices of the monks were heard singing vespers in the cathedral; the palace gates were thrown open at the command of the fearless archbishop, and he appeared, preceded by a monk, carrying the sacred crucifix before him. Doubtless he thought this holy symbol of the Christian faith and the Saviour's agony would be his protection; it was only an emblem of his approaching fate. With slow and dignified steps he crossed the cloister, and entered the sacred edifice. His terrified attendants would have closed and fastened the doors, but he forbade them. "The house of God," he said, "was not to be barricaded like a castle. It will protect us sufficiently without being shut; nor did I come hither to resist, but to suffer." The winter's evening was already closing in; the grey mantle of twilight had descended upon the earth; and the vast and gorgeous church was dimly lighted by a small lamp burning here and there before some saintly shrine. Becket reached the altar at the same moment that the fierce and resolute Fitzurse entered the church, brandishing his drawn sword, and shouting, "Follow me, loyal servants of the king." In an instant the four knights entered, and the noble building echoed with the heavy tramp of steel-clad feet upon its stone pavement.

"Where is Thomas à Becket—where is the traitor!" said one of the knights. There was no answer. "Where," exclaimed Reginald Fitzurse: "where is the archbishop?" "Here am I," answered Becket: "no traitor, but a priest. What would you have with me? I am ready to suffer in the name of Him who redeemed me with His blood. God forbid that I should fly for fear of your swords, or recede from justice." "Come hither!" said Tracy, seizing him roughly by the arm; "thou art a prisoner." The blood-shot eyes of the prelate gleamed with a haughty fire as he shook off his assailant with a force that made him stagger; then, turning to Fitzurse, he said, with mild dignity—"Reginald, I have done thee many favours; why comest thou with armed men into my church?" The knight answered, that he must instantly absolve the bishops. "Never," said he, resolutely: "never, until they have offered satisfaction." "Then die!" roared Fitzurse, whose sword, gleaming for a moment in the air, descended the next on the head of Becket. The monk who bore the crucifix held out his arm to ward off the blow; but the arm was broken, and the weapon inflicted a deep red gash on the shaved scalp of the archbishop. Nearly blinded by the blood which poured down his face, he bowed his head, and exclaimed—"To God and to Saint Mary, to the patrons of this church and to Saint Denis, I commend my soul and the church's cause." The savage and wicked deed was soon accomplished; a second blow felled the archbishop on the steps of the altar; a third cleft his skull; while the fourth knight, placing his foot upon the lifeless body, exclaimed—"Thus perishes a traitor!" The murderers fled; the monks rushed in terror to the cathedral, to behold the mangled body of their chief; and a cry of terror and execration arose that night in the city of Canterbury.

Thus, during the Christmas of 1170, perished the bold and ambitious Thomas à Becket, in the fifty-second year of his age.

It is impossible to peruse this narrative without being convinced that Becket was a man of extraordinary abilities; possessing the most heroic courage, wonderful firmness, and remarkable talents for either ecclesiastical or secular government. It is to be regretted that his life was not employed more happily for himself, and more usefully for his fellow-creatures. Much as we may regret that death overtook him in a manner so shocking, and much as we may condemn and detest the ruffians who murdered him, we can scarcely regret his death itself. Had he lived, he would have thrown the whole nation into confusion, perhaps even into a civil war. The great error of his life was, that he mistook ambition for religion, and submission to himself for

honour to God: his sincerity we need not doubt; but his judgment we must strongly condemn. The most commendable part of his character was his profuse charity; the most reprehensible his ingratitude to the king, who had raised him from obscurity, and cherished him as his personal friend.

Many of the superior clergy were not sorry to hear of his death; and the Archbishop of York, whom he had excommunicated, stated from his pulpit, that the murder of the unhappy Becket was a signal infliction of Almighty vengeance upon him for his pride and malice. The people generally mourned for him as a martyr, and declared that miracles were wrought at his tomb. It was even confidently asserted and believed, that while the mangled corpse lay in the choir of the church, the right hand slowly raised itself, and made the sign of the cross in benediction of the collected multitude. The eyes also, which had been struck out by the blows of the murderers, were said to have been miraculously replaced by two smaller ones, of different colours. Indeed, no less than five volumes were filled with an account of these miracles, which, according to the author of the work (a monk who, of course, had plenty of time to invent such things), amounted to no less than two hundred and seventy-two. Many of them were very silly, and some more like stories from the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, than an account of the actions of a Christian archbishop. For instance, we are told that a bird that had been taught to speak, having accidentally flown out of its cage, perceived a hawk circling in the air, and ready to pounce down upon it. But the talking bird seemed to have been a very religious little bird; for, in its terror, it called out—"Saint Thomas, help me." Upon this the saint appears to have interfered; for the hawk immediately fell dead, and the devout little warbler escaped. Such, according to this account, was the great holiness of Becket, that even during his lifetime, the Virgin Mary herself condescended to be his sempstress, and sewed his shirt with red silk! Many more of these bold absurdities might be related; but, as old Speed very justly remarks, such "forgeries are only fit for monks to indite, children to read, and fools to believe."

When King Henry heard of the death of the archbishop, he was filled with apprehensions for the consequences, mingled, perhaps, with something of sorrow for the dreadful fate of the man whom he had once loved. He shut himself up in his chamber, and for three days would receive neither food nor consolation; and he sent messengers to the pope to declare his innocence, and express his deep sorrow at the unhappy circumstance. At first these messengers were very coldly received, and Henry expected that his fears would be verified by the pope's pronouncing the dreaded sentence of excommunication against him; but as the king made the most humble submission to the pontiff, took a solemn oath on the gospels and on many sacred relics, of his innocence, and it is even insinuated, distributed his gold very freely among the cardinals, the pope admitted that he believed him guiltless, and suffered him to be reconciled to the church. Two years after the death of Becket the pope canonised him; his body was placed in a magnificent shrine, rendered more gorgeous by innumerable presents of jewels and other costly articles; and the name of the gifted and ambitious son of the London tradesman occupied a place in the calendar, as Saint Thomas à Becket. As to the cathedral where the murder was committed, it was considered desecrated; the bells were not rung; whilst all the hangings were taken from the walls, and the crucifixes veiled, the services being conducted in the chapter-house, without chanting, till the 21st of December, 1171, when the building was re-consecrated with great solemnity.

Attention must now be directed to the affairs of Ireland; which country, in 1171, the powerful Henry annexed to his dominions. He had long contemplated the conquest of Ireland, and had even obtained a bull (as the papal edicts or ordinances are called) from the pope, giving his sanction to the scheme, and charging the inhabitants of the doomed island to submit to the English king as their lawful sovereign. But Henry's hands were so full of other business, and he was so occupied by his quarrel with Becket, that for a long time he laid the pope's bull aside, and kept its existence a secret. Ireland, however, was destined to fall beneath his sway, not so much from the power of his sword, as from the quarrels of its own inhabitants.

In the early part of Henry's reign, Ireland was divided into five different kingdoms, which were called Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught. Each of these had its own king; but Roderic O'Connor, King of Connaught, was, by common consent, regarded as the supreme sovereign, and nominal lord of the whole island. The Irish were Christians, and many of their clergy were very learned men; but the people were extremely savage and barbarous. Dermot Macmorrogh, or MacMurchad (for his name is differently spelt) was the King of Leinster. He was a man of great size and ferocity; and on one occasion, when he thought his nobles were getting too much power, he suddenly seized seventeen of them, put several to death, and tore out the eyes of the remainder. Tiernan O'Ruarc, the lord of Breffny, a large district in Leinster, and the determined foe of Macmorrogh, had a very beautiful wife, named Dovergilda. This lady, who, it seems, was quite as false as she was beautiful, encouraged the fierce King of Leinster to seize and carry her off with him during

the absence of her husband. Macmorrogh did not require much invitation, so he not only ran away with the lady, but with a good deal of her husband's property into the bargain. In consequence of this outrage, a petty war was kept up between him and O'Ruaro for several years; and the latter, being at last assisted by the King of Connaught, and by many of Macmorrogh's own subjects, who were disgusted with his tyranny, the seducer was driven from his kingdom, and compelled to flee to England for safety.

Macmorrogh, however, was not the sort of man to be easily subdued, and he determined at any sacrifice to regain his lost sovereignty. He landed at Bristol in the summer of 1167, intending to solicit the assistance of the English king, of whose wisdom and power he had heard so much. Henry was at Guienne, on the continent, and there the exiled Irishman went to seek him. He was received with great courtesy by the English monarch, who had not forgotten his own project of invading Ireland; but he was not then prepared for so important an action, so he merely received an oath of allegiance from Macmorrogh, who promised to be his true vassal and subject. This he did in the hope that Henry would undertake his cause, and place him on his throne again; but that cautious monarch only gave him letters patent, by which he empowered all his subjects, who were so disposed, to assist the Irish prince to recover his dominions.

Macmorrogh showed the king's letters to a great many nobles and adventurers, and made them liberal promises if they would assist him; but for a long time none of them seemed inclined to do so. At length, a son of the Earl of Pembroke, Richard de Clare, Earl of Strigbul [Chepstow], who was commonly known as Earl Strongbow, entered into an arrangement with him, by which he was to collect such an army as would replace Macmorrogh on his throne, on condition that the Irish king gave him his daughter Eva in marriage, and secured him the succession to his kingdom. After this, Macmorrogh went into Wales, where he was fortunate enough to enlist two young nobles in his cause, and then returned privately to his own country.

Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephens, the Welsh allies of the deposed Irish prince, first sailed to his assistance in 1169, each with a small body of troops; but they were well armed, and well disciplined, so they soon proved their superiority to the native Irish, and Macmorrogh was again made King of Leinster. After one of the battles which took place before this event was accomplished, 300 newly-severed heads were brought and piled in heaps at the feet of Macmorrogh; the savage prince turned them over one by one, to see if he knew any of them. At last he recognised the head of a man who had been his bitter enemy; taking it by the hair, he uttered a cry of joy, and, thanking God for his triumph, he, like a merciless and beastly savage, bit away the nose and lips of the ghastly object.

Encouraged by their success, Macmorrogh and his English friends now contemplated obtaining the sovereignty of the whole island; but before they attempted so bold an exploit, they wrote to Earl Strongbow, who, though he had been collecting troops, had not yet set foot in Ireland. Strongbow arrived in the month of September, 1170, bringing with him a small, but well-appointed army. They marched almost immediately upon the city of Waterford, overcame the citizens, slaughtering them without mercy, leaving the streets filled with fearful heaps of mangled corpses, and many of the houses blackened masses of charred and smoking ruins. Here they were joined by Macmorrogh and his other friends, Fitzgerald and Fitzstephen; and there at once, before the piles of dead were hidden beneath the blood-soaked dust of that desolate city, was Earl Strongbow married to the Princess Eva.

Again the banners of the invaders floated proudly in the air, and the English were on their march to Dublin; and there again they were joined by the fierce Macmorrogh, who had led his native Irish troops by a short way among the mountains. The inhabitants, terrified at the power and success of their foreign enemies, would have purchased peace on almost any terms; but the cruel invaders, who seem to have banished all feelings of humanity from their mailed bosoms, assaulted the city, murdered, plundered, and burnt in every direction; and Dublin became, also, a heap of ruins. Soon after this, Macmorrogh died, and Strongbow became sovereign of Leinster, in the right of his wife Eva, with a good chance of becoming king of the entire island. The native Irish princes, alarmed at their danger, besieged Dublin, where Strongbow was then posted, with an army of 30,000 men; but he soon defeated them, and then there remained no one in Ireland so bold as to challenge his authority.

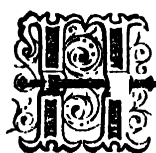
King Henry had not been indifferent to what was passing in Ireland; he had permitted Strongbow and his associates to hunt down the prey, but he was resolved that none but himself should seize and enjoy it, so he sent a command to the earl to appear before him in person. Strongbow accordingly went to England, and appeased the anger of the king by the most humble submission. He surrendered into his hands the city of Dublin, and all the other towns and forts which he held along the coast of Ireland; upon which Henry permitted him to retain his other possessions so long as he acknowledged himself a vassal of the English crown. Then the king, who had collected a powerful army, embarked with it for Ireland, taking with him Earl

Strongbow; and, in the autumn of 1171, they landed at a place called the Crook, near Waterford.

Henry and his army made a triumphant progress through Ireland, and received the homage of its native princes, who readily submitted to his authority. He remained some months in the green island, and held his court at Dublin, where a temporary building of wicker-work was constructed for his accommodation. The Irish nobles were astonished at his wealth and magnificence; and no less astonished at seeing the powerful English king and his courtiers dining upon roasted cranes, which the latter esteemed a great luxury, but the former regarded as loathsome and unnatural. However, when they feasted with the king, they were persuaded to taste the cranes, and at length ate them with as great a relish as the English did. At the present day, people are much too apt to fancy customs that they are not familiar with to be offensive or ridiculous, which, on a further acquaintance, are found to be both pleasing and reasonable. Forbearance and courtesy towards people whose habits and manners are strange and odd to us, is not the least important of the many lessons taught by the perusal of history.—After his successes, King Henry remained in Ireland until April, 1172, on account of the stormy state of the weather; and then, embarking at Wexford, set sail for England.—Thus was Ireland brought into subjection to the English rule.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SECOND.—A.D. 1172—1189.



ENRY was now at the height of human power and prosperity. He had, by immense concessions, entirely appeased the anger of the pope, who, on account of the murder of Becket, had been exceedingly irritated against him; and he was at peace with his clergy, who had learned to respect his great talents, and bow deferentially to his authority. He was esteemed by his people at home for his good government; and admired or feared by all the princes of Europe for his wisdom and power. The French king, and some other continental sovereigns, were jealous of this prosperity, and through their schemes the great English king received a painful blow from a quarter where he had every reason to expect obedience and affection. This blow was inflicted by the hands of his own children.

At this period of his reign (1172), King Henry had four sons—Henry, who was eighteen years of age; Richard, sixteen; Geoffrey, fifteen; and John, five. His first-born, William, died young. The king had made a princely provision for all his sons. The eldest, Henry, he named his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. Richard was to have the duchy of Guienne, and county of Poictou. Geoffrey was to succeed to Brittany; and Ireland was to recognise John as its future sovereign. By this arrangement each of his sons would be a prince and ruler; and no sovereign in Europe could have left to his children a more brilliant and wealthy patrimony. But these sons, so loved and cared for, were destitute of natural affection, and, instead of being a glory and a blessing to their father, became his curse and source of sorrow.

Henry, the eldest, who had, as previously mentioned, been married, while a child, to Margaret, the infant daughter of the French king, was crowned King of England during the lifetime of his father, in order to remove any chance of dispute as to his succession. So fond was the royal father of his vain and foolish son, that, at the feast which followed the coronation, he even waited upon the prince at table. It would have been graceful in the young man not to have accepted this humiliating instance of affection on the part of his father; but if his royal parent insisted upon it, he should, at least, have received it with thankful gratitude. A very different feeling, however, appears to have influenced him; for when his father observed that "never king was more royally served," the arrogant prince turned to his courtiers, and remarked, "that it was nothing extraordinary if the son of a count should serve the son of a king!"

Prince Henry and his bride, Margaret, were crowned at the same time; and they then went on a visit to the court of the lady's father, the King of France. Louis VII., who was jealous of the great power of Henry, and anxious to injure him in any way, took the opportunity afforded by this visit of poisoning the mind of the young prince against his own father, and exciting him to rebellion. He told the ungrateful youth, who readily listened to him, that, as he was crowned, he had a right either to the throne of Eng-

land, or the ducal chair of Normandy. The prince, acting upon this pernicious advice, upon his return to England, demanded either one or the other of those countries from his father, that he and his queen might have the means of supporting their lofty rank. To demand his father's crown while that father was in the full maturity of mind and person, and a hundred-fold better capable of governing than himself, was both insolent and ridiculous; but the prince pretended to be much astonished when this strange demand was refused; made use of some abrupt and disrespectful language to his royal parent; and, soon after, fled secretly to France. The king's wife, Eleanor, was a jealous and revengeful woman; her husband's neglect had aroused in her a spirit of bitterness towards him; so she persuaded her sons Richard and Geoffrey that they also had a right to the possessions of their father during his life, and urged them to fly and join their brother at the French court. The ungrateful boys adopted their mother's advice; and the queen, after disguising herself as a man, was about to follow them; but Henry being informed of her intention, she was arrested by his order, and thrown into prison, where she remained for a period of sixteen years.

King Henry sent ambassadors to the French court, to demand that his sons should be given up to him; but Louis answered, that there was no King of England except the young Prince Henry; and he then took an oath to assist the son in driving the father out of his kingdom. The rebellious boys were also joined by many discontented English barons, who disliked the strictness of Henry's just government, and longed for a return of the times when they used to issue from their massive stone castles, plunder the surrounding country, burn the villages, and murder travellers for their property. Such enormities they had committed with impunity during the unhappy reign of Stephen; and they sighed for a return of that age of unchecked violence. The King of Scotland also entered into an alliance with the unnatural sons of King Henry.

Father and sons both applied to the pope, who, to his credit, refused to sanction the unnatural behaviour of the latter, and even excommunicated them; but as the interests of the clergy were not concerned in the struggle, they did not much interfere, and the excommunication was found to possess very little effect. These strange papal denunciations seem only to have been powerful in the cause of mischief. As the curse of words failed to restore the princes to a sense of their duty, the curse of war followed. Several petty battles took place between the troops of King Henry on the one side, and the armies of his sons and their abettors on the other; but the active Henry, who had purchased the assistance of 20,000 Brabançons, was on each occasion the victor.

The French king then desired a peace: Henry was not averse to this; for the heart of the father shrunk from making war upon his sons. The two monarchs met in an open plain between Gisors and Trie; and Henry had the grief of beholding his three graceless sons in the retinue of his mortal enemy He made them the most liberal and extravagant offers if they would only lay down their arms and return to him, as sons to a father; and to his eldest, Henry, he promised even half the revenues of his kingdom upon that simple condition. Perhaps these noble and touching offers might have been accepted; but the Earl of Leicester, who had taken the side of the princes, and no doubt dreaded a reconciliation, offered so gross an insult to King Henry, that the meeting broke up in confusion.

Henry was now threatened by wars abroad, and rebellions at home; his eldest son and the French king attacked the frontiers of Normandy; Geoffrey again drew the sword against his father in Brittany; and Richard, who afterwards became so famous a warrior, headed an army against him in Poictou and Guienne. The great-hearted king was soon in the field, and his valour and activity were rapidly beating down the opposition of his ungrateful children, when he was suddenly recalled to England by the news that the Scots were devastating its northern counties, that the standard of rebellion was raised against him by several powerful barons, and that his eldest son and the Earl of Flanders were then upon the seas, with a formidable fleet, ready for the invasion of England. For a moment Henry's heroic spirit seems to have quailed under these numerous dangers; the ingratitude of his children pierced his heart, and sat heavily upon his soul. His enemies were endeavouring to rob him of the affections of the people by reviving the memory of Becket's murder, and charging him with the guilt of its perpetration. Grief inclines the mind to religion; the spirit bruised by man seeks consolation by trying to approach nearer to God; the king also felt it was necessary to disabuse the popular mind of any prejudice which might exist against him with respect to the death of Becket; and he adopted a very singular means of accomplishing this end, and, at the same time, pouring out the sorrows of his overcharged heart.

Hurrying over to England, he landed at Southampton on the 8th of July, 1174, from whence he immediately rode to Canterbury, travelling all night, and taking no refreshment but bread and water. When he came in sight of the majestic towers of the cathedral, he dismounted from his horse, and taking off his sandals, walked the rest of the distance barefooted. With lacerated and bleeding feet, on the 10th of July he

entered the sacred pile, and descending into the crypt, threw himself, in an agony of tears, upon the grave of the archbishop. He seems to have made the clergy aware of his intention; for the Bishop of London then ascended the pulpit, and delivered a kind of apology for the unhappy monarch to the multitude of people who had collected to see this strange instance of royal humiliation. "Be it known to you," said the bishop, "as many as are here present, that Henry, King of England, invoking, for his soul's salvation, God and the holy martyrs, solemnly protests before you all, that he never ordered, or knowingly caused, or even desired, the death of the saint; but, as possibly the murderers took advantage of some words imprudently pronounced, he has come to do penance before the bishops here assembled, and has consented to submit his naked flesh to the rods of discipline."

When the bishop had concluded his discourse, the king rose from the grave of Becket, on which he had been lying prostrate, walked through the church and cloisters to the chapter-house, and taking off the upper part of his dress, he knelt, and presented his naked back to be scourged by all the bishops and monks there present, amounting to about eighty. A more extraordinary scene than this, perhaps, never occurred in any age or country; the most powerful king in Europe, kneeling, half naked, with matted hair and haggard looks, to be scourged by a number of priests, in expiation of a sin which he had never committed. The bishops and abbots first approached with their knotted cords, and each of them gave the king several lashes, saying, as he did so, "Even as Christ was scourged for the sins of men, so be thou scourged for thine own sins." The monks followed the bishops and abbots, and the king knelt the whole time, and received a portion of his punishment from every one. There is little doubt but that the blows were lightly dealt; for the monks looked some day to be abbots, the abbots to be bishops, and the bishops to be archbishops; and they all knew, however depressed in spirits or fortune Henry was at that moment, that he was a talented prince, and would probably soon be again in possession of his usual cheerfulness and power. When the whipping was over, the king descended again to the vaults of the cathedral, and there, amidst the damp and gloomy resting-places of the dead, he threw himself once more upon the grave of the murdered Becket. In this loathsome charnel-house he remained the whole day and night, passing his time in tears and prayers. When the morning broke, when the birds chirped and carolled on the green boughs which waved gently outside the sculptured walls, and the rich rays of a midsummer sun streamed through the painted windows of the vast edifice, the king rose, and leaving the vault, went into the body of the cathedral, and prayed before all the altars and relics. The penance was then completed; and having drank some holy water, Henry mounted his horse and rode away to London. Some writers have accused him of hypocrisy in this strange act of penitential devotion; but, when we consider his political difficulties, and his domestic sorrows, things which will bow down the minds and soften the hearts of the strongest men, extraordinary as the proceeding was, there is good reason to believe that he was sincere in the performance of it.

When the king reached his palace he was seized with a burning fever, the natural results of the exposure and fatigue he had undergone. For five days and nights he lay parched and restless, and then word was brought him that the King of Scots—known as William the Lion, from the device of the king of beasts borne on his shield—was taken prisoner. Instantly he was another man; his illness left him as if by magic; his whole strength of body and hilarity of mind returned, and he was soon again on horseback at the head of a numerous army of his own subjects; for the people pitied their king, whose troubles proceeded from his unnatural children, and they flocked to his standard in thousands. The Scots were humbled, and glad to sue for peace; the English rebels laid down their arms, and bought their pardon by the surrender of their castles; the Earl of Flanders, baffled and humbled, was glad to be reconciled with the great English king; and two of the rebellious princes, Henry and Geoffrey, submitted to their father. The turbulent young Richard, who already loved fighting for fighting's sake, held out for a little while longer; but he, too, was soon glad to lay down his arms, and accept the forgiveness of his generous sire. The extreme clemency of Henry to these vanquished foes was remarkable in that age of sternness and cruelty. The only one to whom he dealt with severity was the King of Scotland, whose attack upon him, in favour of his rebellious sons, had been most ungenerous and uncalled for. Henry kept that monarch in prison until he consented to sacrifice the independence of his kingdom, and, on his knees, acknowledge himself to be the vassal of the English crown. Much of this wonderful success of Henry in war was no doubt attributable to his untiring industry. He travelled from place to place with a rapidity which astonished his foes, and drew from his old enemy, the French king, the remark, that "The King of England neither rides on land, nor sails on water, but flies through the air like a bird. In a moment he flits from Ireland to England, in another from England to France."

And now, for eight happy years, peace prevailed in England; summer and winter came and went, and the

sword remained in its scabbard; seed-time and harvest-time succeeded each other; the earth was watered by the sweet dews of heaven, and not by the blood of its children; and plenty and prosperity smiled in the homesteads of the humblest. During this period Henry greatly improved the system of jurisprudence, and the administration of the laws. He abolished the practice of commuting, by fines, the commission of murder, and other heinous crimes; those fines being, not in accordance with the wealth of the accused, but, in the cases of murder, varied according to the rank and position of the victim. He improved the imperfect jury system which then existed, and rendered it nearly the same as it is at present; and he instituted the circuits through the provinces, to be annually taken by the judges for the administration of justice. The trial by ordeal still existed; but it was greatly modified, and was not often resorted to; and the trial by jury was made the rule, that by ordeal the exception. Henry also took measures for the defence of the country; ordaining, that all who possessed land should provide themselves with arms, and be ready to come forward in the service of their country when required.

At the end of this period—in 1183—King Henry's sons began to quarrel among themselves; the princes Henry and Geoffrey making war upon their brother Richard. The king, who seems to have dearly loved them all, interposed and made peace between them; but these unnatural sons and brothers were incapable of long remaining in concord together; and Prince Geoffrey even declared, that "they could never possibly live in peace with one another, unless united in a common war against their own father." Shortly afterwards Prince Henry again revolted against his father; but, in about a month, deserted his followers, and besought his parent's forgiveness. It was instantly accorded; and shortly after he again deserted and betrayed his noble and affectionate sire; and, joining his brother Geoffrey, who also was in arms against his father, prepared to give him battle. The wicked career of this modern Absalom, who seemed so anxious to become a parricide, was suddenly arrested by a power alike heedless of hypocrisy, and deaf to entreaties. A sudden illness seized him at Château-Martel, near Limoges; and the treacherous prince himself felt that the hand of death was upon him. In this situation he was seized with an agony of remorse for his perfidious conduct to his father, for whom he sent, imploring him to visit and forgive him. The royal parent would have hurried to the bedside of his repentant son, but his advisers very properly represented, that this message might be a falsehood, and a snare laid to effect his assassination. He was compelled to admit the probability of such a revolting circumstance; so, taking a ring from his finger, he sent it to his dying son, as a token of his forgiveness and affection.

The ring was presented; the guilty and wretched prince pressed it earnestly to his lips, and begged the attendant priests to drag him, with a rope, out of bed, and lay him on a heap of ashes, that he might expire in an act of penance for his numerous and monstrous deeds of filial ingratitude. Death soon closed this scene of terror; and in 1183, the royal profligate, then in his twenty-seventh year, breathed his last. When King Henry heard of the death of his son he was seized with the deepest affliction; three times did that strong man faint away; and then, with many tears, he accused himself of hard-heartedness for refusing the last request of the prince.

After the burial of Henry, Prince Geoffrey craved and received his father's forgiveness; and for a few months this strange family lived in peace. Then the covetous or ambitious Geoffrey suddenly demanded of his father the earldom of Anjou, and, meeting with a refusal, once again fled to the French court, and levied troops to fight against his father. But it seemed as if the hand of God interposed to punish these ungrateful sons; for, soon after Geoffrey's arrival in France [A.D. 1186], he was dismounted at a tournament, and trampled to death beneath the feet of the horses who were prancing proudly round the gaudy lists. He left a widow, the Lady Constance, who, soon after his death, became a mother; her child was named Arthur; he was the unhappy Prince Arthur whose sad tragedy, during the reign of his uncle John, has always excited so much grief and pity.

Louis VII. of France was dead; and his son, Philip II., a bold and clever prince, succeeded him. Philip gave Geoffrey a very grand funeral, and then invited King Henry's third son, Richard, to come and see him. Richard accepted the invitation, and he and Philip lived together, apparently in great concord and affection. But the crafty young King of France had his ends to serve; and the result of this visit was, that Richard once more [A.D. 1187] rebelled against his father, once more failed in his wicked design, and once more received the pardon of his fond, forgiving parent.

In a preceding chapter, the efforts which were made throughout Europe to rescue the tomb of the Saviour from the hands of the Turks and Saracens, have been mentioned. After hundreds of thousands of men had perished by the fatigues of the journey, by sickness, and by the sword, the soldiers of the cross triumphed; Jerusalem was taken, its inhabitants butchered with a frightful ferocity, and the conquerors, with blood-bespattered arms and faces, threw themselves upon the ground before the tomb of Jesus, and gave way to the most extravagant acts of devotion. Jerusalem was

captured in the year 1099, and the famous Godfrey of Bouillon was crowned king of the Holy City. But the Saracens, though crushed for a time, again made head, and reduced their Christian conquerors to great distress. A second crusade was undertaken in 1147, in which more than 200,000 men are said to have perished; but still the Christians were unable to retain their supremacy, and at length a Saracen prince, of great bravery and talent, named Saladin, drove them from Jerusalem [A.D. 1187], and established himself as its ruler. When this news reached Europe, Pope Urban III. is said to have died of grief in consequence; and his successors, Gregory and Clement, devoted themselves to exhort the potentates of Europe to revive this terrible contest. The English king responded to the call, and so did Philip of France; both of them received the symbol of the cross from the hands of the Archbishop of Tyre, and both solemnly swore to become soldiers of Christ, and "brothers-in-arms for the cause of God."

War, however, cannot be carried on without money; so Henry imposed a heavy tax upon his people, for the purpose of getting ready an army to go to Jerusalem; and as this tax did not yield a sufficient sum to enable him to accomplish his intention, he sullied his usual justice by extorting an immense amount from the Jews. But an event occurred, which not only prevented Henry from going to the Holy Land, but shortened and embittered the remainder of his existence.

His son Richard had been affianced, when a boy, to the Lady Alice, or Adelais, the sister of Philip the French king. When the parties were old enough for the marriage to be solemnised, the lady was residing at the English court; but Richard, who was at war with his father, was of course absent from it. The prince was not an ardent lover; indeed, he seems to have been quite indifferent about the princess, and never even claimed her until a strange report was spread abroad that his father himself loved her. Whether this was true, or a mere idle tale, cannot now be determined; but it should be remembered that Henry was in his fifty-sixth year, and it is rational to suppose that so wise a monarch would not, at that age, endeavour to win the affections of a young girl, especially of one who was engaged to his own son. It does not seem, either, that Prince Richard believed the rumour; or, indifferent as he was to the attractions of the princess, he would not, under such circumstances, have been willing to fulfil his engagement of marrying her.

But Richard, who feared that his father intended to disinherit him for his repeated acts of ingratitude, and place his younger brother John on the throne instead, now imperatively demanded the hand of the Princess Alice, and also that his father should proclaim him heir both to the crown of England and his continental possessions. Henry, who remembered how his eldest son had behaved to him after such an act of generosity, resolutely refused. Richard was indignant; he joined the French king [A.D. 1188], and defied his father; and the English king rushed from the scene of meeting, his heart breaking with grief at the conduct of his children. The iron constitution of Henry now gave way; his affections had been repeatedly trampled upon by those whom he most loved; he lost his health and activity; he experienced several reverses in war; many of his barons deserted him and joined his son; sickness and sorrow paralysed his efforts; and the almost broken-hearted king was compelled, in this prostrate condition, to purchase peace from his own son and the French king upon any terms they were pleased to dictate.

Among other conditions, he was required to pardon all his barons and vassals who had deserted him to join Richard. He consented to do so; indeed, he consented to everything demanded from him, for a dim apathy had clouded his great and once active mind, and he seemed regardless both of the extent of the demands made upon him, and the humility of his concessions. With a heavy sigh he turned in his bed, and desired to see the list of the traitors whom he was to forgive. It was handed to him, and the first name upon it was that of his youngest and darling son, John—the only one of his legitimate children who had never before rebelled or fought against him. Until that sad moment he had been ignorant of this wicked desertion, and the knowledge of it fell upon him like a thunderbolt. With a cry of despair he started up in his bed, his sunken eyes glared wildly, and his white lips quivered as he asked, in tones of hysterical agony, "Is it true that John, the child of my heart, whom I have loved and cherished more than all the rest, and for love of whom I have drawn down on my head all these troubles, hath verily betrayed me?" The envoys told him that it was even so. Falling back in his bed despairingly, and turning his face to the wall, the broken-hearted king exclaimed, "Now let everything go as it will; I have no longer any care for myself or the world."

His attendants removed their dying sovereign to the beautiful castle of Chinon, near Saumur, by the side of which flowed the river Loire; it had been a favourite spot of his in happier times, but its pleasant scenery brought him no consolation then. It was evident that his last hour was approaching; his mind wandered, and he now and then uttered some rambling exclamations with reference to his fallen fortunes and the ingratitude of his children. "Shame!" he cried, "oh, shame! a conquered king! I a conquered king! Cursed be the day on which I was born, and cursed of God the children I leave behind me." Soon afterwards he sighed heavily and sank back into the arms of his natural son Geoffrey,

who had ever been most affectionate and dutiful to him: the trials of the royal father were over—he was no more.

He died on the 6th of July, 1189, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. No sooner was he dead than his body was deserted by his attendants, who stripped it of everything of value, and even robbed the room of its furniture. At length the last duties of the survivors were paid to the dead monarch; his body was conveyed to the abbey of Fontevraud, and there it was met by Prince Richard, who seems to have experienced some feelings of remorse for the unnatural conduct which had caused his father's death. Uncovering the face of the corpse, which still bore an awful expression of mental anguish, he gazed upon it for some time in a sorrowful manner; then shudderingly replacing the cere-cloth, he knelt for a little while in prayer. He had not been more guilty than his brothers; but it was his last act of parricidal rebellion that had cleft his father's heart, and brought him prematurely to the grave with anguish. There was an old superstition, universally believed by our ancestors, that the body of a murdered man would burst out bleeding afresh at the touch or presence of its murderer. It was reported that the corpse of King Henry bled from the nostrils on the appearance of his son Richard. Of course this could not have happened, for, at the moment of death, the blood flows back into the heart, and the little which is left in the veins congeals into a mass, and loses its fluid state. It could not, therefore, have poured from the body except by a miracle; and we know that miracles ceased from the time that the apostles were called from the earth to an eternity of glory. They were performed as evidences of the divine origin of the religion of the heaven-descended Jesus; and that object accomplished, they ceased for ever. But though we must reject this story respecting the body of King Henry, it is mentioned to show that, even then, despite the brilliancy of his rank and the amount of his power, the future King of England was regarded by his people as a parricide.

Very different accounts exist of King Henry's personal character; and he certainly seems to have been a singular mixture of both virtues and vices. That he was the most illustrious of the Norman kings that had yet ruled England, and that his long reign was productive of many blessings to the country, cannot easily be disputed. He found the land in ruin, and the people in despair; he left the one prosperous, and the other contented. His ambition was enormous; and he used to say, in his hours of triumph, that the whole world was not too much for the dominion of one great man. He never hesitated to serve this ambition by any means in his power; and he is said to have been a perfect master of dissimulation, and to have hesitated at no falsehood if it could promote his aims. He was also exceedingly passionate, and impatient of all contradiction, resembling a tiger in his fits of fury; an unfaithful husband, and much attached to pleasure. On the other hand, he was dignified, generous, and very affectionate to those to whom he was attached. He did not possess that cruelty which so often disgraced the characters of princes of his time; but though haughty and overbearing to the proud, he was gentle to the distressed, and affable to the poor. He was graceful and engaging in conversation, very moderate at table, fond of literature and discussion, singularly industrious, and capable of bearing much fatigue without injury.

A singular story is told, which admirably illustrates his indifference to the pleasures of good living. One day the monks and prior of Saint Swithin presented themselves before him, and, in a very lamentable manner, complained, that the Abbot of Winchester, who was also their abbot, had cut off three dishes from their table. "Indeed," said the king; "and how many has he left you?" "Only ten," replied these gluttonous monks, who tried to look at him as lean and miserable as their well-fed and comfortable state would permit. "Ten!" exclaimed Henry in astonishment; "why, I myself only have three dishes at my table, and I shall enjoin your bishop to reduce yours to the same number." The looks of the disappointed monks, as they retired from the presence of their austere sovereign, must have been downcast and ridiculous enough. This luxury on their part was doubtless the more offensive to the temperate Henry, from the fact, that the Normans, though very choice in their eating, were seldom guilty of the coarse gluttony, and excessive drinking, which characterised the Saxons. There is an old Norman proverb, which shows that the manners of that people were simple and temperate. It runs thus:—

To rise at five, to dine at nine,
To sup at five, to bed at nine,
Makes a man live to ninety-nine.

This proverb gives also some idea of the domestic arrangements of our Norman ancestors. With all their vices and foibles, they were unacquainted with that great modern folly of turning night into day.

A very interesting description of Henry's personal appearance is contained in a letter from his confidential friend and agent, Peter of Blois, to the Archbishop of Palermo; a part of which deserves extracting, for it is quite a portrait in words. "You are aware that his complexion and his hair inclined to red; but the approach of old age hath altered this, and the hair is turning grey. He is of middle size, such that among short men he seems tall, and even among tall ones not the least in stature. His head is spherical, as if it were

the seat of great wisdom, and the special sanctuary of deep schemes. In size, it is such as to correspond well with the neck and the whole body. His eyes are round, and, while he is calm, dove-like and quiet; but when he is angry they flash fire, and are like lightning. His hair is not grown scant, but he keeps it well cut. His face is lion-like, and almost square. His nose projects in a degree proportionate to the symmetry of his whole body. His feet are arched; his shins like a horse's; his broad chest and brawny arms proclaim him to be strong, active, and bold. In one of his toes, however, part of the nail grows into the flesh, and increases enormously, to the injury of the whole foot. His hands, by their coarseness, show the man's carelessness; he wholly neglects all attention to them, and never puts a glove on, except he is hawking. He every day attends mass, councils, and other public business, and stands on his feet from morning till night."

Besides his two sons, Richard and John, Henry left three daughters, Matilda, Eleanor, and Joan. He also had several natural children, two of whom, Geoffrey, who attended him in his dying moments, and William Longsword, so called from the weapon he carried, attained to some distinction. Their mother was a daughter of Walter, Lord Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire. Her name was Rosamond; and, on account of her great beauty, she was called "The Fair Rosamond." A romantic story is told, of Henry's keeping her in a bower, situated in the midst of a maze at Woodstock, where it is said his wife, Queen Eleanor, having discovered the hidden fair one, compelled her to choose between being put to death by a dagger which she carried, or else by drinking a draught of poison. This old tale is now known to be untrue. Henry loved and lived with the beautiful Rosamond in his youth; but long before his death she retired, in a fit of penitence, to the little nunnery of Godestow, and spent the remainder of her life in devotion. The following lines were written over her grave:—

"This tomb doth here enclose the world's most beauteous rose;
Rose, passing sweet ere while, now nought but odour vile."

A long time after, the bishop of the diocese ordered her bones to be dug up and thrown out of the church, because of her unchaste life. This uncharitable order was obeyed; but the nuns, who loved the memory of poor Rosamond, collected them again, and buried them in the church, near a flower-wreathed cross, under a large stone, upon which was engraved these simple words:—

"All you which pass this way, this cross adore, and pray
That Rosamond's soul may true rest possess, for aye."

During the long and prosperous reign of Henry, commerce began to be more cultivated and respected than it had ever before been in England; and London rose to be a very important city, exporting goods to distant countries, and receiving in return for them gold and spices from Arabia, jewels from Egypt, rare cloths from India, weapons from Scythia, furs from Norway and Russia, and wines from the rich vineyards of France. This shows that during Henry's reign the people were making slow but certain advances in civilisation. Trade, industry, and popular intelligence, not war, parade, and conquest, are the foundations on which the real and only lasting prosperity of nations can be reared. But although London was rising in importance, we must not suppose it bore the faintest resemblance to the vast and crowded city which it is in the present day. A monk, of the name of Fitzstephen, has left us a curious and interesting account of it. Ludgate, he tells us, was then the west end of London; from there to Westminster was nothing but fields and gardens. Moorfields, or Finsbury, was a sheet of water, into which ran many little streams, that were employed in turning old rustic-looking water-mills; the high grounds about Islington and Pentonville were covered with rich grass and fields of waving corn; while much of the country beyond was still a thick, romantic forest, where wild boars browsed beneath gigantic oaks, where the foot of the hunter sometimes lingered, but in which, from the time of the creation, probably no human creature had ever dwelt.

CHAPTER XV.

THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST, CALLED CŒUR DE LION.—A D. 1189—1193.



PRINCE RICHARD was detained upon the continent for nearly two months after the burial of his unhappy father; but he had sent letters to England, commanding the instant liberation of his mother, the Queen-Dowager Eleanor, from prison; and that lady, who was possessed of a strong mind and a hard heart, governed the country as regent until her son's arrival. When Richard landed, he proceeded at once to Winchester, and took possession of a considerable treasure which his father had left. He was in his thirty-second year when he ascended the throne, and his coronation took place on the 3rd of September, 1189. It was conducted with remarkable magnificence, in the noble old abbey of Westminster, where the prince, standing upon the steps of the altar, took from it the regal crown with his own hands—an act which was understood to imply that he received it only from the Deity; and, handing it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that prelate placed it upon the head of the new sovereign.

The royal ceremony was, however, attended by an act of extreme wickedness and cruelty. During the reign of Richard's father, the Jews had, on most occasions, been treated with much lenity by the English sovereign, and that persecuted race had increased considerably in the land. Devoted to the peaceful pursuits of commerce, they were both harmless and valuable citizens; but, as they always preferred trading to labour, their wealth, and the seeming ease with which they obtained it, generally excited the envy and hatred of their Christian neighbours. They were also hated from religious motives, because their ancestors, more than eleven centuries and a-half before, had put to death the Saviour of the world. The ignorant and bigoted Christians did not reflect upon the shameful injustice of punishing a people for an act committed by the nation from which they were descended, and from whom they were separated by so vast a period of time. Nor did the narrow-minded people of that age consider, that if the Jews then living were in any way guilty of the great sin committed by their ancestors so many years before, God, and not man, was their judge; and that none should presume to wrest the sword of vengeance from the awful hand of the Deity.

But hatred and intolerance are among the evil passions which render men and women incapable of calm reflection, and even tend to extinguish all feelings of gentleness and humanity in their bosoms. The Jews were very much disliked; the dead king, Henry, and his predecessors, Henry I. and William Rufus, had been accused of favouring them too highly; and Richard, probably to gain popularity with the thoughtless and cruel, issued a proclamation, forbidding any Jews to be present at his coronation. Before this proclamation appeared, many Jews had prepared rich presents for the new king, that they might obtain from him the same grace and protection which they had hitherto enjoyed. Gifts are generally welcome, and these wealthy Jews presumed to approach their sovereign, and to lay their treasures at his feet. Richard accepted the presents, and permitted the givers to remain; but a quarrel arose between them and the Christians, and the former were violently driven out of the hall, where the king sat at dinner. A report instantly arose among the multitude outside the walls of the palace, that Richard had commanded the destruction of the persecuted people. This supposed order was too much in unison with the savage feelings of the vast mob to be neglected: the Jews were first beaten with staves and pelted with stones; and as the fury of their assailants grew more excited, they were murdered in the streets, with no further pity than if they had been a horde of wolves or other dangerous beasts. Many of them fled to their houses, and barred the doors; but there the mob pursued them, uttering fierce shouts and denunciations; and, in their horrid fury, setting fire to the dwellings in which the unhappy Jews had taken refuge. In some cases, men, women, and children perished in the flames, while their despairing cries of agony, and vain shrieks for assistance, were only answered by savage peals of laughter; in others, as they were rushing from amidst the blazing ruins, they were received upon the points of the swords and spears of their murderers, and so perished. In some instances, the aged and the sick were thrown out of the windows of their own dwellings, into fires which had been lit beneath in the streets. These monstrous acts of unprovoked barbarity continued all one afternoon, the whole night, and the succeeding day. Indeed, the houses of so many Jews were consumed, that it was, at one time, feared the whole city would be destroyed.

Richard, as soon as he found what was taking place, sent some of his chief officers to put down the tumult, and afford protection to the wretched victims of this

savage outbreak of ignorance and superstition; and at length went himself to endeavour to put a stop to the fury and excesses of the masses. But hours elapsed before quiet was restored. Glanville, the lord justiciary, was directed to ascertain who were the leaders of the riot, and cause them to be punished; but, on inquiry, it was found that so many wealthy citizens were involved in it, that it was thought prudent to take no further notice of the matter. All that Richard did, was to order three men to be hanged, because they had accidentally burnt the houses of some Christians along with those of the Jews. Unhappily this dreadful massacre was not confined to London. When the news reached the provinces, the fanatics at Norwich, York, Stamford, and other places—many of whom really thought that in killing a Jew they were doing good service—followed the example of those in the metropolis; and the great majority of Jews then in England fell victims to their fury. If these acts of barbarity had occurred during the reign of Henry II., they would not have been allowed to pass without strict investigation, and a rigid visitation of justice upon those who were engaged in them. As it was, the peeople were so much interested in the crusades—and so many of the actual murderers of the Jews were soon on their way to the Holy Land—that little or nothing was done.

Richard had "taken the cross"—that is, engaged himself to join the crusades or holy wars—before the death of his father; and after his coronation—having first discarded and disgraced those who countenanced or assisted him in his rebellion against Henry: whilst he retained in their offices the faithful servants of the late king—all his thoughts and actions were directed to the raising of a sum of money which would enable him to embark an army for Palestine. He adopted means equally impolitic and injudicious for this purpose. He sold many of the crown lands, royal fortresses, and even towns; and declared that he would sell London itself, if he could find any one wealthy enough to buy it. All places of profit and honour also he sold to the highest bidder, and compelled many rich men to lend him large sums of money, which he knew he had neither the means nor the intention of repaying. The royal pardon was also sold to any criminals who were rich enough to purchase it; and the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick were restored to the King of Scotland, who was released from the obligation of doing homage, except for the possessions he held in this country. By these means Richard was enabled to raise an enormous army, and a princely fleet.

Though making such immense preparations for a war in the service of religion (or, rather, in favour of what the mistaken enthusiasts of that age considered to be the cause of religion), Richard was by no means very devout, or particular in his own conduct. Indeed, his loose behaviour called down upon him the reproof of a zealous preacher of the crusades, who thought that, in consideration of his earnestness in the cause, he might presume to condemn the sins of his sovereign. He advised Richard to get rid of his notorious vices, particularly his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which he called the king's three daughters. Richard, who, with all his evil qualities, had some sparks of goodness in him, and was, besides, gifted with a ready and brilliant wit, immediately turned upon the preacher, and said, with a sarcastic smile, "I have found out fit husbands for all these daughters. My pride I bequeath to the haughty Templars and Hospitallers, who are as proud as Lucifer himself. My covetousness I give to the white monks of the Cisteraux order, for they covet the devil and all. But of my voluptuousness, I can bestow it nowhere better than on the priests and prelates of our time, for therein have they their most felicity."

Before Richard sailed for Palestine, he wished to provide for the safety of his kingdom during his absence; or, to speak more correctly, he was anxious to prevent any attempt being made to deprive him of the crown while he was away. He knew that his brother John had cast a longing eye upon the throne, so he appointed Hugh Pudsey, the Bishop of Durham, and Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, to be regents of the kingdom until his return. Prince John himself had expected to obtain this important position; but, though disappointed, he did not complain, for he hoped, and, indeed, believed, that his brother would never come back alive from Palestine. He was invested, before Richard sailed, with the Earldoms of Cornwall, Dorset, Gloucester, Somerset, Derby, Nottingham, and Lancaster: the king thinking, by this munificence, to secure his loyalty.

Late in the winter of 1189, and not four months from the time of his coronation, the impatient Richard and his army embarked in the most numerous and noble fleet that had ever left the shores of England. Proceeding to Normandy, he was there met by the French king, Philip; for they had agreed to join their armies, and fight together for the conquest of Palestine. The two sovereigns met on the 28th of June, 1190, on the plains of Vezelay, near Burgundy. There they embraced, and swore to protect each other's life and honour; and both beheld, with a natural exultation, the vast masses of troops under their command, which, together, are said to have amounted to the immense number of 100,000 men. The two armies marched in company, with banners flying, and the sounds of martial music rising like a song of triumph into the air, as far

as the city of Lyons. There Richard embarked; and Philip proceeded to Genoa to join a fleet that he had hired, but with an agreement that they should meet again at Messina, in Sicily.

Richard had invented a very singular code of laws for the government of his army and navy. If any man committed a murder while at sea, he was to be tied to the dead body of his victim, and thrown overboard. If the murder was committed on land, the offender was to be bound to the body, and buried alive with it. A man who stabbed another, or struck him so violently as to draw blood, was to have his hand cut off; while lighter blows were punished by plunging the man who gave them three times into the sea. Swearing and bad language were corrected by a fine; while those who were detected of theft, were condemned to have their heads shaved, hot pitch poured thereon, and then a quantity of feathers shaken over them. Thus tarred and feathered, and resembling birds or beasts more than men, the thief found it no easy thing to get rid of this strange badge of disgrace. These laws were, however, conceived in too merciless and whimsical a spirit to continue long in practice.

The English fleet met with many accidents before it arrived at the port of Messina. Richard's ship had been compelled to anchor for repairs at the mouth of the river Arno, near the famous city of Rome; and whilst detained there, the king met with some curious adventures. Leaving his vessel, he went to Naples, where he visited all the most memorable and attractive places in that city. Passing the noble line of mountains, called the Apennines, he proceeded to Salerno, one of the most beautifully situated and civilised cities of Italy. From there he rode across the Pæston plain, through Cilento and Calabria, to Mileto. He seldom strayed very far inland; and his ships sailed closely hugging the shore. Leaving Mileto, the impatient monarch rode on with only a single knight as his attendant—an act of recklessness which nearly cost him his life, though in a manner very different from that which might have been anticipated.

Passing through a village, he was told that there was a poor man in it who had a remarkably fine hawk. Throughout England it was not lawful for any one, except knights and nobles, and the possessors of landed property, to keep these highly-prized birds. The king, from some motive, unintelligible to us of the present day. went to the peasant's cottage, and seized the hawk. The act was a theft; for he had no right either to the bird or to punish the man for keeping it; and looking at the question in the abstract, it was a mean, ungenerous action, because the hawk was of great value, and the owner of it was poor. Acts of that kind were certainly opposed to the character and general conduct of Richard. The man from whom the hawk was taken did not submit quietly to the loss, but ran after the king, and angrily demanded his property. Richard refused to surrender it; and soon a crowd of swarthy, dark-eyed peasants collected and attacked him with their sticks. One of them even drew a long knife; and Richard, incensed at this action, struck the man with the flat of his sword. The blow does not seem to have been a very light one, for the weapon broke in the king's hand; and the brave and warlike Richard, who afterwards became the terror of the East, was compelled to fly from the fury of a mob of angry rustics. Fortunately for him, a priory was near, where he took refuge, or the King of England might have forfeited his life for stealing a hawk, and insulting its owner. Of course, *theft* was not in the king's thoughts; and he probably deemed that he had the same right in Italy, which he undoubtedly would have had in his own country—that of seizing the bird, as it was in the possession of a person prohibited from keeping it.

At length, Richard and his fleet entered the harbour of Messina, in the island of Sicily, which Philip, the French king, had reached a little before him. Richard had a private cause of quarrel with Tancred, the King of Sicily, which he now determined to settle. His youngest sister, Joan, had been married to the late king of that island; and as he died without children, and as it was not lawful for a woman to govern, Tancred, his cousin, was chosen by the people for their sovereign. Joan had opposed the election of Tancred; so, when he was made king, he put the widow in prison, and deprived her of her property.

Richard first insisted on the liberation of his sister, who was instantly sent to him; and he then demanded her dowry. This Tancred would not easily give up; still, he contrived to pacify his formidable adversary. But the English king was not perfectly satisfied; so he seized a monastery on the sea-shore, near Messina, and turning out all the monks, converted the building into a garrison. This led to a quarrel between his soldiers and the people of Sicily; and a great body of the latter approached, armed, towards the English camp. A scuffle ensued; an English knight was wounded; and then Richard himself, rushing upon the scene, called his troops to arms. A general attack took place, and the Sicilians were soon driven into the town of Messina. The fiery monarch took the town by storm, and planted his victorious banner upon its walls. Philip, the French king, was exceedingly angry at this, for Richard had no right to attack Messina; and if it was to be considered a conquered city, the honour of the victory should have been shared equally by the allied armies; so Philip commanded some of his soldiers to pull down the English standard. The proud Richard said he

would take down the standard himself, but would not permit any one else to do so. The cause of offence being thus removed, the kings of England and France, who had been so near quarrelling, were reconciled.

Richard and Philip, with their armies, were compelled to pass the winter in the island of Sicily; and other points of dispute arose between them; but in the latter end of March (1191) they again embarked on the broad waters of the Mediterranean. Richard took with him a young and beautiful lady, the Princess Berengaria (a daughter of the King of Navarre), to whom he was engaged to be married. The French princess, Alice, he now positively refused for his bride, declaring that she had been loved by, and had loved, his late father, King Henry. Her brother Philip was very angry at first, but permitted himself to be pacified; it might be that he feared the story of his sister's dishonour was true, or, perhaps, he did not wish such a subject talked about. At any rate, the marriage was broken off, and the beautiful Berengaria visited King Richard at Messina. She came in company with his mother, Eleanor; but that lady left her with her future husband, and returned to England.

Away went the gallant English fleet over the sunlit sea towards the city of Acre, carrying with it Richard's widowed sister Joan, and his intended bride, Berengaria. A forest of masts, adorned with gay streamers, rose into the air; for the fleet consisted of fifty-three large galleys, and more than a hundred small ones; but mariners in those days were not very skilful; and when Richard had nearly arrived at the end of his long voyage, some of his ships were driven by a storm upon the island of Cyprus. The inhabitants of this place were Greeks, governed by a prince of the name of Isaac, who called himself their emperor. Though descended from that ancient and elegant people, the Greeks of Cyprus were both inhospitable and barbarous. They plundered the wrecks of two English ships which had been cast upon their coast; and instead of assisting the unfortunate mariners and crusaders who were in them, shut the wretched men up in prison.

When King Richard heard how his followers had been treated, he swore an oath that he would be revenged. He disembarked all his troops; fought with and defeated Isaac on the 5th of June, 1191; took away his daughter and his kingdom, threw him into prison, and appointed some English governors of the island. This punishment for barbarity, though exceedingly severe, was richly deserved. The deposed Isaac grieved very much for the loss of his daughter, whom Richard gave as a companion to the Princess Berengaria; but it seems that he grieved more at the loss of his dignity, and complained very bitterly that he was subjected to the disgrace of wearing iron fetters. Richard, on hearing this, ordered silver ones to be forged for him; and the captive tyrant is said to have been much pleased at this expression of respect for his rank.

From fighting Richard turned to love: having subdued Cyprus, he himself surrendered—not to a warrior, but to a lady; for in that beautiful island he solemnised his marriage with the Princess Berengaria. A good deal of feasting and revelling followed this event, and then the English fleet was once again upon the sea. The passage now was but a brief one; and, at last, on the 8th of June (1191), Richard and his army reached the longed-for port of Acre, and landed on the shores of Palestine, nearly a twelvemonth after they had embarked at Lyons.

The strongly fortified town of Acre had been besieged for nearly two years by all the crusaders in Palestine; 150,000 Christians—some say 300,000—had perished before its walls by the sword and the plague; and still Acre held out. Shortly after the arrival of the kings of France and England, the brave Saracens were compelled to surrender to the multitude of their assailants, and the crusaders entered the town in triumph. There a new quarrel arose between Richard and Philip; and the latter, on the plea of illness, resolved to return to France. It is said that he was jealous of the superior military reputation of Richard, and that he also desired to take advantage of the absence of the latter to disturb the peace of England. Richard expostulated with him on the subject of this strange desertion; but Philip was not to be moved: he would return to his native country, though he consented to take an oath not to make war on the dominions of Richard during his absence, and also to leave an army of 10,000 soldiers in Palestine, under the command of the Duke of Burgundy.

The lives of the Saracens who were in Acre when that city was taken, were spared, on condition that they should restore the wood of the true cross on which our Saviour was crucified, set at liberty a number of Christian captives, and pay an enormous sum in gold; and several thousand Saracens were kept prisoners as hostages for the performance of these conditions, which were to be fulfilled within forty days. The forty days passed, and neither the cross, the captives, nor money were sent; therefore the unhappy Saracens' hostages were led out beyond the French and English camps, and all savagely murdered. The stern Richard himself presided over this inhuman slaughter, in which about 3,000 persons perished—a cruel act, committed in the name of religion; and, by many, really believed to be one of stern and strict religious duty. When the Emperor Saladin heard of it, he retaliated by putting to death all his Christian prisoners.

From Acre, Richard marched in the direction of Jerusalem; and every night, when his army halted, the heralds cried aloud three times, "Save the holy sepulchre!" and every soldier, on his bended knee, answered, "Amen." During his march the English king was met by the brave and talented Saladin, at the head of an enormous army, and a battle took place between them, in which the great Saracen was defeated and compelled to retreat. Indeed, such was the dread inspired by the courage and immense strength of Richard, that his enemies constantly fled in terror before him. He carried a ponderous battle-axe, the steel head of which weighed no less than twenty pounds: few men besides himself could wield it; and when raised by his strong arm, every stroke of it sent an enemy to his grave.

Richard then proceeded to Jaffa, and from thence to Ascalon. The fortifications of this city had been dismantled by Saladin, and the English monarch set to work to restore them. The common soldiers had lost their ardour in the cause: long absence from home, sickness, and the swords of the Saracens, had wonderfully reduced their numbers and cooled their zeal. To set them an example of persevering energy, the great Richard himself worked upon the battlements like a common mason, and the princes and nobles in his camp followed his example. No one refused this rough work except the Duke of Austria; who, when Richard demanded why he did not do as the other princes and nobles did, replied haughtily, that he would do nothing of the kind, for he was the son neither of a carpenter nor a mason. On receiving this answer, the fiery king lost his temper, and, forgetful of all the usages of even decent society, struck or kicked the duke; and with much abusive language, turned him and his followers out of the town. This rudeness he had afterwards occasion to repent.

The fortifications of Ascalon were soon finished; but the zeal of the Christian armies was still declining, and Richard was obliged to open a negotiation for peace with Saladin, to whom he declared that all he required was the possession of Jerusalem, and the wood of the true cross. Saladin replied, that the Saracens were quite as desirous to keep Jerusalem as the Christians were to obtain it; and that, with respect to the cross, he would not countenance such an act of gross idolatry as the worship of a piece of wood. Thus baffled, it is said that Richard even proposed that the Christian and Mahometan religions should be united; and that, to show his sincerity, he offered his sister Joan in marriage to Saphadin, the brother of Saladin. This eccentric and curious overture produced no result.

Again Richard started on a march towards Jerusalem; but he was fated never to reach the Holy City, though he approached within sight of it. He received news of disorders in England; his army was weak and spiritless, and an immense body of Saracens lay between him and the city in which Christ taught and suffered. Sadly did the warlike king give the command for a counter-march; but his last and most brilliant battle in Palestine was yet to be fought. It was at Jaffa, where, after the display of a courage which merits the praise of being truly heroic, he obtained a victory over his great rival, Saladin. A truce was then concluded [A.D. 1192], for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours. This singular arrangement was made because the number three was ignorantly supposed to possess certain magical qualities, which would tend to make the truce more binding. By this agreement, Jaffa, Acre, and some other seaport towns, were to remain in the possession of the Christians, and all pilgrims were to have the liberty of visiting Jerusalem, and worshipping at the tomb of the Saviour, without being subjected either to insult or exorbitant tolls.

When the treaty was concluded, many civilities passed between Richard and Saladin; but the former, notwithstanding, sent word to the Saracen prince, that he might depend upon seeing him once more, to try and recover the Holy Land out of his hands. Saladin, with a generous courtesy, replied, "That if it must be his fate to lose that part of his dominions, he would rather it should be to the King of England than to any other monarch in the world."

This Mahometan prince was a brave and generous enemy, and anxious to win the esteem even of the Christians, whom he rigidly protected while they visited the holy sepulchre. "What do your soldiers say of your king and of me?" he asked of the Bishop of Salisbury, when that prelate came to Jerusalem. The bishop replied, "My king is acknowledged as one surpassing all men in valorous deeds and generous gifts; but your fame also stands high; and were you but converted from your unbelief, there would not be in the world two such princes as you and Richard." The high-minded Saladin did not live long after he had concluded the truce with Richard. He was, probably, worn out with the excitement and fatigues of war, for he fell sick and died at the city of Damascus. In his last moments, he ordered his winding-sheet to be carried like a standard through every street in the city, while a herald went before, calling aloud, "This is all that remains of the mighty Saladin, the conqueror of the East." In his will he ordered many charitable gifts to be bestowed upon the poor, without distinction of Jew, Christian, or Mahometan. This wise warrior knew that there were just men of all faiths, and he would not presume to condemn any class of men for the manner

in which they worshipped the merciful and beneficent Lord of all. Some of us may learn a useful lesson from this comprehensive charity of the dying follower of a false prophet.

It was in the month of October, 1192, that Richard re-embarked with his fleet to return to England. As he took a last view of the Syrian shore, and the dim blue mountains beyond it, he cried out, in a tone of melancholy earnestness, "Most holy land! I commend thee to God's keeping. May He give me life and health to return and rescue thee from the infidels!"

The fleet was soon overtaken by a storm, and separated: some vessels were wrecked on the shores of Barbary and Egypt; others took refuge in friendly ports, and at length arrived in England. The ship in which Richard's wife and sister were reached Sicily in safety; but the king was not so fortunate. Not daring to pass through France, on account of the jealousy which King Philip entertained towards him, he sailed to the Adriatic, intending to find his way home through Austria, Germany, and Belgium. He proceeded safely up the Adriatic; but a storm drove him upon the coast, near Venice. He and his companions then disguised themselves in plain garments, and proceeded to the town of Goritz, where he sent a messenger to the governor, to ask for passports for Baldwin of Bethune and Hugh the merchant. That he might easily obtain them, he sent a ruby ring of immense value as a present. The governor was a very acute man; he knew that no merchant could afford to make so costly a present, and he guessed at once how matters stood. "This," said he, to the messenger, "is the present of a prince, not of a merchant; your master's name is not Hugh, but King Richard; but tell him, from me, that he may come and go in peace."

On receiving this answer, Richard was struck with fear; many of the continental princes hated him bitterly, and he dreaded the result if he fell into their hands. Purchasing some horses, he fled by night, accompanied only by one attendant, and a boy, who acted as interpreter. The governor of Goritz must have betrayed Richard's secret, for a large reward was offered for the apprehension of the royal fugitive; and the King of England and hero of Palestine, after travelling for three days and nights, almost without food or rest, was compelled at last, from sheer exhaustion, to enter a little village near Vienna.

The king sent his boy to Vienna to buy food and some other comforts. When he arrived, his gay dress and profusion of money excited some suspicion; but he had the cleverness to turn attention from him. On visiting the market the second time, he was not so fortunate, for a pair of gloves were discovered hanging at his girdle, of a kind so costly that they could be only worn by princes. The citizens seized the poor boy and beat him, and threatened to cut out his tongue and put him on the rack, unless he confessed who and where his master was. In a moment of terror he revealed the hiding-place of the distressed sovereign, and a band of soldiers was instantly sent to capture him. They found Richard in bed fast asleep; but when aroused, the brave prince drew his sword, and, although he saw that resistance against such numbers was mere madness, yet he refused to surrender to any one but their leader. That leader was Leopold, the Duke of Austria, the same that Richard, when in Palestine, had struck or kicked on the walls of Acre. Advancing to the fallen king, with a grim smile he said, in a sarcastic tone of mock sympathy, "You are fortunate, and ought rather to consider me as a deliverer than as an enemy; for, by the Lord! if you had fallen into the hands of the Marquis Conrad's friends, who are hunting for you everywhere, you had been but a dead man, even if you possessed a thousand lives." Then, turning to his followers, the duke commanded them to place the downcast monarch in prison.

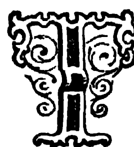
Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, to whom Leopold alluded, had been the titular King of Jerusalem. He and Guy de Lusignan had married the two daughters of Godfrey de Bouillon, whom the Christians, when they captured Jerusalem in 1099, had made king of the Holy City. On the death of Godfrey, Guy de Lusignan, as the husband of his eldest daughter, Sibylla, succeeded him. On her dying without issue, Conrad, as the husband of Isabella, the youngest daughter, claimed the honorary title; for such it was, the city being again in possession of the infidels. Guy was not willing to yield what was a mere titular dignity; and, as Richard espoused his cause against Conrad, the latter became the decided enemy of the King of England. He had also quarrelled with the chief of an heretical set of Mahometans, who settled in Persia, A.D. 1090, and soon after were found in Syria. These people were called Assassins, or Assassinians, from their training up young men to assassinate such persons as their chief devoted to destruction. That chief was called "Ancient of the Mountain," and "Old Man of the Mountain." Some of these assassins Conrad had put to death, probably because they had murdered persons connected with him. The chief demanded satisfaction for the death of his subjects; and Conrad refused to give it: the result was, that one day he himself was murdered in the streets of the city of Tyre. Everybody at Palestine knew very well who was the author of the crime; no one suspected Richard of any knowledge of it; and the dying Conrad even recommended his widow to the care of the English king; but Philip, the King of France, animated by his hatred for Richard, declared that he believed that

monarch to be the assassin; and when he returned to Europe he spread the shameful calumny in every direction. This was the reason that Conrad's European friends were seeking the life of King Richard.

When Henry VI., the Emperor of Germany, heard that the Austrian duke had imprisoned Richard, he immediately demanded the person of the captive, saying —"A duke must not presume to imprison a king; that belongs to an emperor." The duke, however, would not give away his prisoner; but he had no objection to sell him; and he did sell him during the Easter of 1193, for a large sum of money. The emperor, who hated Richard even worse than the kicked duke did, threw his new purchase into a dungeon, and, for a long while, no one even knew the place where the late powerful and triumphant King of England was confined. In his obscure German prison we must for a time leave him, and revert to what had occurred in England since he left it.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST.—A.D. 1193—1199.



HE last chapter ended with King Richard's imprisonment in Germany, in the year 1193; we must now go back, for a short time, to the year 1190, when he left Normandy for Palestine.

It has been stated, that, when Richard left England, he appointed the Bishops of Durham and Ely to be regents until his return. The first was a purposeless man; but the last, Longchamp, was strong-minded, ambitious, and unscrupulous, and soon managed to get all the power of the state into his own hands. He was of low birth, for his grandfather had been a common serf, or slave, and many of the barons despised him on this account; but Richard, who admired his talents, cared nothing about his origin, and Longchamp was shrewd and powerful enough to make most of the barons treat him with respect, and some of them even with humility. As he was rapacious in his government, and sent the king enormous sums abroad, that careless monarch was indifferent to what his representative did at home. Longchamp, therefore, seized every source of wealth and power in the kingdom, and lived more magnificently than many sovereigns. In his own house, besides a vast retinue of servants and attendants of many kinds to wait upon him, he had a numerous and richly-dressed guard to protect him. When he travelled, 1,000 horsemen went with him, and he was followed by numbers of minstrels, troubadours, and *jongleurs*. Even nobles and knights were proud of being admitted as his followers; and when he stopped for the night at any monastery, his attendants were so numerous that they are said to have consumed the produce of three whole years. Many complaints were made of Longchamp's extortions and insolent ambition, but, however he acted towards the barons, who hated him, he was always faithful to the cause of the king, his master, and might well, says an old chronicler, be styled the prince and priest of England.

The greatest danger that threatened Richard at home, was the ambition and treachery of his brother John. The king, as we have stated, had been very liberal to him, presenting him, besides the seven earldoms, with other riches and honours; but nothing could win the affection of that worthless prince, who, immediately after Richard's departure, began plotting to obtain the crown. It is, therefore, not surprising that he hated Longchamp, and that a quarrel should have arisen between them.

When Richard was some distance upon his journey, John began to conduct himself as though he shortly expected to become king; and a troublesome baron, who was a friend of his, seized Lincoln Castle, and defied the authority of Longchamp. The regent besieged the castle, but while he did so, Prince John collected an army, and seized some other castles. Then Longchamp called a meeting of the barons, and told them that John was seeking to usurp the crown; but, as they cared very little about the matter, Longchamp was compelled to submit, and the prince triumphed. For a short time the dispute was settled, but it soon broke out again; John declared Longchamp a traitor, and called a meeting of bishops, barons, and citizens, who resolved that the regent should be deposed, and that the plotting prince should be elected as the chief governor of the kingdom. From this title to that of sovereign there was but one short step, and that step he was prepared to take the moment he heard of any mischance occurring to his brother Richard. He knew that the king intended his little nephew, Prince Arthur, to succeed him on the throne, which, of course, he had

a right to do, because he was the son of his elder brother, Geoffrey; but when the powerful brother, whom he feared, was dead, John determined to silence and frown down the claim of his feeble nephew.

Deprived of all his power, which was now in the hands of the prince, Longchamp felt that his life was no longer safe in England; so, disguising himself as a woman, he left the country and fled to Normandy, from whence he wrote an account of these proceedings to King Richard, and where he determined to remain until his sovereign's return.

While Prince John was acting against the interests of his absent brother, Philip was also plotting against him. He had taken on oath not to make war upon any of Richard's dominions while that monarch was fighting for the cross in Palestine; but, with a shameful disregard of that oath, as soon as he returned home from the Holy Land, he made preparations to invade Normandy. Although he was thus devoid of honour, and indifferent to perjury, his nobles seem to have been influenced by a better feeling, and they refused to follow him. The pope also threatened him with excommunication if he violated his oath, and made war on the possessions of the absent champion of the Roman church. Thus defeated in his treacherous scheme, Philip tried another way of injuring, and, if possible, ruining the king towards whom he had lately sworn to act like a brother. He opened a communication with Prince John, offered him his sister Alice in marriage (the lady whom Richard had lately rejected), encouraged him to conspire against his brother, and promised to give him possession of all Richard's continental dominions.

Such was the state of affairs when Richard's return to England was constantly expected; and although, during the short time that he had ruled before his departure, he had been by no means a good king, still the people, who were delighted with the many reports they heard of his heroic conduct, anticipated his arrival with impatience, and were prepared to welcome him with affection. Week after week, and month after month passed on; many of the crusaders had returned from the shores of Asia to the loved land of their birth, but still Richard was absent. Then doubts arose as to his safety; and many strange tales were told of his probable fate. The people feared that their brave king was dead; and John already felt, in imagination, the regal diadem of England encircling his crafty head.

All this time King Richard lay in his dungeon, jealously guarded day and night; and it is impossible to say how long he might have remained there, but for a letter which the Emperor of Germany sent to the King of France;—perhaps, until he had become a grey-haired and forgotten man, bent and childish with long captivity; or until he had died in his fetters, and been buried like a dog beneath the stones of the cell in which he was confined. But his fate was not to be so tragical; the letter which revealed the circumstances of his captivity fell into the hands of his friends, the story was spread abroad, and a feeling of indignation against his oppressors ran throughout Europe. John, who was then in France, hurried over to England, seized the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, swore that his brother had died in prison, and demanded the crown as his right. But the people would not believe him; the barons armed and drove him back; and the nation was filled with joy at this strange discovery of their lost king. In the meantime, the crafty Philip invaded Normandy; but he met with no better success than his colleague, John: he was beaten by the Earl of Leicester, and returned to France with much less bravado than when he had started from it.

The pope threatened to excommunicate the Austrian duke and the German emperor, unless Richard was instantly released from confinement. Nearly every prince in Europe professed to be shocked at their unjust and tyrannical conduct; and the emperor at length consented to release Richard upon receiving an enormous ransom for him. The captive king does not seem to have been so unhappy in prison as might be imagined: sometimes he was melancholy and despondent, but at others he amused himself by writing and singing verses, and with joking and drinking with his keepers, who, delighted with his wit, and admiring his great strength and bravery, grew quite attached to him. Perhaps he sometimes thought of the last hours of his dead father—that kind father, whose heart he had helped to break; and if so, he must have looked upon his imprisonment as an instance of divine retribution.

The emperor, perhaps, to justify his own conduct, brought Richard before the Diet of the empire at Worms—an assembly which was composed of all the princes and prelates of high rank in Germany. While on his way there, the king was met by two abbots, who had been sent from England to console him upon his misfortunes, and assure him of the faithfulness of his people. He received them with great joy; though, when they told him all his brother's treachery, he looked grave; but almost immediately afterwards he exclaimed, smiling—"My brother John will never gain a kingdom by his valour." When brought before the Diet, Richard was charged with having committed several crimes, the chief of which were, his insult to the Duke of Austria, and, through him, to the whole German people; his imputed assassination of the Marquis Conrad; and his having, by a shameful truce, abandoned Jerusalem to the grasp of Saladin.

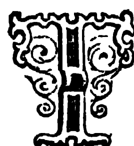
Richard, in a bold and eloquent speech, completely

monarch to be the assassin; and when he returned to Europe he spread the shameful calumny in every direction. This was the reason that Conrad's European friends were seeking the life of King Richard.

When Henry VI., the Emperor of Germany, heard that the Austrian duke had imprisoned Richard, he immediately demanded the person of the captive, saying —"A duke must not presume to imprison a king; that belongs to an emperor." The duke, however, would not give away his prisoner; but he had no objection to sell him; and he did sell him during the Easter of 1193, for a large sum of money. The emperor, who hated Richard even worse than the kicked duke did, threw his new purchase into a dungeon, and, for a long while, no one even knew the place where the late powerful and triumphant King of England was confined. In his obscure German prison we must for a time leave him, and revert to what had occurred in England since he left it.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE FIRST.—A.D. 1193—1199.



THE last chapter ended with King Richard's imprisonment in Germany, in the year 1193; we must now go back, for a short time, to the year 1190, when he left Normandy for Palestine.

It has been stated, that, when Richard left England, he appointed the Bishops of Durham and Ely to be regents until his return. The first was a purposeless man; but the last, Longchamp, was strong-minded, ambitious, and unscrupulous, and soon managed to get all the power of the state into his own hands. He was of low birth, for his grandfather had been a common serf, or slave, and many of the barons despised him on this account; but Richard, who admired his talents, cared nothing about his origin, and Longchamp was shrewd and powerful enough to make most of the barons treat him with respect, and some of them even with humility. As he was rapacious in his government, and sent the king enormous sums abroad, that careless monarch was indifferent to what his representative did at home. Longchamp, therefore, seized every source of wealth and power in the kingdom, and lived more magnificently than many sovereigns. In his own house, besides a vast retinue of servants and attendants of many kinds to wait upon him, he had a numerous and richly-dressed guard to protect him. When he travelled, 1,000 horsemen went with him, and he was followed by numbers of minstrels, troubadours, and *jongleurs*. Even nobles and knights were proud of being admitted as his followers; and when he stopped for the night at any monastery, his attendants were so numerous that they are said to have consumed the produce of three whole years. Many complaints were made of Longchamp's extortions and insolent ambition, but, however he acted towards the barons, who hated him, he was always faithful to the cause of the king, his master, and might well, says an old chronicler, be styled the prince and priest of England.

The greatest danger that threatened Richard at home, was the ambition and treachery of his brother John. The king, as we have stated, had been very liberal to him, presenting him, besides the seven earldoms, with other riches and honours; but nothing could win the affection of that worthless prince, who, immediately after Richard's departure, began plotting to obtain the crown. It is, therefore, not surprising that he hated Longchamp, and that a quarrel should have arisen between them.

When Richard was some distance upon his journey, John began to conduct himself as though he shortly expected to become king; and a troublesome baron, who was a friend of his, seized Lincoln Castle, and defied the authority of Longchamp. The regent besieged the castle, but while he did so, Prince John collected an army, and seized some other castles. Then Longchamp called a meeting of the barons, and told them that John was seeking to usurp the crown; but, as they cared very little about the matter, Longchamp was compelled to submit, and the prince triumphed. For a short time the dispute was settled, but it soon broke out again; John declared Longchamp a traitor, and called a meeting of bishops, barons, and citizens, who resolved that the regent should be deposed, and that the plotting prince should be elected as the chief governor of the kingdom. From this title to that of sovereign there was but one short step, and that step he was prepared to take the moment he heard of any mischance occurring to his brother Richard. He knew that the king intended his little nephew, Prince Arthur, to succeed him on the throne, which, of course, he had

a right to do, because he was the son of his elder brother, Geoffrey; but when the powerful brother, whom he feared, was dead, John determined to silence and frown down the claim of his feeble nephew.

Deprived of all his power, which was now in the hands of the prince, Longchamp felt that his life was no longer safe in England; so, disguising himself as a woman, he left the country and fled to Normandy, from whence he wrote an account of these proceedings to King Richard, and where he determined to remain until his sovereign's return.

While Prince John was acting against the interests of his absent brother, Philip was also plotting against him. He had taken on oath not to make war upon any of Richard's dominions while that monarch was fighting for the cross in Palestine; but, with a shameful disregard of that oath, as soon as he returned home from the Holy Land, he made preparations to invade Normandy. Although he was thus devoid of honour, and indifferent to perjury, his nobles seem to have been influenced by a better feeling, and they refused to follow him. The pope also threatened him with excommunication if he violated his oath, and made war on the possessions of the absent champion of the Roman church. Thus defeated in his treacherous scheme, Philip tried another way of injuring, and, if possible, ruining the king towards whom he had lately sworn to act like a brother. He opened a communication with Prince John, offered him his sister Alice in marriage (the lady whom Richard had lately rejected), encouraged him to conspire against his brother, and promised to give him possession of all Richard's continental dominions.

Such was the state of affairs when Richard's return to England was constantly expected; and although, during the short time that he had ruled before his departure, he had been by no means a good king, still the people, who were delighted with the many reports they heard of his heroic conduct, anticipated his arrival with impatience, and were prepared to welcome him with affection. Week after week, and month after month passed on; many of the crusaders had returned from the shores of Asia to the loved land of their birth, but still Richard was absent. Then doubts arose as to his safety; and many strange tales were told of his probable fate. The people feared that their brave king was dead; and John already felt, in imagination, the regal diadem of England encircling his crafty head.

All this time King Richard lay in his dungeon, jealously guarded day and night; and it is impossible to say how long he might have remained there, but for a letter which the Emperor of Germany sent to the King of France;—perhaps, until he had become a grey-haired and forgotten man, bent and childish with long captivity; or until he had died in his fetters, and been buried like a dog beneath the stones of the cell in which he was confined. But his fate was not to be so tragical; the letter which revealed the circumstances of his captivity fell into the hands of his friends, the story was spread abroad, and a feeling of indignation against his oppressors ran throughout Europe. John, who was then in France, hurried over to England, seized the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, swore that his brother had died in prison, and demanded the crown as his right. But the people would not believe him; the barons armed and drove him back; and the nation was filled with joy at this strange discovery of their lost king. In the meantime, the crafty Philip invaded Normandy; but he met with no better success than his colleague, John: he was beaten by the Earl of Leicester, and returned to France with much less bravado than when he had started from it.

The pope threatened to excommunicate the Austrian duke and the German emperor, unless Richard was instantly released from confinement. Nearly every prince in Europe professed to be shocked at their unjust and tyrannical conduct; and the emperor at length consented to release Richard upon receiving an enormous ransom for him. The captive king does not seem to have been so unhappy in prison as might be imagined: sometimes he was melancholy and despondent, but at others he amused himself by writing and singing verses, and with joking and drinking with his keepers, who, delighted with his wit, and admiring his great strength and bravery, grew quite attached to him. Perhaps he sometimes thought of the last hours of his dead father—that kind father, whose heart he had helped to break; and if so, he must have looked upon his imprisonment as an instance of divine retribution.

The emperor, perhaps, to justify his own conduct, brought Richard before the Diet of the empire at Worms—an assembly which was composed of all the princes and prelates of high rank in Germany. While on his way there, the king was met by two abbots, who had been sent from England to console him upon his misfortunes, and assure him of the faithfulness of his people. He received them with great joy; though, when they told him all his brother's treachery, he looked grave; but almost immediately afterwards he exclaimed, smiling—"My brother John will never gain a kingdom by his valour." When brought before the Diet, Richard was charged with having committed several crimes, the chief of which were, his insult to the Duke of Austria, and, through him, to the whole German people; his imputed assassinatiou of the Marquis Conrad; and his having, by a shameful truce, abandoned Jerusalem to the grasp of Saladin.

Richard, in a bold and eloquent speech, completely

cleared himself from these shameful accusations. Standing proudly erect, he said he was, as King of England, exempt from answering for his conduct before any court, except that of heaven; but yet, for the sake of his honourable name, he would condescend to justify himself before that noble and august assembly. If, he continued, he had been wanting in civility to the Duke of Austria, he had already received a heavy punishment for that outbreak of passion; and it was more becoming in princes embarked together in so holy a cause, to forgive each other's infirmities, than to pursue a small offence with bitter and rancorous animosity. As to the murder of the Marquis Conrad, he said, that if the whole tenor of his life had not shown him incapable of so base an act, it was in vain for him, at present, to make any apology, or bring forward the many arguments which he could produce to prove his innocence; and that, however he might regret the necessity of his truce with Saladin, he was far from being ashamed of it; for he thought it extremely honourable, that, though abandoned by all the world, supported only by his own courage and the remains of his national troops, he could yet obtain such conditions from the most powerful and warlike emperor that the East had ever produced. Then, while his large blue eyes shot forth indignant glances, he complained bitterly of the cruel treatment he had met with; that he, the companion of the sacred cross, should, after expending the blood and treasure of his subjects in the common cause of Christendom, be intercepted by Christian princes in his return to his own country; be thrown into a dungeon and loaded with irons; be obliged to plead his cause as if he were a subject and a malefactor; and, what he regretted even more, be thus prevented from making preparations for a new crusade, and redeeming the holy sepulchre of Christ from the profane dominion of infidels.

All the princes present were astonished at Richard's eloquence, convinced of his innocence, and shocked at the tyranny which had been practised towards him. Still the emperor would not release him without a ransom, and that ransom was fixed at the large sum of 150,000 marks, to be divided between him and the duke, and hostages were to be given as security for the payment. Instantly a tax was levied in England; the people gave their wealth; the monks the plate of their churches and monasteries; the bishops, abbots, and nobles paid a fourth of their yearly rent; and 70,000 marks were sent over to Germany, hostages being given for the payment of the remainder. Richard was then set at liberty; and on the 13th of March, 1194, he landed once again upon the shores of England. He had been absent rather more than four years, fourteen months of which he had passed in prison. His escape was fortunate, for the perfidious emperor sent his guards after the royal captive, with orders to bring him back; as he had changed his mind, and desired to keep both the prisoner and the money that had been paid for his ransom. But he was defeated in his base attempt to detain the king: the soldiers arrived too late; and Richard's vessel, with all sails set, was scudding rapidly over the blue sea towards the cliffs of Sandwich before they reached the place of his embarkation. When Philip of France heard that the English king was at liberty, he sent this message to his confederate, Prince John—"Take care of yourself; the devil is broken loose." John, who was as timid as he was treacherous, had taken care of himself already, and fled from the reach of his brother.

Great was the joy in England when the people again beheld their king; he was received everywhere with enthusiastic welcomes, and the citizens of London gave him a gorgeous entertainment. To do away with any evil impression that might have arisen from his captivity, he caused himself to be crowned again, and took back the castles, towns, and offices which he had sold to various persons before he went to Palestine. After that he confiscated the estates of his brother John, and prepared to avenge himself on the French king.

A great struggle might have been expected between these distinguished sovereigns; but Richard was poor, and Philip was not wealthy; so after several petty encounters, which ended rather in favour of the English, the two monarchs agreed to a truce for a year. The most remarkable incident connected with this contest was the craven perfidy of Prince John. Deserting Philip, whom he had sworn to assist, he went and threw himself at the feet of his brother, and humbly begged his forgiveness. Richard, with a kingly magnanimity, answered, "I forgive him, and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries as he will forget my pardon."

In the latter part of the year that Richard returned to England, his oppressor, the Duke of Austria, met with an accident which caused his death. He was thrown from his horse at a tournament, and the animal falling upon him, crushed his foot. Fever and mortification followed; and in his dying moments, the duke, who had been excommunicated for his conduct to the English king, bought absolution from the church by returning to Richard the money he had wrung from him, and the hostages whom he held as security for the remainder.

A great deal of money had been extorted from the poor to carry on Richard's wars in France, and much discontent arose among the labouring classes in consequence. They said that they had to pay the burdens of the state, while the rich contrived to be almost free from taxation. They held tumultuous meetings, which

caused great riot and disorder. Though they took improper means to redress their grievances, there is no doubt they had a just cause of complaint; but their violence alarmed well-disposed citizens, a great number of whom took part against them. There was a lawyer then in London, whose name was William Fitz-Osbert, a determined and eloquent man, and very good to the poor, who, in return, became much attached to him. In imitation of his Saxon ancestors, he let his beard grow to a great length, and was popularly known by the nickname of "Longbeard." He used to address orations to the people in public places; and the mob was so delighted with these discourses, that they called him the "Saviour of the Poor."

At this time Richard was in Normandy, and Longbeard went over to him, and laid the complaints of the people before their king. He was received without anger, and a promise given him that the wrongs he spoke of should be inquired into. The monarch, however, soon forgot the oppressions of his subjects, and nothing was done for them. Then Longbeard and his followers entered into a secret and unlawful association, and it is said that 52,000 people bound themselves by an oath to obey him in all things. In the excited state of mind in which these ignorant men were, it is not wonderful that they committed many outrages, and frequently plundered or insulted the rich. These riots were laid to the charge of Longbeard, and the government summoned him to appear and answer for his conduct. He obeyed the summons; but went attended by such a vast multitude of people, that it was considered prudent to dismiss him. Still, Hubert Walter, the chief justiciary of England, was determined to arrest this dangerous demagogue, who had now become the terror of the citizens of London, particularly of the wealthier portion of them. To carry out this determination was no easy matter, as Longbeard seldom went anywhere without being attended by a great number of people. At length he was met walking with only nine of his followers, and instantly surrounded. Drawing his knife, he stabbed the man who seized him, fled with his companions, and took refuge in the church of St. Mary-le-Bow. Here they made a desperate resistance, and for some days kept their assailants at bay, who at last set fire to the church; Longbeard and his friends, flying from the flames, were instantly seized, bound, and dragged away to the Tower. There Hubert Walter immediately sentenced them to be hanged; and the mistaken patriot and his followers were hurried off to Smithfield, and executed.

The noisy people who had been so ready to riot and plunder, now very quietly left "their saviour" and his companions to their fate. Not a hand was raised to rescue them from the executioner; though, *after* Longbeard's death, the mob stole his body, and the gibbet on which it was suspended. They declared he was a saint and a martyr, and that miracles were performed by the corpse; while they cut the gibbet into little pieces, and distributed them as sacred relics. Thousands of people visited the spot where he had been hanged, to kneel and pray there; many, it is said, were healed of almost incurable diseases while they were thus occupied; and a large hole was left in the ground, from so many enthusiasts having carried away a little of the earth on which the gibbet stood. It was some time before these wild proceedings could be stopped, and a very much longer time before the fate of Longbeard was forgotten by his admirers.—This unhappy man perished in the year 1196—a year in which England was visited, first by a famine and then by the plague In that age, and for long after, the people generally lived in such close and dirty houses, that if they fed for some time on a scanty supply of bad, innutritious food, they were almost certain to fall victims to contagious sickness: and it may rather be said, that by dirt, bad air, and bad food, they *made* the plague, than that they were visited by it.

In the year 1197, war broke out again between the kings of England and France: it was carried on very savagely, both sovereigns occasionally putting out the eyes of their prisoners; but neither Richard nor Philip gained much advantage by it. In this war—early in 1198—the battle of Gisors was fought, in which the French were defeated. In this battle, Richard's parole was "*Dieu et mon Droit*" ("God and my right"); a motto which, from that time, has formed part of the royal arms of England. This was the principal engagement; and the two kings, having fought until they were each tired, or had no more money to pay their soldiers, again entered into a truce for twelve months.—The old chroniclers tell an anecdote connected with this war, which is worth preserving. The Bishop of Beauvais, a very bitter enemy of Richard's, fought on the side of the French king. He was, no doubt, a much better soldier than a preacher; and he rode to battle arrayed in a complete suit of bright armour, and laid about him very resolutely. He was taken prisoner, and brought before the English king, who ordered him to be heavily ironed, and put into prison. Two of the bishop's inferior clergy waited upon Richard, and implored him to have respect for the sacred character of their superior, and treat him with more lenity. After listening courteously to their appeal, the king answered—"You yourselves shall judge between this man and me. Much I could forgive, but I cannot forgive the wrongs he has done me. When I was a captive in the hands of the emperor, and when, in consideration of my rank, my gaolers were beginning to treat me more gently and

respectfully, your master arrived, and spoke with the emperor. I soon experienced the effects of his visit; for, the next morning, a chain was put upon me, such as a horse could hardly bear. What he now merits at my hands declare yourselves, and be just." The abashed priest bowed and withdrew.—Pope Celestine then interceded with Richard on behalf of the imprisoned bishop, whom, in the language of the church, he called his son. The witty king sent the blood-stained coat of mail, which the bishop had worn in battle, to the pontiff, with a message couched in the words which Jacob's sons once addressed to that patriarch—"This have we found: know now whether it be thy son's coat or no." The pope was offended at the violent conduct of the bishop, and felt that he deserved his fate; so, with a grim smile, he answered, that the warlike priest "was neither his son nor the son of the church; and that he should be ransomed at the king's will, because he was rather a servitor of Mars than a soldier of Christ."

At Limoges, in France, there lived, at this time, a nobleman named Vidomar, who was a vassal of the English king. By some accident he discovered a treasure upon his domains, part of which he sent to Richard as a present. The king, as superior lord, demanded the whole of it; but Vidomar refused to give him more than half. Furious at this denial, Richard hurried to Limoges, and besieged Vidomar in his castle at Chaluz. After a short resistance, the garrison offered to surrender, if the king would only spare their lives. The stern monarch would not grant this reasonable condition; but replied, that since he had taken the trouble to come and besiege the place in person, he would take it by storm, and hang every one within it. The very day he made this savage threat, Richard, in company with Marcadée, the leader of a troop of Brabançons, in the king's pay, approached the walls of the castle, to see where the assault could be best made. While thus occupied, a young archer, named Bertrand de Gurdan, recognised the king, and discharged an arrow, which whizzed swiftly through the air, and buried its forked head deep in the left shoulder of the monarch.

Stained with blood, and suffering acute pain, Richard was led to his tent; a surgeon approached to extract the weapon; but he conducted the operation in so rough and unskilful a manner, that mortification followed, and the patient soon felt that he was dying. In the meantime the castle had been taken by assault, and every one in it hanged or slaughtered, except Bertrand, who had been reserved for some more savage punishment. The dying monarch desired to see him; and the archer, loaded with chains, was brought into his presence. Regarding the youth sternly, he said—"Wretch! what have I done unto thee that thou shouldst seek my life?" The bold Bertrand stood proudly erect, as he exclaimed—"What have you done to me? you have killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers; and you intended to have hanged me. I am now in your power, and you may take revenge by inflicting on me the most severe torments; but I shall endure them all with pleasure, if I can but be sure that I have been so happy as to rid the world of so great a tyrant."

Richard, though stern, and sometimes cruel, had a generous heart, which frequently prompted him to noble actions: he was struck with the courage of the man who had given him his death-blow, and the truth of his defence. "Youth," he exclaimed, "I forgive thee!" Then he added—"Loose his chains, and give him a hundred shillings." Bertrand departed; but he was not so fortunate as to escape; the brutal Marcadée seized him without the knowledge of the king, and caused him first to be flayed alive, and then hanged—a shocking sentence, which, to modern ears, sounds almost as incredible as it was revolting.

The king's sufferings were great, and his last moments were spent in contrition and acts of devotion. He died on the 6th of April, 1199, in the forty-second year of his age. For ten years he had wielded the regal sceptre of England; but he did not pass quite one year of that time in the land he governed. His heart, according to his last commands, was buried at the magnificent cathedral of Rouen; his entrails in Poictevins; and his body was laid in the earth in the abbey of Fontevraud, at the feet of his father.

In his last hour he remembered the unnatural rebellion of his early life, and wished, even in death, to show a tardy repentance and submission to his royal, but unhappy parent. He left no legitimate children to succeed him; and, strange as it may appear, seems never to have met his Queen Berengaria since their ships were parted by a storm on their return from Palestine. On account of his undaunted courage he was called Cœur de Lion; that is, *lion's heart*. There is one tradition which says that this name was given him because he tore out the heart of a lion, to whose fury he had been exposed by his enemy the Duke of Austria; and another, which states that he was attacked by a lion in the plains of Syria, and that although he had gone out unarmed, he seized the savage beast by the mane, and, thrusting his hand down its throat, tore out its heart. Modern writers reject these tales as untrue; but they show the idea that the king's subjects entertained of his wonderful strength and boldness.

Richard's great military renown, his heroism, and his generosity, won him the love and admiration of his people: but he cannot be classed with the really good kings. He was revengeful, domineering, and ambi-

tious; always haughty, and too frequently cruel. At the same time he was open and frank—sincere, and truly brave; and possessed some noble touches of character, which caused him to contrast most favourably with his brother John.* His cruelties proceeded from impulse rather than from evil principles: his wrong-doing was frequently the result of carelessness; and he many times displayed a princely magnanimity in forgiving injuries. It is said, also, that he loved his people; but his greater love of glory, and his intense desire to distinguish himself in what was then the great object of all Christian princes—wresting the Holy Land from the hands of the infidels—prevented him from devoting himself to the promotion of their prosperity and happiness. In looking for the favourable points of his character, we must say that he was more brilliant than just; a great soldier rather than a good king. It should be added, that he was exceedingly fond of poetry, and wrote some himself, which is said to possess considerable merit.

In this reign lived the famous outlaw, Robin Hood, whose wild exploits and great skill in archery form the subject of so many of our old English ballads. Our knowledge of him is partly traditional; that is, it has come down to us from age to age by word of mouth; and some writers have even doubted his existence. There seems no just reason for doing so; although many of the adventures attributed to him are probably nothing more than fictions. It is said that he was a nobleman by birth, his proper title being the Earl of Huntingdon; but having squandered his estate in dissipation and extravagant riots, he took to the woods, and, collecting a band of ruined, reckless men, lived by plunder; preferring that wild and dishonest way of life to honourable industry, or a servile dependence upon wealthy friends. He never robbed any but the rich; prevented his band from insulting or plundering ladies; and was exceedingly generous to the poor. His charity was so great, that he was much loved by the common people; and to this day his memory is cherished with respect and admiration. The mind is always prone to invest the romantic with attributes that frequently do not in any way pertain to it; and though we may be dazzled by the exploits which are related of this equivocal character, it must not be forgotten that actions, however chivalrous, and charity, however boundless, can never excuse theft; and a public robber must ever be regarded as a scourge to his country.

Robin Hood and his band occasionally infested Yorkshire; but they generally dwelt in the wild, sequestered coverts of the beautiful and romantic forest of Sherwood, in Nottinghamshire. The most celebrated of his companions was a man of remarkable height, humorously called Little John; Friar Tuck, a dissolute monk, who had turned robber; and Maid Marian, his mistress. In consequence of the many daring deeds of Robin, a reward was set upon his head; but, by his great bravery and cunning, he baffled every attempt made to arrest him. At length he fell ill of a fever, and went to a nunnery in Yorkshire for medical assistance. Having fancied that bleeding would do him good, a treacherous monk bled him to death, for the sake of the reward which had been offered for the life of the unfortunate outlaw. He was buried in the nunnery of Kirklees, in Yorkshire, and a tombstone, on which was engraved the following epitaph, placed over his grave:—

"Robert, Earl of Huntingdon,
Lies here, his labour being done;
No archer like him was so good;
His wildness named him Robin Hood.
For thirteen years, and somewhat more,
These northern parts he vexèd sore;
Such outlaws as he and his men,
May England never know again."

During the crusades, the practice of wearing coats of arms first arose in England. Closed up in their ponderous suits of armour, which covered even the face, the knights and warriors had no means of knowing each other; this led to each of them wearing some particular device painted or worked upon his shield; and thus we have the origin of heraldry. Richard, probably in allusion to his name (Cœur de Lion), had three lions emblazoned on his shield—a device which has been retained upon the royal arms of England to the present day.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE REIGN OF KING JOHN, CALLED SANS-TERRE, OR LACKLAND.—A.D. 1199—1213.

JOHN was called SANS-TERRE, which means, literally, without earth; because his father, Henry II., left him no lands to govern, but merely recommended him to the care of his elder brother. He had not a strict right to succeed to the throne; and if he had been a just man, would probably have remained a "lackland" to the end of his life—a position which would have been better for himself, and a thousand times better for his country. According to what is called the law of primogeniture, which means the law that relates to the succession of titles and estates, the eldest son of a king or nobleman has a peculiar privilege or birthright. By this birthright all his father's estates descend to him; and when he dies they descend in like manner to his eldest son. This applies only to landed property; and though it may sometimes make the elder brother of a family rich, and leave all the younger ones comparatively poor, still, as it entails many obligations, it is not without practical advantage to society.

John was Henry's fifth son; and Geoffrey, who was the fourth, died before his father; but he left an infant son, Arthur, who, after the death of Richard without issue, was, according to the law of primogeniture, the true heir to the throne. John had, however, long determined to wrest the crown from his nephew; and when the news reached him, in Normandy, of King Richard's sudden and unexpected death, he immediately seized the royal treasures at the castle of Chinon, and hurried over to England. There everything was in confusion; for, in those times, a king's death was an opportunity for riot and plunder, which badly-disposed people seldom permitted to pass by without getting all they could out of the general excitement. Many of the barons oppressed and robbed the people; so the people imitated the example of their betters, and oppressed and robbed each other. But the active Hubert Walter, the Archbishop of Canterbury and late justiciary of the kingdom; together with William Mareschall, the Earl of Strigul; and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, who were all favourite ministers of the late king, set to work to restore peace and tranquillity. These three powerful men took the side of John; and, calling a great meeting of prelates and barons at Northampton, induced the assembly to swear fealty to the absent prince. Richard had mentioned Arthur as his successor; and many would have preferred the young prince, instead of his uncle, for their sovereign; but when John arrived in England, he produced a will, made, he said, by the late king when dying, by which he was named as the successor to the crown. Some people suspected this will to be a forgery; and when we consider the character of John, it is very likely that it was; still it created a considerable impression in his favour.

The new sovereign was crowned King of England at Westminster, on the 27th of May, 1199; but he was expressly declared an *elected*, and not an *hereditary* ruler; that is, it was said he did not succeed to the throne by his own right, but was chosen to fill it by the will of the nation. This was then a novel doctrine, which had never before this time been applied to the royalty of England. On this occasion, the Archbishop of Canterbury, before placing the crown upon the head of John, turned to the bishops, barons, and people who thronged the abbey, and thus addressed them:—

"Ye well know that no one can have a right to the crown of this kingdom, unless for his great virtues he be elected to it, and then anointed king. Thus it was with Saul, who was not the son of a king, nor even royally connected; and thus also was it with David. It was so ordained, that he whose merits are pre-eminent, might be chosen as the lord of all the people; and if, among the family of our deceased king, there is one so happily endowed, he ought to have our preference. This I say touching the noble Duke John, here present, the brother of our late excellent king. He is of the same blood, and possesses the same great qualities; and therefore, having invoked the Holy Spirit, we elect him our king."

John was two-and-thirty years old when he ascended the throne—an age which, in many respects, made him preferable to the boyish Arthur; but he had already shown himself so treacherous and cruel, that no one liked him, and all the Norman nobles took up arms in favour of his nephew. Philip, the crafty King of France, also took up the cause of Arthur, because he thought it would be an excellent means of throwing England into confusion; and war immediately broke out between him and John. Hostilities were conducted in a very trivial manner, and, after being prolonged for some time, a peace was concluded between the two sovereigns. To make it the more lasting, John gave his niece, Blanche of Castille, in marriage to Philip's eldest son, Prince Louis. The result of this peace was, that Arthur

was abandoned by King Philip, and lost his only chance of succession to the English crown.

Even so early as the second year of John's reign, he began to show his evil disposition. He had been married for about ten years to a beautiful and amiable lady, named Avisa; she was a daughter of the powerful Earl of Gloucester, and had brought a great fortune to her husband. In the course of a royal progress through his kingdom, John met the elegant Isabella, daughter of the Count of Angoulême, a lady whose gracefulness and beauty made her the subject of general admiration. She had lately been married to the Count de la Marche; though, on account of the extreme youth of the bride and bridegroom, they had not yet lived together. The king saw the graceful girl, and loved her; that is, if the word love can be used to express any emotion felt by such a selfish, cold-hearted man as John. But he so far admired her as to induce him to divorce his Queen Avisa, and (in defiance of the fact that Isabella was the wife of another) to carry her off and marry her himself. He bribed her father to consent to this shameful action, and I suppose induced the young lady herself to do so; but the wronged husband immediately revolted, and took up the cause of Prince Arthur. The pope, Innocent III., who at that time ruled at the Vatican, expressed great disgust and anger at John's unprincipled and immoral behaviour.

In the year 1202, King Philip again encouraged Arthur in his hopeless claim, and excited him to attempt to obtain the English crown by force. "Will you desert your rights?" said he. "Would you not be a king?" "Indeed would I," answered the youth, who was but fifteen years of age, and therefore ignorant of the dangers that threatened him. "Here, then," rejoined Philip, "are 200 knights; march with them and take the continental provinces which are yours, while I invade Normandy." Away went the simple prince with the paltry force which the French king had placed at his disposal; and the people of Brittany having sent 500 more knights, and 4,000 soldiers, he fancied himself already a military hero.

It happened that Arthur's grandmother, the Queen-Dowager Eleanor, who had never liked him, was staying at the town of Mirabeau, near Poictiers. The young prince thought, or some of his friends told him, that it would be an admirable thing to seize the town, and take the old lady prisoner. With her in his power, he fancied his uncle John would come to terms, and, perhaps, even abandon the crown in his favour. Off he marched, with banners flying and drums beating, to Mirabeau; the town yielded to him, but Eleanor escaped: this royal fox had seen too many adventures to be captured by so young a huntsman. Taking refuge in a strongly-built and fortified tower, she kept his troops at bay. This military exploit of the young prince does not represent him in a very amiable light; it seems as if he was actuated by the same spirit which induced his reprobate father, Geoffrey, to rebel against his parent. It was an unseemly and unnatural thing for a boy to be making war against his grandmother, a woman of eighty, and wishing to consign her grey head to a prison: the case, also, is aggravated when it is recollected that Arthur was the aggressor. His punishment, however, was at hand, and it was a dreadfully disproportionate and terrible one. John, hearing the danger of his mother, hurried off with an army to her assistance. In a little while the tables were turned; for the aged Eleanor was in safety, and Arthur a prisoner in the hands of his grim uncle. Two hundred knights and nobles were captured with him; whom John loaded with irons and shut up in dungeons in Normandy and England, where they mostly perished from neglect and want. Twenty-two of these noblemen are said to have been starved to death in Corfe Castle.

Arthur was sent a prisoner to the castle of Falaise, and here John had a meeting with his nephew. The hypocritical king was at that moment plotting the death of the now defenceless boy; yet he spoke kindly to him, and said he wished to win his confidence and affection. "Give me mine inheritance," replid Arthur boldly; "restore to me my kingdom of England." A dark scowl passed over the pallid face of John, and his suspicious, furtive-looking eyes glared with passion. Soon afterwards, he proposed to one William de la Bray to undertake the murder of the young prince; but Bray replied indignantly, "that he was a gentleman, not a hangman." Then the tyrant made the same wicked proposition to Hubert de Burgh, who was warder of the castle. Hubert, also, was disgusted; but he pretended to comply with John's horrid wish, in order that he might save the unhappy prince. When some ruffians arrived from the king to execute the sinful deed, he sent them back, saying that Arthur had died in prison, and then buried an empty coffin, in order to give a colour to his report. So loud a cry of indignation followed this event, especially in Normandy, that John was alarmed; and Hubert, to calm his fears, confessed that Arthur still lived.

This confession was fatal to the imprisoned prince. John soon recovered from his fears; and then, taking Arthur out of the custody of the pitying Hubert, removed him to the castle of Rouen. Powerless as Arthur was, John could not rest while he lived; the tyrant knew that no one loved him, and he feared, that when his nephew became a man, he might be the cause of his dethronement. Again he determined to murder the helpless boy; and this time he resolved to trust

to no hands but his own to execute the infamous deed of blood.

Some doubt exists as to the precise manner in which the murder was accomplished; but the account which is generally believed to be correct is the following. One night, during the month of April, in the year 1203, the poor lonely boy was suddenly roused from his sleep, and told that he must descend to the foot of the tower. The river Seine flowed by the foundations of the castle, and the bleak spring winds moaned round its walls, and rushed in sudden gusts up its stone flights of steps, as the shivering and alarmed boy followed his gaoler down them. Arrived at the grim portal, he beheld his stern uncle John; his figure was shrouded in a mantle; but his cold, cruel-looking eyes glared in the starlight, like those of a crouching tiger. By his side was Walter de Maulac, his esquire, a man infamous for his barbarity. In a moment the unhappy young prince was conscious of the fate that awaited him, and, throwing himself upon his knees, he implored his uncle to spare his life. John was unmoved, and gave De Maulac a sign to strike the blow; but even this fellow did not like to kill a mere boy in cold blood, and he hesitated. Cursing De Maulac for cowardice, the tyrant seized Arthur by the hair, and stabbing the shrieking boy, threw his yet warm and quivering body into the river. The character of John is stained with many other deeds of mean dastardly cruelty; but this one fearful act alone is sufficient to cover his memory for ever with a load of infamy; and he did not altogether escape the consequences of this wicked murder. A cry of indignation arose against him, and he became an object of universal detestation. The people of Brittany, who were much attached to Arthur (for he was their prince), took up arms against his assassin; and Philip, the French king, summoned him, as his vassal, to appear and stand a trial by his peers. John, of course, did not obey this summons, so Philip declared him a parricide, a traitor, and an enemy to France; and adjudged him to forfeit all the dominions which he held in that country.

Philip had very little sympathy for the sad fate of young Arthur; but he had a great desire to obtain possession of Normandy, and all the towns which the English held in France. He therefore raised an army, for the purpose of putting in force the sentence of confiscation he had passed upon the regal murderer. The enraged Bretons flocked to his standard in vast multitudes, and he was joined [A.D. 1204] by many of the Norman barons. Town after town fell before him, or surrendered to his rule; while King John remained in idleness at Rouen, surrounded by vulgar flatterers, and spending his time in feasts and dances. Not that he felt any pleasure in these ill-timed revels: news was constantly reaching him of the disgraceful loss of his dominions in France, and he plunged into dissipation to try and forget his shame. Sometimes, on being told of a new loss, he would pretend that he despised his foes; and, in a tone of ridiculous bravado, say—"Let them go on; let these French and this rabble of Bretons go on; I will recover in a single day all that they are taking from me with so much pains." But though he talked thus bravely when the French were at a distance, as soon as they came near Rouen, he rode off as fast as his horse could carry him, and, hurrying on board ship, fled for safety to England.

Instead of collecting an army for his defence, the coward John then wrote to the pope, and begged him to interfere in his behalf; and, strange as it may seem, the supreme head of the Christian church sent two legates to the French court to plead the murderer's cause. But if the pope smiled on deeds of blood, heaven did not, and the eloquence of the legates was spent in vain. John then raised an army; but his barons refused to follow him out of England; and before the year 1205 closed, he had lost possession of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poictou; and scarcely a rood of land was left him in France. Thus disgraced by the cowardice of their king, the English people were losing that high reputation for courage and ability which they had enjoyed during the reign of the great Henry II., and even in the time of his less capable son, Richard. John's timidity and indolence also exposed him to the contempt of his barons; and it is no wonder that they soon both despised and defied him. As England fell in power and estimation, so France rose; and Philip, more through John's despicable cowardice than from his own genius, conferred, in a few years, as much military glory upon his country as might, under other circumstances, have cost him ages to attain.

At length John went with an army over to France, where he burned the town of Angers, and committed a number of cruelties; but he and Philip afterwards consented to a truce for two years. He might now have devoted himself to promote the happiness of his people, and win back the esteem of his barons; but his unhappy temper would not long permit him to live in peace, and he soon engaged in a quarrel with an adversary far more dangerous than the French king. In the year 1206, Hubert Walter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died; and a dispute arose who should be his successor. The Roman pontiffs had long claimed the power of filling vacant bishoprics in any country throughout Christendom: in England this claim had never been admitted; but Pope Innocent III., a man of great talent and ambition, thought he would take advantage of John's weakness and unpopularity to

establish the right of Rome to regulate the affairs of the church of England.

The king had recommended John de Gray, the Bishop of Norwich, to the vacant see of Canterbury. The pope refused to sanction that appointment, and nominated Stephen Langton, an Englishman by birth, but who had long been closely connected with the court of Rome, to be the future archbishop. The monks of Canterbury had to decide between obedience to their sovereign and obedience to the pope: they chose the latter, and accepted Langton as their spiritual ruler. Sensible that John would feel angry at this proceeding, Pope Innocent endeavoured to pacify him in a singular and rather foolish manner. He sent a legate from Rome, who presented the English monarch with four valuable rings, and desired him to consider four things concerning them; namely, their form, number, matter, and colours. Their *form*, he said, being round, was an emblem of eternity, which had neither beginning nor end; and from that he ought to learn the duty of aspiring from earthly things to those of heaven. Their *number*, four, being a square, denoted steadiness of mind, not to be overthrown either by adversity or prosperity; but fixed for ever on the firm foundation of the four cardinal virtues. The *matter* or substance of the rings being gold, the most precious of metals, signified wisdom, the most valuable of all accomplishments; and justly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, and all other attainments. As to *colour*, that of the sapphire represented faith; that of the emerald, hope; that of the ruby, charity; and that of the topaz, good works. In the sapphire, therefore, you have what you are to believe; in the emerald, what you are to hope; in the ruby, what you are to love; and in the topaz, what you are to practise; to the end that you may proceed from virtue to virtue, till you come to the vision of the God of Gods in Sion.

John was not to be deluded by these toys into a surrender of one of the most important prerogatives of his crown: he regarded the rings with contempt, and dismissed the legate with anger. Then, in one of those fits of mad passion to which he was ever subject, he sent two blunt, coarse-mannered knights, and a band of soldiers, to take vengeance on the monks of Canterbury by driving them from the land. Rushing, with drawn swords, among the frightened priests, the knights thus addressed them:—"In the king's name we command you to quit the realm as traitors; away with you instantly, or we will set fire to your convent, and burn it and you together." The downcast monks departed, and, wandering abroad, were received into convents on the continent, and hospitably provided for. That their disobedience to the king demanded inquiry, and perhaps punishment, cannot reasonably be doubted; but John's barbarous conduct was in defiance of all law, and utterly unworthy of the ruler of a great country.

The pope immediately sent John another message, exhorting him not to oppose God and the church, nor persecute that cause for which the holy martyr, Sir Thomas à Becket, had sacrificed his life, and which had exalted him to an equality with the highest saints in heaven. This was a quiet hint to John that his strong-minded father, Henry, had been compelled to submit to the power of Rome; but the passionate king disregarded the hint, and set the pope at defiance. Our great poet, Shakspeare, has represented John as scornfully inquiring of the legate—

> "What earthly name to interrogatories
> Can task the free breath of a sacred king?
> Thou canst not, cardinal, devise a name
> So slight, unworthy, and ridiculous,
> To charge me to an answer, as the pope."

This language is the invention of the poet; but something like it was doubtless used by John, and the horrified cardinal returned to Rome to relate the circumstance to his spiritual superior. Innocent then sent a command to the Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to wait upon the king, and threaten that they would lay his dominions under an interdict if he persevered in his rebellion against the church. The prelates obeyed the papal mandate; but when they came to the threat, John turned livid with passion, and foamed at the mouth, as he roared out—"By God's teeth! if you, or any of your body, dare to lay my dominions under an interdict, I will banish you all to Rome, and confiscate your property. As for the Roman shavelings, if I find any in this country, I will tear out their eyes, and cut off their noses, and so send them to the pope, that the nations may witness their infamy."

The bishops, without reply, withdrew from the presence of the king; but in a few weeks afterwards (in March, 1208), they pronounced the solemn sentence of INTERDICT upon all John's dominions, and then fled from the country. It was well for them they did fly, or their lives might have paid the forfeit for thus defying their sovereign, and bringing misery and confusion upon their native land. However criminal John was in other respects, he was only foolhardy and obstinate in this; and these cowardly bishops, in order to vex him, severely punished his people. The effect of an interdict upon a nation has been already stated; and it is difficult to convey an idea of the intense gloom and desolation which, in that superstitious age, it produced throughout the country. All religious services to the living, and consolation to the dying, were strictly prohibited; while the dead, instead of being laid in consecrated ground, were buried in fields and gardens, or

thrown into ditches to rot. Monks walked about with solemn steps and downcast looks, labour was deserted, and everywhere there reigned an awful silence, as if the land had been desolated by the plague.

This strange state of things lasted for five years, and the interdict was only removed at the end of that period [in A.D. 1213], in consequence of John's submission to the pope. This instrument of papal vengeance would have had far less effect if John had been loved by his people: for if every one had agreed to stand fast by their sovereign, the priests would not have dared to carry out the sentence of interdict very strictly, and it would, in consequence, have been but lightly felt. The pope at Rome only pronounced the sentence; the clergy in England inflicted the punishment. The pope was a supreme despot, who assumed authority over the whole earth, and they were his spiritual guards and executioners. These monks and bishops acted a most unpatriotic part, and showed very little Christian love and charity for their fellow-creatures; but whenever ignorance and superstition have been general, the pure, gentle, forgiving spirit of true religion has ever been forgotten or trampled on.

John's tyranny so disgusted his subjects that no one cared to serve him, and the interdict was observed in all its gloomy force. He had practised every kind of paltry annoyance against his barons, prohibiting them from their favourite amusement of hunting feathered game, breaking down all their hedges and fences near his forests, that his deer might pasture in their fields; and, what was far worse, bringing dishonour upon their families by his wicked pleasures. Knowing how much he was hated, and constantly in dread of a revolt against his authority, immediately after the sentence of interdict had been passed, he obliged many of his nobles to place their children in his hands as hostages of their loyalty and obedience to him. One day, his messengers went to the castle of a baron, named William de Braouse, to demand his son. Lady Braouse was a woman of more spirit than wisdom, and she exclaimed, "My son shall not go near him; he murdered his own nephew, whom he ought to have protected, and I will not place my boy in his power!" The noble was sensible of his wife's imprudence, and, after checking her, he said to the officers, "If I have done anything against my sovereign, I am ready to make him satisfaction without hostages, according to the judgment of his court and my peers." Knowing the savage temper of John, Braouse fled to Ireland with his wife and child; but the merciless tyrant discovered their hiding-place, and put the lady and her son in prison, where they died from starvation: the husband, also, might have shared the same fate, but he contrived to escape to France.

As the sentence of interdict upon John's dominions failed to reduce him to submission to the power of the Roman priesthood, the pope, a year afterwards [A.D. 1209], pronounced another sentence—that of excommunication against John himself. Excommunication consisted in solemnly uttering, with a great deal of ceremony, an awful and malicious curse upon the person against whom it was directed, excluding him from all religious service or consolation in this world, and declaring that an eternity of horrible anguish awaited him in the next. Fortunately for the happiness of us all, the power of man does not extend further than this life; neither popes nor tyrants can carry their malice beyond the grave. After that, our fate rests only in the hands of God; his power alone elevates us to bliss, or consigns us to punishment; and we may rest satisfied that his merciful judgments are not swayed by the curses of any arrogant priest.

But though excommunication can have no influence on a man's eternal happiness, it had, in former ages, a great effect upon his worldly prospects; and this John soon discovered. He was powerful enough to prevent the sentence from being read aloud in the churches; but it soon became known throughout the kingdom. One Geoffrey, the Archdeacon of Norwich, who also possessed an important office in the Court of the Exchequer, heard of it while he was sitting on the bench, and remarking to his associates that it was a dangerous thing to serve under an excommunicated king, rose instantly and left the court. This was an improper desertion of his duty, and merited punishment; but John, as was usual with him, resented it with a malicious fury. He commanded the priest to be seized and thrown into prison, and a leaden cope of great weight to be fixed upon his head. From this and other rough treatment the archdeacon soon died.

Such severity, however, did not do away with the effects of the excommunication; most of the bishops stole secretly out of the kingdom, and many of the barons followed their example. An old monkish chronicler relates, that, in this emergency, John even applied for assistance to the powerful Emir, Mohammed al Nassir, chief of the Moors of Spain; and offered, in return, to embrace the Mahometan faith, and hold the English crown as a vassal of the Emirs; but that the negotiation ended in nothing. It is possible that this story may be untrue; but, considering the character of John, it is by no means improbable.

To relieve the monotony and gloomy weariness which haunted him at home, John, in the year 1210, raised an army and proceeded to Ireland, where many English nobles had taken refuge and defied his authority. He reduced most of them to obedience; and having received the homage of the Irish chieftains, who offered no resistance, he returned triumphantly to England.

The next year he invaded Wales, and marched as far as Snowdon; and having exacted a tribute from the country in cattle and horses, and taken away eight-and-twenty youths of noble family as hostages for the peaceable conduct of the country, he again returned to his own kingdom. Of course he required money for these two expeditions, and he obtained it by the most oppressive measures. But, of all his subjects, none suffered so much as the unhappy Jews, who were robbed in the most shameful manner, thrown into dungeons, and tortured until they consented to pay large sums for their liberty. From one very rich Jew, John demanded the enormous sum of ten thousand marks. The wretched man declared that he did not possess so much; upon which the infamous tyrant committed him to prison, and ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every day until he paid the money. The executioner began with the double teeth, and the oppressed Jew had the courage to undergo seven operations. Then the power of endurance failed him, and he surrendered his wealth to the extortioner.

As neither the sentence of interdict nor that of excommunication had succeeded in humbling John, the pope, in the year 1212, pronounced his DETHRONEMENT; and called upon all Christian kings and nobles to assist in wresting the crown from the head of one who so impiously defied the church. This call was responded to by John's old enemy, King Philip of France, who collected a fleet of no less than 1,700 ships for the purpose of invading England. The pope blessed his banner, and promised him a remission of all his sins, if he succeeded in driving John into exile. The English spirit was roused by this act; and when John summoned every man capable of bearing arms to be ready to defend their country, 60,000 men flocked to his standard. His bold seamen, too, sailed over the channel; attacked a French fleet, which they met at the mouth of the river Seine; defeated it, burned the town of Dieppe to ashes, and, after proceeding defiantly along the whole Norman coast, returned to England in triumph. The consecrated banner which the pope had given to King Philip had no effect in saving his ships from the just anger and patriotic revenge of the English mariners.

Still the cowardly John shrunk from the impending struggle; and when Pandulph, the pope's legate, asked for a private conference with him at Dover, he readily granted it. The priest then gave him such an eloquent description of the power of the French armament—of the hatred with which he was regarded by both his barons and his people, and of the secret conspiracies hatching against him, that the miserable tyrant was overcome with terror. Pandulph assured him, that if he would submit to the supreme pontiff, he should be again received into the church, which would extend to him her protection, and save his dominions from the threatened invasion by Philip. It is difficult to imagine how John could descend to the abject and humiliating act which the legate induced him to perform. Having promised to admit Stephen Langton to the office of Archbishop of Canterbury; to restore all the banished clergy, and make compensation for the mischief he had done to them, he went to the church of the Templars at Dover; and there, on his knees before Pandulph, declared, that not constrained by fear, but of his own free will, and by the advice and consent of his barons, he, for the remission of his sins, resigned his kingdoms of England and Ireland to God, St. Peter and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair; and that he agreed to hold those dominions as a vassal of the church of Rome, and pay to it a yearly tribute of 1,000 marks. He then offered a sum of money as an emblem of his subjection; but the haughty priest contemptuously trampled it beneath his feet. This infamous act of John's, by which the whole nation was disgraced, took place on the 15th of May, 1213. In return, the legate, Pandulph, undertook to save England from the invasion of the French king. Other hands were at work, however, in the cause of England's honour; and her independence was not long sacrificed to the ambition of Rome.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF KING JOHN.—A.D. 1213—1216.

SHORTLY before King John had resigned his crown into the hands of the pope, a man of singular but impressive appearance had been preaching in the streets of Pontefract, and other towns. He was a religious enthusiast, and spoke with such a zealous warmth, and so much rude eloquence, that his sermons were listened to by vast bare-headed crowds with the greatest respect. He was known as Peter the Hermit. But it was not to preaching alone that Peter confined himself; he aspired to be considered as a prophet; and the multitude admitted his claim to that character. The poor man, who was probably a little crazy, might very likely have lived, and preached, and prophesied in peace, but that he had the imprudence to predict, that, before the Feast of the Ascension, the king would be unknighted. For this he and his son were seized by the tyrant and thrown into prison. The superstitious John, however, trembled, for he thought the prediction meant that he should die; and a dread of its possible truth influenced him in his submission to Pandulph. Strangely enough, that submission took place on the eve of the Feast of the Ascension; and thus it may be said that the hermit's prediction was fulfilled. It is likely that it required no miraculous knowledge to guess that John would, before that time, do some act which would disgrace him. This sort of fulfilment, however, did not pacify the king's fears; he thought the hermit had prophesied his death; and as he was still alive, he considered Peter as an impostor, and condemned both him and his son to be dragged to the gallows at the tails of horses, and then hanged. This wicked sentence was executed at the town of Warham.

When Pandulph left England, elated by the triumph he had obtained over its recreant king, he proceeded at once to France, and presented himself before Philip, whom he informed that John was now a penitent son of the church, a vassal of Rome, and that he, as a Christian prince, could not presume to attack a country which was the patrimony of St. Peter. The French king was astonished at such a sudden change on the part of the pope. He told the legate that he had undertaken the invasion of England at the express invitation of the Roman pontiff; that he had spent a large sum of money in preparation; and that he could not think of abandoning a contest in which he felt so certain of victory. All the expense, he added, had fallen upon him, but all the advantage had been reaped by the pope; he felt that he had been made a tool of in the affair; therefore, instead of giving up the attack upon England, he resolved to urge it on at once. Pandulph had passed his word to do that which he had no power to effect; and, to a large extent, John's beggarly humiliation to the pope was useless.

Cowardly as the king himself was, there were bold hearts yet beating in England; and a fleet of 500 ships was collected at Portsmouth, under the command of William Longsword, one of the sons of Fair Rosamond, and half-brother to John. Seven hundred knights, and a large body of common soldiers, were embarked in these vessels, and away they sailed, with the daring intention of attacking the enemy's fleet (which was three times more numerous than their own), even before it left the harbours of France. This led to the first great sea-fight between the French and English, and it ended in the total destruction of the French fleet [A.D. 1214]. Longsword having discovered, by means of some boats which he sent out as spies, that a great number of the French ships in the haven were left with only a few people in them (for most of the soldiers and sailors had gone on shore to enjoy themselves), immediately attacked the deserted fleet, captured a number of ships, and threw the rest into such confusion, that, after a desperate struggle, they were forced to yield. Three hundred ships were taken by the English; 100 more were burnt; and King Philip, fearing that the rest might also fall into the hands of his enemies, set fire to them himself, and then, half mad with disappointment, fled for safety to the interior of the kingdom.

Thus Philip, who had conspired against a nation's independence, was deservedly punished for his conduct. The pope's sentence of dethronement against John would have been only idle talk, if the officious French monarch had not attempted to carry it into execution; and the consequence was, the complete destruction of the fleet it had cost him so much to collect. At this period there was great joy in England; its arms were victorious; its king was reconciled to the church; the sentences of interdict and excommunication were removed; and there was yet a chance for the tyrant to devote his energies to the advancement and happiness of his people. That chance was offered in vain; no thought of good ever entered the heart of John; and, bad as things had been

in England during his reign, they were to be far worse before it was ended.

Intoxicated with his success, John thought of following it up by an invasion of France, and he summoned all his barons to meet him with their followers at Portsmouth. But the barons had lost all confidence in their king; they hated his person, and despised his cowardice; and though they met in arms, they refused to embark with him to France. John attempted to shame them into compliance by setting sail himself with only a few ships; but when he had gone as far as Jersey, and found that they did not follow him, he swore a great oath of vengeance, and then returned. Mad with passion, he led a band of foreign mercenary troops to the north of England, to punish the barons who were most refractory. They marched along, burning villages, and wantonly murdering the people, until they reached Northampton. Here the king was overtaken by Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, though he had been forced upon the kingdom by the pope, was a just man, and a lover of his country. "These barbarous proceedings," said he, "are in violation of your coronation oaths; if your barons have offended, they must be judged by their peers, and not be wantonly harassed by arms." "Mind you your church," replied the king, "and leave me to govern the state!" But the bold archbishop was not to be easily frowned down; and having threatened John and his foreign followers with excommunication if they continued their outrages, the king gave up his design of taking vengeance on his barons by force of arms, and adopted the milder mode of summoning them to answer for their conduct.

Though previously compelled to abandon the invasion of France, John, in 1214, entered into a league with the Emperor of Germany, the Earl of Flanders, and the Earl of Boulogne, against Philip. This confederacy was a very formidable one; and the intention of the princes who composed it was, to subdue France, and divide that extensive country between them. Otho, the German emperor, entered France with an army of 100,000 soldiers; but this immense force was utterly defeated by King Philip, at a little village called Bouvines, between Lisle and Tournay. John, who had laid siege to the castle of Angers, never staid to fight at all, but ran away at the approach of the French, and that so quickly, that he left all his tents and stores behind him.—On the 18th of September, he concluded a humiliating peace with Philip at Chinon, and then returned to England.

On his arrival here, he conducted himself worse than before, and became more morose and ferocious than ever. Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, his justiciary, a wise and good man, whom John had always feared, had died during his absence. On hearing of the death of this faithful minister, the king gave a grim laugh, and exclaimed—"It is well; in hell he may again shake hands with Hubert, our late primate, for he will surely find him there. By God's teeth! now, for the first time I am King of England." This insolent ingratitude was soon to be punished, for difficulties were arising in which the miserable tyrant felt the loss of the man whose memory he had reviled.

Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, had assembled the discontented barons during the month of November, 1214, at St. Edmondsbury. There he read to them a copy of an almost forgotten charter given by Henry I. to his people, and exhorted them to insist on a renewal and observance of it. Excited by that rational love of liberty which is natural to English minds, and influenced by a disgust for the tyrant who was plunging the country into ruin, the barons, one by one, laid their hands upon the high altar of the church, and swore that if the king refused to sanction the charter they should present, they would unite in a war against him, and never cease from it until he consented to their demand. They then parted, to collect men and put their castles in a condition fit for defence, agreeing to meet again in London at Christmas-time.

Christmas-time came, and the king, who was at Worcester, found himself deserted, except by his personal attendants; for none of the great barons presented themselves at his silent court. John learnt what was going on, and, pale with fear and passion, hurried up to London. Then the barons appeared before him, and he demanded to know what they wanted. Presenting their petition, they awaited an answer in silence. At first, John tried to frighten them by threats and loud swearing; but as this produced no effect, he begged them to grant him until Easter for consideration. Knowing his treacherous character, they were not very willing to do so; but at length they consented, and then returned home.

In the period between Christmas and Easter, John tried his utmost to raise himself above the power of his barons: he began by courting the clergy, and bestowing upon them many privileges he had hitherto been very unwilling to yield. He wrote to Archbishop Langton, to win him to his interest; but that just priest was inflexibly true to the cause he had adopted. John then appealed to the pope, whom he implored to protect him against what he called the treasonable violence of his vassals; and, to win the good-will of the Roman pontiff, he promised to lead an army to the Holy Land. Indeed, he did nearly everything but what he ought to have done; and that was, to have granted the reasonable demands made upon him. The pope regretted these disturbances in England, which he thought might interfere with the absolute power he

had so recently acquired there. He did not wish to hear subjects talk about rights and liberties, for those were forbidden words in the Roman church; so he wrote letters to the king, the barons, and the clergy. He desired John to treat his nobles with indulgence, and grant any reasonable demands they might make; the clergy he exhorted to promote peace between the contending parties; and to the barons he expressed his decided aversion of their employing force to extort concessions from their reluctant sovereign. This good advice was, as good advice generally is, disregarded by all parties; and things remained in just the same condition as they were before the pope was appealed to.

Easter [A.D. 1215] arrived; the king was keeping his court at Oxford; and the barons, attended by 2,000 knights, and an immense body of retainers, marched in military order to within fifteen miles of his residence. There they were met by a deputation from John, consisting of Archbishop Langton, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Warrene, who desired to know what were the liberties which they demanded from their sovereign? The archbishop, and the two nobles who accompanied him, were in league with the revolted barons; but, for form's sake, they had undertaken to appear on behalf of the king. Presenting the scroll which contained a list of their requirements, the allied nobles added—"These are our claims; and if they are not instantly granted, our swords shall do us justice." The messengers returned, and placed the document in the hands of the trembling John. After looking over the parchment, he burst into a fit of useless passion, and raved out—"And why do they not demand my crown also? By God's teeth! I will not grant them liberties which will make me a slave!"

When this answer was reported to the barons, they prepared at once for war; and choosing Robert Fitz-Walter as their leader, proclaimed themselves "the Army of God, and of Holy Church." Marching to Northampton, they laid siege to the castle; but it proved too strong for them, and they were obliged to abandon it. This was a bad beginning, and they began to feel very anxious for the result of their proceedings; failure would probably be ruin and death to them all; and they now became aware that the side which the great body of the people embraced would be the triumphant one. Proceeding to Bedford, they were delighted to find that the people there opened their gates, and welcomed them as deliverers and patriots. Messengers then arrived from London, desiring them to visit the metropolis; for all parties were alike disgusted with the worthless king. Gladly did they accept the invitation; and, on the following Sunday, with military tramp, and in solemn silence, they marched into the old city. The only sounds heard were the regular footfall of the soldiers, and the rattling of their gleaming, but ponderous armour. The next day they issued a proclamation, requiring all earls, barons, and knights who had hithero remained neutral, to join them against the tyrant, unless they desired to be considered as enemies to their country. This proclamation was heartily responded to; and, in a little while, the parties in this extraordinary quarrel were, on the one side, the whole nobility of England, backed by the great mass of its people, and, on the other, the almost totally deserted John.

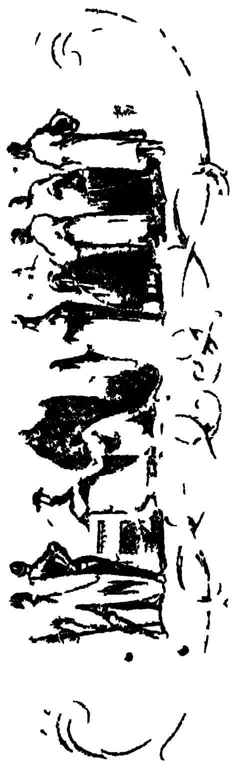
At first he was paralysed with fear, and unable to arrive at any conclusion; but then his habitual hypocrisy came to his aid. Assuming a hollow smile, he sent a messenger to the revolted barons; and after, in vain, begging them to refer all disputed points to the pope, or to eight nobles, who should be chosen, half by him and half by them, he said that they had done well, and he would grant any liberties they might require. Thus, at last, he was compelled to yield, in shame and confusion, what, at first, he might have given with grace and honour.

This was in the year 1215; the day appointed for granting the demands of the charter was the 15th of June; the place was to be Runnymede, a meadow between Windsor and Staines. These particulars should ever be remembered by all lovers of constitutional liberty, as they pertain to a most important event, and one that will always remain famous in English history. Princes may learn from it to govern wisely, and, above all things, to avoid a tyrannical obstinacy; and the people may also learn how to respect and preserve those rational liberties which are so dear to Englishmen, and which were won at the cost of so much anxiety and danger. In after-times, this struggle between a tyrannical king (Charles I.) and his aroused people was repeated, but with a different result. John, by submission, saved himself; but the other despot fell a victim to his obstinate misgovernment.

The famous meeting between John and his barons took place at the time named. A few nobles and gentlemen, together with eight bishops, attended the king; but in their hearts most of them favoured the popular cause. Perhaps the only one who sincerely wished that the king might triumph over the insurgent barons, was the talented and crafty cardinal, Pandulph, who had come from Rome to counsel and assist him, and now stood by the side of the humbled and gloomy tyrant. Several days were spent in debate; and then, on the 19th, John signed the celebrated MAGNA CHARTA, as it is called, or, the GREAT CHARTER; because it is regarded as the foundation of the liberties of Englishmen.

From his extreme reluctance to sanction this cele-






brated document, it might be supposed that it was intended to destroy, or, at least, to greatly weaken, the royal power, if not entirely to change the form of government. It does little more, however, than restrain wanton tyranny, and ensure a just administration of the laws. It is such a charter as no amiable and honest prince could have had any hesitation in bestowing upon his subjects; its great defects being, that it did not go far enough, and that the great body of the people were not benefited by it so much as were the barons and clergy. It ran to a great length, and contained sixty-one articles; but it will be sufficient just to allude to its principal features. Its best points were, that it took away from the king (not entirely, but to a great extent) the power of robbing widows and orphans of their estates, and of giving wealthy heiresses in marriage to any poor, profligate noble, whom the sovereign might select as a husband for them. It provided that justice should not be sold, refused, or delayed to any one; that no person should be arrested, or put in prison, or have his goods taken away from him, except by a legal judgment, and according to the laws of the land; that no one, whether rich or poor, should have unreasonable fines imposed upon him for small offences; and that no rustic labourer, or villein, as he was called, should, for any fine, have his carts, ploughs, and farming instruments taken away from him; that there should be the same weights and measures throughout the kingdom; that merchants and tradesmen should be allowed to attend to their business without being harassed by exorbitant tolls; that no officer of the king's should take away the horses, carts, or wood of any one without the owner's consent; and that all free men should be permitted to leave the kingdom, and return to it, whenever they wished to do so. These were the most important of those liberties which John had, with a blasphemous oath, declared would, if granted to his people, render him a slave!

The only regulation that was really offensive, was not essentially a part of the charter itself, but an arrangement which it was found necessary to enter into, to ensure its observance. The king would not have carried out any new laws to which he had so great an aversion; so five-and-twenty of the most powerful barons were chosen to act as preservers of the public liberty. The power conferred on these nobles was very considerable; but it was necessary to give them great authority in consequence of the false, deceitful character of John. If the king violated the decrees of the Great Charter, they were to admonish him on the subject; and if he refused redress, they were empowered to make war upon him and distress him, by seizing the crown lands and castles until he should return to the course of justice and the observance of his word. If, however, any such war arose, his person, and that of his queen and children, were always to be respected as sacred and inviolable. This regulation had, no doubt, many objectionable points; but without it, and with such a king as John upon the throne, the charter would have been no better than waste parchment.

When the Great Charter was signed, the vast multitude dispersed with joy; and John, full of sadness and malice, rode away to Windsor Castle. There, shutting himself up in his chamber, and attended only by a few foreign mercenary soldiers, he abandoned himself to the bitterest emotions of rage and despair. He gnashed his teeth, and bit his pallid lips, until the blood started from them; and, throwing himself upon the ground, swore numbers of revolting oaths, and even gnawed sticks and rushes, in the excess of his impotent passion. When exhausted with these wild manifestations of fury, he sent two of his partisans abroad, one to implore the aid of the pope, and the other to collect a horde of foreign soldiers to come and harass his English subjects; then, in a fit of sullen melancholy, he went to the Isle of Wight, and would keep no society except that of sailors and fishermen. His object seems to have been to attach the common people to his person; but he was not successful.

The effect of John's foreign messages was soon felt; for the pope declared the Great Charter annulled and abrogated, and pronounced a general sentence of excommunication against all those barons who should attempt to maintain it. Small parties of foreign soldiers also were constantly stealing into the land; Poictevins, Gascons, Flemings, and Brabançons—the refuse of other countries—ready to fight for or against any one for hire, and willing to murder even their own brothers for pay. Luckily, an immense number of these ruffians were overtaken by a tempest while crossing the channel, and drowned; and John bewailed their loss with groans and curses. Leaving the Isle of Wight, he had taken up his residence at Dover, where he collected his mercenaries, and proceeded to lay siege to Rochester Castle, which the barons had seized as security for his good conduct, when they saw so many foreign soldiers entering the country.

The mask was now laid aside, and civil war commenced between the king and his nobles. Rochester Castle was defended by William d'Albiney, together with 140 knights and their retainers. For eight weeks they fought bravely against the tyrant; but at length they were compelled by famine to submit. John swore he would hang them all upon the battlements; but one of his foreign officers, named Savaric de Mauleon, representing that perhaps the barons would retaliate in the same manner upon any prisoners whom they might take, the king sent all the knights to prison, and

slaughtered the common soldiers only; who, of course, had done nothing but obey the orders of their lords. D'Albiney was a skilful and valiant soldier, and his captivity was greatly deplored by the barons, who had been prevented by John's foreign troops from coming to his assistance. Indeed it was necessary for them to remain in London for the protection of that wealthy city, which the tyrant longed to devastate.

The nobility in the north of England were particularly obnoxious to John, and he determined to punish them by laying waste their estates. During the Christmas of 1215, he marched in that direction with his army, which was composed of men little better than savages. Some idea of the character of the leaders of these men may be formed from the names bestowed upon them. There was "Falco, without bowels;" "Mauleon, the bloody;" "Walter Buch, the murderer;" "Sottim, the merciless;" "Godeshall, the iron-hearted," and many others of the same stamp. John marched first to Nottingham, and from thence to Yorkshire, burning every village and house upon the road. The inhabitants were murdered in cold blood, or put to the most horrible torture to make them confess where they had hidden their moneys and valuables. The conduct of his foreign soldiers was more like that of a host of demons than a company of human beings; the unconscious infant, the shrieking maiden, and the grey-haired, feeble old man, all alike fell beneath the blows of their weapons. It seemed as if mercy had been banished from the earth; and the tyrant, anxious not to be outdone by the meanest ruffian among his followers, himself set fire, every morning, to the house where he had slept the previous night. All who were not openly for him he considered as enemies, and slaughtered them without pity. His progress was marked by burning towns, ruined castles, and disfigured bodies of the unburied dead. The suffering people of the north were reminded of William the Conqueror's expedition of murder throughout their country; for, since the time of that monarch, no such dreadful scenes had been perpetrated in England. Many dark and terrible outrages there had been, but none so extensive and desolating as those committed in John's march to the north.

If ever there was a proceeding that called for the interference of the pope, it was this. If the power of the Roman church had been exerted to arrest these scenes of blood and terror, and John threatened with instant excommunication unless he desisted from his career of murder, we should naturally regard that power with some respect and admiration. Did the pope interfere at this fearful time? Yes, indeed he did. But it was to encourage the king, to excommunicate the principal barons by name, and to lay the city of London under an interdict! Ever the masked enemy of liberty, the Roman pontiff would not at first speak out; but, when called upon to act, he threw his influence into the scale of tyranny, and sacrificed every holy emotion of charity, love, and religion to its support. It is, however, some consolation to know, that, as the sentence of interdict had not been incurred by any spiritual misconduct, neither the priests nor the citizens of London would pay any attention to it; people said their prayers, buried their dead, christened their children, and married each other just as usual. And what was more, the church bells frequently rang out a merry peal, as if to proclaim that the citizens would not make themselves miserable, either for the pope abroad, or their own tyrant at home.

But however cheerful the Londoners might try to be, the country was in a gloomy and desperate condition. It was dreadful to think of the consequences if John were permitted to go on burning and murdering throughout the land; and he was surrounded by such masses of foreign troops, that the barons were only able to remain in London, and act on the defensive. Under these circumstances, they decided upon taking a dangerous, and what, we cannot help thinking, was a disgraceful step. They sent to their old enemy, Philip, the King of France, and offered the crown of England to his eldest son, Louis. That prince had married John's niece, the Lady Blanche, of Castille; therefore, the barons were pleased to assume, that if John were removed, Louis would have some sort of right to the English sovereignty. The French king was delighted at this offer; but he would not accept it, until four-and-twenty sons of the most powerful among the English barons were placed in his hands as hostages for the safety of his son. This was done, and on the 30th of May, 1216, the French prince landed on the shores of England with a powerful army.

John had collected his vast bands of mercenaries at Dover; but the moment the French arrived, he fled to Bristol, burning and destroying everything he could in his hurried flight. Prince Louis soon entered London, where he was hailed as a deliverer, and the nobles and citizens offered him homage. The few barons who had still followed John then deserted him; immense numbers of his foreign troops, who were French, would not fight against the son of their king, and, therefore, went over to the side of Louis; a widely-spread insurrection arose in the north of England, extending even as far as Lincolnshire; and the King of Scotland prepared to make war upon John in the north. The tyrant was terrified, and even the consolation of the Roman legate could scarcely keep him from despair.

Several military movements then took place; but neither the French troops nor the English barons

showed any decision of character or brilliancy of courage; had they done so, John must have been speedily subdued. The conduct of the barons excites surprise; they had done so much, and endured so long, yet now, either from fear or weakness, they did scarcely anything. They joined Prince Louis in the siege of Dover Castle, but neither he nor they were able to take it. Discontents and jealousies began to arise between them and their allies. The French treated the English with arrogance, and the English regarded the French with suspicion and dislike. Just at this time, a French nobleman, the Viscount de Melun, was seized with a dangerous illness; and feeling his death approaching, he sent for the English barons. Many of them attended at his bedside, when he made the following startling revelation:—"Prince Louis and sixteen of his nobles, have bound themselves by an oath, that when this kingdom shall be subdued, and he crowned as its king, all the English who have joined his standard shall be banished for ever as traitors, not to be trusted. Their whole offspring will be beggared or exterminated. Doubt not my words; I, who now lie dying before you, was one of the conspirators." Shortly after this strange confession, the viscount breathed his last.

Some writers have suspected this incident to have been a mere invention; but, whether true or false, it was generally circulated and believed among the English at that time. Dissatisfied and fearful, the barons held secret meetings; and, repenting the step they had taken of calling in foreign assistance, resolved to desert Louis and return to their allegiance under John; thinking, perhaps, that the latter had learnt some wisdom in adversity, and that he would gladly accept their submission, and govern better in future. To such a melancholy ending would this great and once glorious struggle have come, but that a power greater than that of kings and nobles was aroused; the angel of death unfolded his sombre wings, and the tyrant's days were numbered.

After bringing him level with the dust, fortune once again seemed to smile upon John; he established himself at Lincoln, which city he had subdued; bands of English yeomen fought on his side, from a feeling of hatred to the French and love of their country; while many bold English cruising vessels captured the supplies which were coming from France, for the use of Louis and his troops. Somewhat cheered by these demonstrations in his favour, John collected a considerable army, with the intention of fighting one great battle to secure his crown. In the month of October, 1216, he marched to the town of Lynn; but he had forgotten none of his old habits; for, on the road, he robbed and burnt all the farm-houses belonging to the abbey of Croyland. From Lynn he started for Lincolnshire. An estuary, or arm of the sea, extends some distance into the land between Norfolk and that county. It is called the Wash, and at low tide the sands are left uncovered for a considerable distance; but when the tide rises they lie beneath deep water. Either from caprice, or because it was a shorter way, John determined to convey his troops and baggage across the sands. Probably he could have accomplished the passage without danger; but he chose the wrong time, and before the army reached the opposite shore, they heard the roar and gurgling of the rapidly rising waters. Flying in terror, most of them reached the land; but the waves rolled in with so much power, that they carried away all the carriages, horses, and treasure, and even the crown and regalia of England. Many of the soldiers also were swept away by the merciless sea, and John, with a cry of despair, felt that his last hope had perished.

With bloodshot eyes and burning brain he rode to the abbey of Swineshead, where, heart-sick and anxious, he rested for the night. In his excitement, he drank an immoderate quantity of new cider, and ate voraciously of peaches. An unnatural thirst seems even then to have parched him up. At length he retired to rest; but, after a short uneasy slumber, awoke in a burning fever. Still he rose at an early hour the next morning, and insisted on resuming his march; with some difficulty he mounted his horse, but his sufferings were too acute to permit him to continue on it, so he was carried forward in a litter. That night he stopped at the castle of Sleaford; but anguish of body and anxiety of mind would not permit him to rest, and the next day he again commanded his attendants to march. The progress, however, was brief and difficult; and, when he reached Newark Castle, John felt that his last hour was at hand. He desired to see a confessor, and the abbot of Croxton attended him. It was evident that he was dying, and the venerable priest inquired where he wished to be buried? The tyrant groaned, and then muttered, "I commit my soul to God, and my body to St. Wulstan." Shortly afterwards, this scourge of his country expired, and the evil spirit that had so long haunted England was laid powerless for ever.

There is a tradition that John was poisoned by a monk whom he had offended; and that the latter, first tasting the liquor to induce the king to drink it, also perished from its effects. But none of the chroniclers of that time mention the circumstance; it was first alluded to sixty years after the king's death, by a writer named Thomas Wykes, as a *report*. No reasonable doubt can be entertained that it was a fabrication. John was buried at Worcester cathedral, of which St. Wulstan was the patron saint. His death took place on the 18th of October, 1216; he was in his forty-ninth year, and had misgoverned England for seventeen years. He left two sons—Henry, born in 1206, and therefore ten years

old, and Richard, born in 1209, and therefore seven; and three daughters, Joan, Eleanor, and Isabella.

In his character, John was utterly mean and detestable; a complication of all human vices, without, as far as we know, one redeeming virtue. A disobedient son, an unfaithful husband, a treacherous friend—he was, also, a political hypocrite and a merciless tyrant. The Roman emperor, Augustus, said that he found Rome made of brick, and left it marble: John found England in prosperity, and left it in desolation. Never had the country been so humbled as during his reign, and never were its dominions so curtailed; all that his predecessors had gained he lost, and that, too, under disgraceful circumstances. History, in all its blood-stained records of royal evil-doers, scarcely presents one so meanly profligate and revolting as our *un-English* king, John.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE THIRD; CALLED HENRY OF WINCHESTER.—A.D. 1216—1253.

TEN days after the death of John, his eldest son, Henry, was crowned at Gloucester, by Gualo, the pope's legate, who had for some time been residing in England. The crown had been swept away by the sea in the Wash, near Lincolnshire; so a plain ring of gold was placed, instead, upon the head of the boy-king, who was but ten years old. This coronation might have proved a worthless form, had it not been for the exertions of Cardinal Gualo, and the great wisdom and integrity of the Earl of Pembroke. The cardinal, however, knew the value of his services, and did not give them for nothing: he induced the young king to consent to do homage to the pope; to hold England and Ireland as a vassal of Rome, and to pay the tribute of 1,000 marks a year, which his father had promised.

Louis, the French prince, was still in England with his army; and now that John was dead, he trusted he should soon acquire the sovereign power. Most of the great barons were on his side, and he was in possession of the wealthy city of London. The affairs of the country looked gloomy enough, and fortune did not seem to smile upon the prospects of the little king. In this state of things, the Earl of Pembroke called a great council of prelates and nobles at Bristol, and there he was chosen Protector of the kingdom until Henry should be of age. A better choice could scarcely have been made, for he was both a sound statesman and a good soldier; faithful to the cause of the young king, and anxious to restore the nation to peace and prosperity. His first act was to induce Henry to confirm the Great Charter, in which, however, several important alterations had been made. It was ratified again in the course of the same year; and then a second was granted, called the Charter of Forests. This was a great concession to the people, for it abolished the barbarous punishments which had been inflicted upon those who killed the king's deer, and substituted milder and more reasonable ones instead. It also provided, that all the forests which had been enclosed since the reign of Henry II., should be thrown open. Pembroke then wrote letters, in the name of the king, to the barons who sided with Prince Louis; in which he said, that whatever cause of dislike they might have had to the late King John, they could not possibly have any to the present sovereign, who was too young to have offended any one. He added that Henry was an amiable young prince, desirous of forgetting all past disturbances; that he was now their king, and the true descendant of their greatest monarchs. Therefore he trusted they would abandon the cause of a foreign prince; and, by returning to their duty, restore the independence of the kingdom.

This wise and persuasive conduct of the earl, together with his well-known honourable character, won many of the barons to the cause of young Henry; but the French prince had no intention of abandoning the country, or his pretensions to rule over it. Leaving Dover Castle, which he was unable to conquer, Louis besieged and took that of Berkhampstead; and then, as it was Christmas-time, he and the Protector entered into a truce, which was prolonged until Easter, 1217. During this time the prince went over the sea to France, for more soldiers and money; and, in his absence, several of the English nobles deserted his standard, and joined the cause of the king. When Louis returned to England, several of his ships were attacked and captured by our cruisers; and, in revenge, he burnt the town of Sandwich, where he landed, to ashes, and then marched away to London.

When the truce was over, Pembroke, the Protector, laid siege to the castle of Mount Sorel, in Leicester-

shire, which was in the hands of the French, and Louis sent the Count of Perche with an army to defend it. The French were so numerous that the English prudently declined the contest, and retired. This filled the Count of Perche with delight: he instantly imagined himself a hero; and, in his military enthusiasm, marched away to Lincoln, with the intention of subduing the town and castle. The town's-people opened their gates and received him; but the castle held out bravely: it was commanded by a woman, Nichola de Camville, who encouraged the defenders to great exertions, and animated them with a lofty spirit. Still it would probably have fallen before the superior numbers of the French; but that the Protector, with a small army, suddenly appeared before Lincoln on the 19th of May. The garrison in the castle was so encouraged by this succour, that it issued out and rushed upon the French, while, at the same time, the English outside the town scaled the walls, and attacked the French cavalry in the streets. Here it was impossible for the horsemen to form in order of battle: they were, therefore, thrown into confusion, and almost instantly defeated. Indeed, it was a general surrender rather than a battle; and the English soldiers, in contempt, gave it the name of "the Fair of Lincoln." Very few people were killed; but the Count of Perche was one of them; for when called upon to lay down his arms, he declared he would not yield to any English traitor. A common soldier, irritated by the word traitor, thrust his pike into the eyelit-hole of the count's helmet; the point entered his brain, and the haughty Frenchman fell to the ground a corpse.

Prince Louis was very discouraged on hearing of this affair; but a still greater misfortune awaited him. A fleet of eighty large ships, and many smaller vessels, in sailing from France to bring him assistance, was met and attacked, near the Kentish coast, by the brave Hubert de Burgh; the same Hubert who once saved the life of poor Prince Arthur, during the time of King John. An engagement took place; and although Hubert had only forty ships, he gained a decisive victory. It is said that he employed a singular stratagem. Having the wind in his favour, he sailed down upon the French vessels, and approached so close as to be able to throw a quantity of quicklime into the faces of the sailors on board; this so blinded them, that they were unable to defend themselves, and thus became an easy prey.

After this second disaster, the English barons, seeing that the cause of Louis was hopeless, abandoned him in great numbers, and the French prince was at last glad to enter into any honourable terms to secure his own safety. As the Protector was equally glad to get rid of him, the matter was soon arranged; prisoners on both sides were exchanged, and the barons who had remained with Louis were restored to their estates and honours. That prince also released them from their oaths and obligations to him, and promised never to join them again in any confederacy against the young English king. Having thus utterly abandoned his claim on the crown of this country, Louis embarked on the 14th of September, 1217, and set sail for France, heartily sick of the struggle, and, no doubt, very sorry that he had ever engaged in it. The few barons who had held out with him to the last, then presented themselves at court, where they were pleasantly received; all ill-feelings seemed to be forgotten, and once again it appeared as if fortune would smile cheeringly upon the land and people of England.

The only parties who suffered severely, now that the war was ended, were the clergy. In adhering to the cause of Louis and the discontented barons, they had disobeyed the orders of the pope, who favoured the young king. They had also committed the grave offence of disregarding a sentence of interdict, which had been pronounced upon the country; and of excommunication, which had been uttered against Louis; and for these things they were severely punished by Cardinal Gualo, the pope's legate. Some were suspended from the execution of their clerical duties; others were deposed and turned out of the priesthood; and almost all subjected to the payment of heavy fines. Indeed, the pope's object was to gain money, and in that he succeeded; for an enormous sum was collected from these fines and confiscations. In fact, all throughout this reign the rapacity of the pope was displayed in the most unblushing manner. It has been calculated, that, during a part of it, the church of Rome drew from England, in various ways, a yearly sum of 730,000 marks, or twelve times more than the whole civil revenue of the kingdom amounted to. Pope Gregory IX. is said, in a few years, to have extorted from the English clergy and people, the enormous sum of 950,000 marks, which a celebrated modern historian estimates as being equal to 15,000,000 of the sovereigns in use at the present day. The chief benefices were bestowed upon Italian priests, who could not even speak the language of the country; and who, instead of performing their religious duties, oppressed and plundered the people. Such a shameful disregard had these priests for the spiritual wants of the nation, and even for all outward appearances, that the king's chaplain held at one time 700 livings, and dissipated their revenues; while in most of those places no religious instructor whatever was provided. To repeat all the extortions which the pope and his agents practised in England during this period, would fill a volume; indeed, there was not, throughout Europe, such another deluded,

pope-and-priest-ridden nation. It is, however, some satisfaction to know that the papal power had reached its climax; and from about this period it began slowly —though at first, indeed, very slowly—to decline. Even the English clergy and people, superstitious as they were, had begun to think of altogether throwing off the authority of the pope.

For nearly two years the country enjoyed peace and good government; that is, if we except the oppression of the clergy: but then the Earl of Pembroke, the wise Protector, died, and his power in the state was shared between Peter de Roches, the Bishop of Winchester, and the bold and kind-hearted Hubert de Burgh. These two ministers quarrelled and opposed each other; and many troublesome barons, chiefly foreigners whom King John had brought over to England, taking advantage of the weakness thus shown by the government, began to plunder their poorer neighbours, and commit many disgraceful outrages. Among them was one Fawkes de Breanté, a dishonest ruffian, whom John had raised from a low position in life to be a baron. This man laughed at justice, and set law at defiance; and at one time no less than thirty-five verdicts were found against him for violently seizing other people's property. The only attention he paid to these was, to go, with a number of his armed followers, into the court of justice, seize the judge who pronounced them, and shut him up as a prisoner in Bedford Castle. He then made open war upon the king, but was defeated and taken prisoner. Such a man ought to have been treated like a wolf or a tiger, and put to death, that quiet honest people might live in safety; but, by a mercy which was rare in those times, his life was spared, and he was only banished from the land. The secret of this was, that Fawkes de Breanté was a baron, and the barons did not like that any one of their rank should be subjected to the extreme penalty of the law. It was not the sacredness of human life, but their own pride and rank that they respected; and when, shortly afterwards, a riot broke out, in consequence of a foolish quarrel between the common people of London and Westminster, about a wrestling match, *they* were punished severely enough; for their leader was hanged without any trial, and many of his most riotous followers condemned to have their feet cut off.

When King Henry was sixteen years old, Hubert de Burgh obtained the consent of the pope to declare him of age; and he then demanded that the refractory barons should deliver up their castles to the king. This was a wise step; for when these troublesome nobles had been deprived of the vast fortified buildings in which they and their troops resided, they would be compelled to live more like private gentlemen than so many captains of banditti. The barons, however, had no intention of giving up their castles, most of which belonged to the king, and the nation was threatened with that terrible affliction—a civil war. But Hubert's courage and prudence were triumphant; some of the castles he took by siege, others surrendered to him; and at length all the royal castles were placed in the power of the king. After taking Bedford Castle, Hubert ordered eighty of the foreign knights and soldiers, who had defended it, to be hanged. These men were all robbers, and oppressors of the people who lived near them, and therefore richly deserved their fate. Peter de Roches, although a Christian bishop, had encouraged the refractory barons in their resistance to the laws, from a wicked feeling of spite against Hubert; but he now resigned his office and left the country. He was a foreigner, a Poictevin; and a number of troublesome foreign adventurers—men who did nothing but swear, and brawl, and rob—followed him out of the kingdom. Possibly they had some unpleasant suspicions of ending their lives as their friends had done, after the siege of Bedford Castle; at any rate, they went after De Roches, and the people were heartily glad to get rid both of one and the other.

In the year 1225, the English king declared war against France; that is, war was declared for him: for, although he was then in his nineteenth year, he was still quite a child in mind. The reason for the war was this: when Prince Louis was compelled to abandon England [A.D. 1224], after he had vainly sought to become its king, he entered into an agreement to restore Normandy, and the towns in France which his father had won from King John, to the English rule. And as he was now King of France, the English called upon him to fulfil his promise. This he not only positively refused to do, but even laid siege to, and took, the town of Rochelle, which had been in the possession of the English. An army, therefore, was sent to France, under the command of the king's uncle, the Earl of Salisbury; but as the French king was just then employed in carrying on a shamefully cruel war against a quiet, unoffending people, named the Albigenses (who, as they differed in their religious opinions from the church of Rome, were called heretics), the pope interfered, and threatened the English with excommunication if they molested Louis. In consequence of this threat, the English entered into a truce with the French, and the invading army marched, rather disgracefully, home again. Four years afterwards, war was again declared against France, and the English king himself led an army there; but his feeble, unwarlike character only exposed him to ridicule: he passed his time in feasts and military pageants, while the French took the few towns yet remaining to him

in France; and, after a time, he returned in shame to England.

Henry, as he advanced in years, continued to be passive and weak-minded; but while he had a clever minister to manage his affairs for him, things went on pretty smoothly. He was fortunate enough to possess one of great talents and integrity in Hubert de Burgh, who had always been a faithful follower both of him and his late father. For this reason some years passed on without anything remarkable occurring. When historians are silent, that is usually a proof that a nation is tranquil, if not prosperous; for, unfortunately for the world, history is, to a painful extent, an account of crimes and oppressions. What we have next to relate is not an exception to this remark, and it shows the character of Henry in no favourable light.

For eight years Hubert had conducted the affairs of the country, when suddenly (in 1231) the capricious king, who was now five-and-twenty years old, took a strange dislike to him. Hubert's firm government had caused him many enemies among those barons who loved riot rather than order, and plunder better than peace; and the king, withdrawing his favour, left his wise and faithful minister exposed to the schemes of all who hated him. As no wrong could be charged against him, he was accused of many ridiculous and even impossible things. It was urged that he had won the king's affections by enchantment, and that he had taken from the royal treasury a magic ring, which had the power of making its wearer invulnerable. Hubert, who was very rich, saw that his ruin was determined upon; probably his great wealth was the cause of the proceedings against him, for the king was poor, and had cast a greedy eye upon the treasures of his minister. Fearing that his life was in danger, he fled and took sanctuary in Merton Abbey.

Thither the ungrateful king sent messengers to seize him; but when reminded by the clergy of the sacrilegiousness of the attempt, he immediately sent other messengers to call the first back. He then granted Hubert a delay of four months, that he might prepare a defence for the charges that had been brought against him. Scarcely had the king performed this act of justice, than he again changed his mind, and sent Sir Godfrey de Crancumb with 300 soldiers to seize the persecuted minister. They found him, during the night, in the town of Brentwood, in Essex. He was in bed; but being roused and alarmed by the multitude which was approaching the house, he escaped in his night-clothes, and fled for safety to the parish church. The holy character of the place, he thought, would save him from his pursuers; for even the worst of criminals were protected from the law while they remained within the walls of a church or convent: the blood-stained murderer was safe from arrest, so long as he did not leave the sacred asylum. But the rude soldiers who sought to seize the fallen Hubert, seem to have set even the generally respected superstitions of the country at defiance. With furious cries they burst into the church, some brandishing their naked swords, and others carrying gleaming torches. There they beheld him standing heroically erect by the altar, his right hand grasping a crucifix, and his left holding the consecrated host. Those most sacred emblems of the suffering Saviour would, he supposed, awe his stern assailants into submissive reverence. He was mistaken: they dragged him from the church, undressed as he was, tied him upon a horse, and hurried him off to the Tower of London.

So loud a cry of indignation arose in consequence of this violation of sanctuary, that Henry ordered Hubert to be carried back to the church; but declared that he would put the sheriff of Essex to death if he permitted the persecuted man to escape. Without fire or food, the fallen statesman was at length compelled to come forth and surrender himself; and then the captors carried him a second time in triumph to the Tower. A few days afterwards he was placed on his trial; and the ungrateful king, having confiscated all his property, committed him a prisoner to the castle of Devizes. From this prison he contrived to escape; and, in time, his estates were restored to him; but he was wise enough never again to aspire to the post of royal favourite and minister. There are few weak-minded princes that have not been guilty of the sin of ingratitude; indeed, it seems to be a vice very common to frivolous characters. Where the mind is devoid of good principles, the heart seldom cherishes strong affections.

After Hubert's disgrace and downfall, his old rival, Peter de Roches, who had returned to England, succeeded him in managing the affairs of the kingdom. This man soon became universally hated; he surrounded the weak king with foreigners, and induced him to bestow upon them every office of profit and honour. He encouraged the king's dislike to his English barons, and to the Great Charter, and behaved to the people with injustice and contempt. The English nobles withdrew from the councils of their sovereign; and when summoned to attend, they came armed and with numerous followers, declaring, that unless Henry dismissed the crowd of foreigners by whom he was surrounded, they would drive both them and him out of the country, and give the crown to some one who was more worthy to wear it. This threat led to several little battles, or rather skirmishes; and also to the murder of the Earl of Pembroke, the son of the wise Protector who governed the country so well when the king was a child. The earl fled into Ireland, where he

was followed and savagely murdered by the contrivance of the minister and bishop, Peter de Roches. For a time the priestly assassin triumphed; but he grew more rapacious and insolent than ever, and, at length, declared that the barons of England must not presume to put themselves on an equality with those of France, but submit themselves as inferior in rank and condition. It often happens, that men who will endure many gross injuries with patience, will instantly resent an insult. It proved so in the present case, and the nobles were agitated by a perfect storm of passion. Their anger was shared by the people and the clergy. Edmund, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, went to court, attended by a solemn retinue of prelates, and publicly threatened the king with excommunication if he did not instantly dismiss De Roches and his swarm of insolent foreign adventurers. The king trembled and consented; and the minister and his unworthy attendants were banished, to the great joy of the whole nation. After the fall of De Roches, Edmund, the Archbishop of Canterbury, held the chief power of the state; which he administered with wisdom and justice.

During the rule of his predecessor, the provisions of the Great Charter were constantly violated. When Henry was reminded of this, and of his oaths to preserve them, he replied—"Why should I observe this charter, which is neglected by all my grandees, both prelates and nobility?" In this way do foolish or wicked people urge the vices of others as an excuse for their own; it is like saying, that because a citizen is robbed by a thief, the citizen would be justified in robbing his own honest neighbour. The answer to the king was a very proper one—"You ought, sir, to set them the example."

When Henry was nine-and-twenty years of age, he married, on the 14th of January, 1236, Eleanor, the daughter of the Count of Provence, who came to England, attended by an enormous retinue. The king was delighted at being once again surrounded by foreigners, and everything that he had to give he bestowed upon them. One of the queen's uncles he made his chief minister; while all the young nobles who were his wards, he married to young ladies of Provence, who had come over to England with his queen. Nor were the relations of his wife Henry's only foreign favourites; his mother, Isabella, the widow of King John, had married again. And what was strange, she had married that very Count of La Marche from whom John had at first taken her, and settled with him at Guienne. She had four sons from her second marriage—Guy, William, Geoffrey, and Aymer; and now she sent them all over to England to be provided for by their half-brother, Henry. He behaved to them with remarkable liberality, and the result was, that they were followed by fresh herds of needy adventurers; until at length the court of England was a kind of refuge for destitute foreigners, and English faces were almost banished from the face of the king.

Henry was poor, and his foreign dependents were so greedy, that in a little time he had nothing more to give: under these circumstances they induced him to apply to the pope for a bull to permit him to take back all the land he had ever given to any of his English subjects, that he might bestow it upon the foreigners. This was too much for the most patient minds to bear; and the nation was so indignant, that though the king obtained the bull, he feared to use it. Henry then applied to his parliament for money; but the assembled barons told him he must first send away the foreigners, who were consuming the substance of the land. These Poictevins and Gascons carried their arrogance to a length which, natural enough, roused the anger of the barons and people; they were constantly in the habit of breaking the laws of the Great Charter; and when reminded of it, answered contemptuously—"What signify these English laws to us?" As the king's want of money increased, and he would not yield to the demands of his barons, he adopted various shabby and dishonest means of obtaining funds. He compelled many rich subjects to lend him sums of money, which he never repaid; and he demanded gifts from the nobility and clergy, which they were obliged to bestow unless they were powerful enough to set him at defiance. These compulsory gifts he called *benevolences*. To him belongs the disgrace of beginning this extortionate practice; though, unfortunately, it continued very long after his time.

In spite of his poverty, Henry had the folly, in the year 1242, to quarrel and go to war with Louis IX.: and, at the instigation of his father-in-law, the Count de la Marche, he himself led an expedition into Guienne. There he was thoroughly defeated in two battles; and, after saving himself by flight, contrived to reach England covered with disgrace. The English people were much hurt at these defeats, and they heartily despised their incapable sovereign.

Once again at home, Henry passed his time in indolent pleasures, and in providing the money for them by illegal and extortionate practices. He plundered the poor Jews in a shameful manner; and begged so constantly from town to town, and from noble to noble, that he won the disgraceful notoriety of being the sturdiest beggar in all England. Once or twice he summoned his barons to meet him in parliament; but they read him a very stern lesson on his meanness, trickery, and bad government. As he refused to dismiss his foreign favourites, the barons refused to grant him a shilling; and, from that time, he looked upon an English parliament as a collection of his personal

enemies. In this extremity, his parasites advised him to sell his plate and the crown jewels. He inquired—"Who would buy them?" The ready answer was—"The citizens of London, of course." A bitter sneer passed over the features of the bankrupt king as he replied—"By my troth, if the treasures of Augustus were put up to sale, these citizens would be the purchasers! These clowns, who assume the style of barons, abound in all things, while we are wanting in common necessaries." From that time he did all in his power to annoy the Londoners, and to check their prosperity.

Even kings cannot live for a long time altogether upon extortion; unlawful profits are generally very brief ones; and Henry, having wrung, borrowed, and stolen money from every quarter that he could think of, was, at last, from sheer destitution, compelled to summon his barons in parliament, and humbly beg their assistance. He said that he wanted a sum to enable him to go to the Holy Land, and recover the tomb of the Saviour from the hands of unbelievers. His cowardice and deceit were too well known for this story to obtain the slightest credit; but, although the stern barons most probably smiled in contempt as they listened to this palpable pretence of their truly feeble-minded sovereign, they consented to yield him a liberal grant, on condition of his entering into a new and solemn confirmation of their liberties. Henry consented; and during the month of May, 1253, he met his barons, prelates, and abbots at a solemn assembly in the noble old hall at Westminster. The Great Charter was then read in a ceremonious and very solemn manner. All the bishops and abbots were dressed in their canonical robes, and each held a burning taper in his hand. When the reading was over, the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced the curse of excommunication against every one who should, in future, violate the charters of the land. When his last words died away, all the priests suddenly dashed their lighted tapers on the ground; and as the flame was extinguished in smoke, emitting an unpleasant smell, they cried out—"May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink, and be extinguished in hell!" A scene more imposing, especially in that age of superstition, can scarcely be imagined. Every one present was touched by a feeling of religious awe, which was heightened when the king rose and exclaimed—"So help me, God! I will keep these charters inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed."

No sooner, however, was this solemn ceremony over, than the weak Henry returned to his foreign favourites, forgot his vow, broke the charter, ruled in the most arbitrary manner, and strengthened the dislike and contempt felt for him by both barons and people.

CHAPTER XX.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE THIRD.—A.D. 1253—1272.



AFTER Henry's solemn confirmation, in Westminster Hall, of the Great Charter and the Charter of Forests, he led an army to Guienne, to punish Alphonso, the King of Castille, who had induced the nobles in that province to rebel against him. For a wonder, this expedition was conducted without dishonour, and ended at last in peace and a marriage; Henry's eldest son, Prince Edward, afterwards the famous and strong-minded, though stern and cruel, Edward I., being wedded to Eleanor, the graceful and amiable daughter of Alphonso. But though triumphant, the English monarch returned from the south of France in an almost penniless condition.

Henry was now to give a convincing proof that his head was pretty nearly as barren and empty as his purse; for he suffered the pope to use him much in the same way as, in the old nursery story, the monkey is said to have used the cat's paw; that is, thrust it between the bars of the fire to get out the chestnuts he intended to eat. It was in this manner: Pope Innocent IV. laid claim to the kingdom of Sicily, because its sovereign had died while under sentence of excommunication. But that sovereign left a son, named Conrad, a bold, determined man, who had no idea of submitting to the usurpation of the pope; and, having gathered an army, very plainly told him so. His people also stood by him; and Conrad set the pope at defiance, and ascended his father's throne. Innocent now saw that it was one thing to claim a kingdom, and another to get possession of it; and he saw, also, that he would be baffled in his unjust proceedings unless he could get some one to help him with an army. In this position he offered the sovereignty of Sicily to a number of European princes, if they would conquer the kingdom, and hold it as a fief or possession, and to be

retained under the authority, of the Roman church. These princes all saw through the design of the pope, and declined his offer; they had no idea of incurring the expense of a war against Sicily, that he might reap the profits of it. If they had always acted as wisely, and left the popes to fight their own battles, the Roman pontiffs would never have been able to have caused half the misery and mischief they did to the whole of Europe.

Though disappointed, Innocent still persevered; and, turning his eyes to England, offered the crown of Sicily to Henry's brother, Richard, the Earl of Cornwall; who, by his prudence, had become immensely rich. Richard had too much sense to fall into the snare; and he remarked, the pope might as well say, "I make you a present of the moon; you have only to step up to the sky and take it down." As a last resort, Innocent [A.D. 1255] offered the Sicilian crown to Henry, for his second son, Edmund; and the king was imprudent enough to accept the dangerous and delusive gift. This transaction led to a great deal of papal trickery and oppression in England. The pope, who longed for vengeance upon Conrad, the King of Sicily, had no intention that Henry should act in this passive manner; and he drew a number of bills upon all the bishops and abbots of England, without their consent, or even knowledge. These bills amounted to an enormous sum, and some Italian usurers advanced the money upon them. It was exacted on pretence of carrying on a war against Conrad; and, after his death, against Manfred, a natural son of the Emperor Frederic, who put himself in Conrad's place, and claimed the crown; but it seems to have found its way into the pockets of the pope. When the English clergy were made acquainted with this strange proceeding, they were very indignant; many of them resolutely refused to pay the bills; and the Bishop of London went so far as to say, that the pope and the king were certainly more powerful than he was; but that, if they took the mitre from his head, he would put on a warrior's helmet. The Roman legate lowered his demands, and afterwards left the country; very likely feeling that the pope had gone beyond the ordinary boundary of human patience. Thus Henry's expedition against Sicily ended in confusion before even a sword was drawn.

His brother Richard, the Earl of Cornwall, did not always show the wisdom which induced him to reject the offer of the Sicilian diadem; and he suffered his ambition to lead him to become a candidate for the imperial royalty of Germany. His wealth, he thought, would procure his election, and he could not resist the brilliant temptation. It was necessary that he should first be elected King of the Romans, as a stepping-stone to the rank of Emperor of Germany. He left England, and, by spending immense sums, obtained the former title; but he could not reach the latter He was crowned in the year 1256, at Aix-la-Chapelle. He then found that he had dissipated an enormous fortune in exchange for a dazzling but comparatively worthless position; and that, by leaving England, he had weakened the influence of its king, and left his incapable brother in the power of his discontented barons.

For several years one of these barons had been gradually making his way in public life, and in winning the confidence of his brother peers. About the time at which we have now arrived, this remarkable nobleman had risen to great importance; and he was at length suspected of an intention of dethroning the weak-minded Henry, and seizing the crown himself. This was Simon de Montfort, the great Earl of Leicester. His character has been so differently described by writers of history, that it is difficult to form a very decided opinion about it. Many authors believe him to have been a good man and a pure-minded patriot, who was at last led into arbitrary conduct and ambitious views; but there are some who have called him "the English Cataline." Cataline was a depraved and wicked Roman noble; who, having ruined himself by the practice of every vice, entered into a conspiracy to ruin his country. It is said that he would have burnt Rome, and massacred all its venerable, grey-headed senators, that he might get rid of his enormous debts; and that, when he and his fellow-traitors took an oath together to accomplish this horrid purpose, they, to add solemnity to the occasion, drank wine mixed with the warm blood of a slave, whom Cataline had just murdered for the purpose. To compare such a wretch as this with the Earl of Leicester is almost as absurd as it is unjust: whatever the faults of Simon de Montfort, most certainly he never deserved to be compared to the Roman conspirator.

Simon de Montfort was the youngest son of the general of that name, who conducted the war against the Albigenses. It was through the right of his mother that he succeeded to the earldom of Leicester. He was a man of remarkable talents, and of a religious turn of mind. Some have accused him of being a hypocrite; but there seems no just ground for such a charge. He was an excellent scholar, a good statesman, and a brave soldier—qualities which, in those times, were seldom found united in one man. But, above all, he devotedly loved the land of his adoption; and, though a foreigner, won the affections of its people. Soon after he came to England he married Eleanor, one of King Henry's sisters. At first, Henry was much attached to the earl; but afterwards, influenced by that strange fickleness which was so prominent in his character, he banished him from the court.

Probably the king felt the frivolity of his anger, for

he soon after recalled the earl, and entrusted him with the government of Guienne. In this position Leicester showed great ability; but some barons, who disliked his stern justice, having complained to Henry, that sovereign recalled him, and treated him with great rudeness. The bold earl would not submit to insult calmly, even from a king. Henry, in the course of the dispute, called him a traitor. "Traitor!" returned the high-spirited noble; "if you were not a king you should repent of that insult!" Henry answered—"I shall never repent of anything so much as that I allowed you to grow and fatten within my dominions." At this point the surrounding barons interfered, and Leicester withdrew, and went for a time to France. Henry, however, was too feeble-minded a man ever to bear any very bitter resentment, and the earl again returned to England. From that time he was opposed to the king, and spoke constantly of the insulted liberties of the country.

In the year 1258, the discontent of the nation was aggravated by a scarcity of provisions; the distress of the people was great; and the Earl of Leicester chose this time to insist on a redress of the grievances of the country. He called a secret meeting of many of the barons, and talked to them of the necessity of reforming the state, and of putting the great offices of government into the hands of better and worthier men than those who then filled them. He spoke of the violations of the Great Charter, the infringements of the privileges of the nobles, the extortions practised on the clergy, and the shameful oppression of the great mass of the people. He reminded them of the resolute conduct of their ancestors in obtaining the charter; how they had risked their lives and fortunes in wresting that glorious document from the hands of a tyrant; and he then lamented their own degeneracy, in allowing its regulations to be trampled upon by a weak king, and a horde of insolent foreigners. He added, that Henry had so often broken his word, and seemed so little to regard either promises or oaths, that the kingdom could be neither safe nor prosperous unless they took from him the power of doing mischief.

The barons were convinced by these arguments, and determined on taking the government into their own hands. During the month of May, in the year just mentioned, the king summoned them to meet him in parliament, and they all attended clad in complete armour, and wearing ponderous swords at their sides. When Henry entered, there was a general movement; and the glittering mail of the stern array of nobles clanked an ominous welcome to him. Turning pale, he trembled: and, after a moment's pause, exclaimed—"What is the meaning of this? am I a prisoner?" Roger Bigod, the earl-marshal of England, stood forward and answered boldly—"Not so; you are not our prisoner, but our king; but your foreign favourites and your own extravagance have involved this realm in great wretchedness; wherefore we demand that the powers of government be entrusted and made over to a committee of bishops and barons, that they may root up abuses and enact good laws."

Other nobles now joined in, and promised Henry, that if he would yield to this arrangement they would grant him large supplies of money wherewith to pay his debts, and also establish his son upon the throne of Sicily. Partly from the hope of a supply of money, and partly from fear of violence towards himself, the miserable king submitted; and a day was appointed for a meeting to take place at Oxford, where a committee of government should be appointed, and the royal power be taken from the incompetent monarch.

This important meeting took place on the 11th of June in the same year, and the friends of the king, in a spirit of anger and pretended contempt, gave it the name of "The Mad Parliament." To protect themselves against the foreign favourites of Henry, the barons all came armed, and attended by the great bodies of their military vassals. This was a necessary precaution; for unless compelled, by fear or force, to keep his word, the prevaricating king would certainly have broken it. A committee was then appointed, and the whole authority of government confided to it. It consisted of twenty-four barons or prelates, with the Earl of Leicester as their leader, or as chairman of the supreme council. Twelve members of this committee were chosen by the king, and twelve by the barons. This bold and startling proceeding was, in reality, nothing less than changing the government of the country from a monarchy to an oligarchy.

The committee of government did some very good and useful things. It decreed that three sessions of parliament should be held regularly every year, in the months of February, June, and October; that a new sheriff should be annually elected in every county; and what was far more important still, that four knights should be chosen by the freeholders of each county to state their wants in parliament, and complain of any infringement of the law. This excellent arrangement was the foundation-stone of our present House of Commons: before it was enacted, the people of England were not represented in its government; and, indeed, very little cared for by it. All power was divided between the king, prelates, and barons; and they too often exercised it in a grasping and tyrannical manner.

Louis IX. used his influence with the Earl of Leicester, to induce him to evince a more loyal submission to his sovereign, but in vain. During the

distractions of this country, that monarch evinced great liberality. He signed a treaty with Henry, on the 20th of May, 1259, by which, in return for the cession, by the English sovereign, of Normandy, he gave up the territories he had conquered in Poitou and Guienne; secured the possession of the latter province to Henry, and agreed to pay him a large sum of money besides.

Some months after the great meeting at Oxford, Henry's brother, Richard, now King of the Romans, came over to England. He was possessed of far more intelligence than Henry, and immediately began to secretly encourage quarrels among the allied barons. The success of his schemes was soon evident; and the Earl of Gloucester, jealous of the power of De Montfort, started as his rival. Soon two factions were formed among the barons; the people also complained that the nobles did not do enough in the way of reform; and the bold Leicester experienced so much opposition and ill-will that he abandoned the cause, and, in 1260, retired to France. Henry took advantage of this opportunity. Having obtained, in 1261, a dispensation from the pope to absolve him of the oaths he had taken to the barons at Oxford, he summoned courage to tell the committee of government, they had abused their authority so much, that in future he would govern without them. Much confusion followed; but the barons appear to have acted in a rather arbitrary and selfish manner; and the king even declared that he had reigned for five-and-forty years without committing so much violence as they had during the time power was in their hands. The result was, that, after a number of trivial disputes, which would be tedious and useless to relate, Henry triumphed over his barons, and again sat upon his throne an independent king.

Though for a time successful, he could not retain the affections of his subjects; popular opinion again changed; the king learnt no wisdom from experience; things went on as badly as ever, and the people regretted the absence of the patriotic Simon de Montfort. His rival, the Earl of Gloucester, was dead; and the son of that peer entertained a feeling of admiration for the exiled chieftain. He called many other barons around him, who collected an army, and invited Leicester back to England to take the command of it. That active noble readily responded to the call; and, in the month of April, 1263, the banner of liberty once again floated in the air, and the sounds of martial music roused the people to engage in a civil war. Many towns and royal castles surrendered to Leicester and the allied barons; and they then marched to London, where they were joyfully received by the people. As usual on such occasions of public excitement, a great deal of riot and tumult prevailed, and many outrages were committed by the followers of the army—thieves and vagabonds—who cared nothing either for king or people, but took advantage of the general confusion to plunder every one they could. The queen, who was in the royal apartments at the Tower, was so alarmed, that she tried to escape by water to Windsor Castle. She was bitterly hated by the people on account of the insolence and rapacity of her foreign relations; and this feeling against her nearly led to a disgraceful and wicked result. As her barge approached London Bridge, a cry arose of, "Drown the witch—drown the witch!" Dirt and rotten eggs were thrown at her; and the more violent part of the mob collected large stones to drop down into her barge, and sink it as it passed under the bridge. From this dangerous situation she was rescued by the lord mayor.

The power of the Earl of Leicester's party was so great that the king was glad to enter into a treaty of peace; he confirmed the provisions of the "Mad Parliament" at Oxford; again surrendered his power to a committee of barons, and consented to the banishment of his retinue of foreign favourites. With these submissions the barons ought to have been contented; but they soon after demanded that the committee of government should continue even after the life of the king. Prince Edward objected to this injustice, which would have taken the royal power from him also—an unnecessary step, as he had always shown himself a brave and strong-minded man. The committee was needed during Henry's life, because he had proved himself totally incapable of governing properly; but this objection did not apply to his son, who afterwards became a great and distinguished king. Up to this time he had sided with the barons; but now he called them traitors and usurpers, and declared he would oppose them by force of arms.

A civil war seemed certain; but some of the bishops interfered, and persuaded both parties to refer their differences to the decision of Louis IX., the King of France. This monarch was a man of remarkable virtues; religious, brave, just, merciful, wise, and accomplished. Perhaps a better umpire could not have been chosen, for his decisions on disputed points were frequently sought, and generally respected; but he was a king, and it is difficult for a king to decide against a fellow sovereign. He was also slightly related to Henry; and, therefore, when he gave his judgment chiefly in favour of that monarch, it is no wonder that the nobles refused to be bound by it.

Both royalists and barons now took up arms; but even in this time of excitement and danger each party found leisure to persecute the unhappy Jews. In London, about 600 of them—men, women, and even little children—were cruelly murdered by the mob, because it was said they were enemies to liberty, and

had Greek fire hid in their houses to destroy the patriots. On the other hand, the friends of the king robbed and murdered these wretched people on the pretence that they favoured the barons. Thus, nothing could satisfy the ignorant bigots of those days, and neither guilt nor innocence escaped their superstitious fury. Whilst these oppressions of the Jews were taking place, several unimportant sieges and skirmishes occurred between the troops of the king and those of the barons, and terminated rather in favour of the royal cause. Under these circumstances the Earl of Leicester resolved to risk everything on one decisive battle. He divided his troops into four bodies, and marched out of London to meet the king, who was encamped at Lewes, in Sussex. The earl halted on the downs, about two miles from that town, and addressed his army in an eloquent and impressive manner, saying, that the king had offended the Deity by his numerous prejudices, and that his cause could not prosper. The Bishop of Chichester, also, gave a general absolution for their sins to the soldiers, and assured them that all who perished in that righteous battle would be received into Paradise as holy martyrs.

The next morning, the 13th of May, 1264, the battle began: the royal army was led by Henry, his brother Richard, the King of the Romans, and their sons Henry and Edward. The Londoners were in the advanced part of the army of the barons; and Prince Edward, angry at the insult they had so lately offered to his mother, attacked them with great fury. The citizens could not resist the charge of his disciplined cavalry, but fell into confusion, and took to their heels. The prince, carried away by his military enthusiasm, pursued them for four miles, slaughtering all he overtook. In the meantime, the Earl of Leicester attacked the army under the command of the king, and with such skill and energy, that he utterly defeated it; and when Prince Edward returned to the field, he found his father and uncle prisoners, and the earth thickly covered with the dead bodies of their followers. Still he would have continued the battle; but before he could form his troops into proper order, a body of horse soldiers swept furiously down upon them, throwing them into utter confusion, and the prince also found himself a captive. Thus the earl and his companion nobles were victorious beyond their hopes; but the mangled bodies of 5,000 Englishmen lay upon the field; slain by no foreign foes, but by each other's hands. These heaps of ghastly objects were a sad memorial of the dark consequences of a weak and tyrannical government.

The battle was followed by a treaty called the "Mise of Lewes;" by which it was agreed, that Prince Edward, and his cousin Henry, the son of the King of the Romans, should remain in captivity as hostages for the conduct of the king; that all other prisoners, on both sides, should be released; and that the quarrel should be referred to a council of nine prelates and barons, and, if possible, amicably settled. Perhaps the Earl of Leicester was intoxicated by his success and personal greatness, or else he repented of his arrangement, and thought that if the king were again at liberty he would soon return to his former mismanagement, and the whole struggle would have to be gone through again. He broke his word, and still kept Henry and his brother Richard prisoners. This was not honourable conduct; but it must be confessed that the affairs of the country were much better conducted than when the king was at liberty. The earl was the idol of the people, and he soon compelled all the barons who still held out for the royal cause to surrender their castles, and submit to the judgment of their peers. He has been charged with avarice; and it is said that he seized the estates of eighteen royalist barons as his share of the spoil, after the battle of Lewes; but it is certain that he was not cruel. If some of the barons forfeited their estates, none of them lost their lives.

The government was still carried on in the name of the king, who was treated kindly and with respect in his captivity. Of course the pope interfered in these proceedings, and took the side of the incapable and imprisoned monarch. He excommunicated Leicester and his associates; but the English clergy had been so ill-treated by the pope, and such large sums of money had been wrung from them, that they paid no heed to the papal edict; and many of them declared, in their sermons, that the earl was the father of the poor, the avenger of the church, and the saviour of his country. Leicester himself threatened the papal legate with death, if he dared to bring the bull of excommunication into England; and the vessel bringing it being boarded by English cruisers, the precious document was torn in pieces by the sailors, and thrown into the sea in contempt.

Before the battle of Lewes, the queen had fled for safety into France, and there she collected an army and a fleet for the purpose of invading England, crushing the allied barons, and restoring her husband to authority. The active Leicester also summoned an army, encamped it on Barham Downs for the protection of the country, and then, taking command of a fleet, sailed defiantly forth to meet the invading vessels of the queen. But the foreigners had no particular relish for the conflict; they never ventured out to sea; the army dispersed, and the whole project ended in nothing.

The committee of government at Oxford, or the "Mad Parliament," as it was called, laid the founda-

tion of the system by which at present the people of England are represented in the House of Commons. In the height of his prosperity, the Earl of Leicester carried this reform much further. He summoned a parliament of a more popular character than had ever met in England, to assemble on the 20th of January, 1265. Two knights were to be returned from every shire, and all cities and boroughs were to elect their representatives, and send them to assist in its counsels. This was the first House of Commons ever held in England. Events of this kind are not so striking or, perhaps, so interesting as accounts of battles and murders, but they are infinitely more valuable and instructive. The people's house of parliament in this country is the bulwark of liberty, the safeguard of the nation against oppression, and the fountain of justice. It has its errors of constitution, but still it is a noble assembly, and one of which every English subject may justly feel proud.

During the same year in which the new parliament met, on the 28th of May, Prince Edward escaped from Hereford, where he had been kept under surveillance since the treaty of Lewes was concluded. He was enabled to do so by the young Earl of Gloucester, and some other barons, who were jealous of the great authority of Leicester. That nobleman was not careful to conceal the conviction that his great and brilliant talents had delivered the nation from an effeminate but still harassing tyranny. He might have behaved haughtily to his brother peers; but whether he did so or not, it is certain that little minds will not forgive great ones for success. Edward's escape revived the hopes of the royalists; and in a short time the prince was at the head of a considerable army. His first movements were successful, Worcester and Gloucester being captured in the course of the month of June. Unfortunately for Leicester, he was at this time far from the metropolis, and divided from the great body of his friends by the river Severn; all the bridges of which were broken down by order of the prince. He had the person of the king with him, and a small army; but a great part of his forces were in Sussex, under the command of his eldest son, Simon, to whom the earl sent a message to join him. Simon was not a very skilful soldier; and while on his march, he suffered the prince to surprise him on the 1st of August, in his camp near Kenilworth, seize his treasures and standards, and carry off many nobles and knights as prisoners: he himself escaped in his night-dress, and was compelled to fly for refuge to a castle belonging to his family.

The Earl of Leicester managed to cross the Severn in boats, and, ignorant of his son's fate, advanced as far as Evesham, on the beautiful river Avon, to meet him. It was a lovely morning in August, when he saw his son's banners advancing in the direction from Kenilworth. This sight filled him with joy; for he thought he should soon defeat the prince, and recover his trembling power. The banners approached nearer; but when the troops that bore them were to be seen, he discovered they were those of the enemy, who had made this display to deceive him, so as to be able to fall upon his forces while unprepared. The stratagem was successful; the earl was surrounded by an immensely superior force; retreat was impossible; and defeat almost a certainty. In a melancholy tone, he said—"They have learned from me the art of war." Shortly after he added, with resignation—"The Lord have mercy upon our souls; for I see our bodies are Prince Edward's." Though thus face to face with death, the earl betrayed no unmanly fear, but arranged his troops in the most advantageous manner, and spent some time in prayer, and in taking the sacrament. The battle then began, and the brave earl fought desperately to force a road for his army through the fierce living barrier which surrounded it. In this he failed, for his soldiers had been living upon the Welsh mountains without bread, and numbers of them were feeble and ill for want of proper food. Still they many times repulsed the sweeping charges of their foes, who were momentarily closing nearer and nearer around them. But the unequal combat could not last long; the earl's horse was killed, and he then fought on foot. In this extremity he called for quarter; but his fierce assailants answered that no quarter was given to traitors. One of his sons was killed before his face; his friends fell slaughtered in heaps around him; and at length this brave man himself fell at the feet of his foes, with his blood-stained sword still firmly clenched in his resolute hand. His enemies shamefully mangled the body in their fury, and insulted him dead whom they had feared while living.

This battle at Evesham was attended with great slaughter, and the victory of the prince was complete. During the conflict the old king nearly met his death. The earl had him mounted on a war-horse, but clad in complete armour, which concealed his face. A stout soldier struck him from his charger, and would have despatched him, had he not called out—"Hold, knave! I am Henry of Winchester, your king." Prince Edward heard his father's voice, and running to his rescue, carried him to a place of safety. By this victory the king regained not only his liberty, but his crown. Still the people of England loved the memory of the brave Earl of Leicester; and, although he died under sentence of excommunication from the pope, they declared he was a saint, and that miracles were worked at his grave. Indeed, for long, long after, in many a road-

side cot, or quaint-looking, old-fashioned London dwelling, the people spoke with affectionate reverence of the heroic deeds of "Sir Simon the Righteous." The battle of Evesham, at which he was slain, took place on the 4th of August, 1265.

Although victorious, Henry found it necessary to be moderate in his conduct; and, much as he disliked the Great Charter, he did not dare to annul it. Indeed, it was soon shown that the nation was not in a temper to endure oppression or severity; for when the Londoners were deprived of their charter, and the family and followers of the great earl punished by banishment or fines, several new insurrections broke out in various parts of the kingdom. The principal of these was conducted by Simon de Montfort, Leicester's eldest son, who kept up an armed force in the isles of Ely and Axholme, and a warlike baron, named Adam de Gourdon, who maintained himself and his followers in the forests of Hampshire. For nearly two years they opposed the king and the prince; but at length Simon was driven out of the kingdom; and Adam de Gourdon being defeated in a personal combat with Edward, the prince generously raised him from the ground, pardoned his offences, and that very evening introduced him to the queen. This magnanimity had its natural effect; and from that time the conquered baron fought as resolutely for Edward as he had before fought against him.

Still the nation generally was not satisfied with the restored government, and the king found it necessary to grant certain concessions to win the favour of his barons and people. A committee of twelve bishops and barons was appointed to modify all oppressive measures, and grant easier terms to those who had been punished by fines or forfeiture of privileges. Their decision was called the Dictum of Kenilworth. The Earl of Gloucester, whose quarrel with the unfortunate Leicester had led to the ruin of that ambitious patriot, was dissatisfied with this arrangement, which he thought not lenient enough, and he immediately quarrelled with the king. The citizens of London, who had been severely treated, instantly took his part, and opened their gates to him. But this changeable noble soon repented of his rashness; and when Prince Edward appeared before London with an army of 30,000 men, he begged and obtained his pardon, and left the citizens to their fate. Edward was not an ungenerous enemy, and he pardoned them also, on condition of their paying an enormous fine.

Though the brave Earl of Leicester was dead, his wise measures and laws still survived; to use a metaphor of speech, his footprints were left on the soil of his country. Men now felt the value of his regulations; and late in the year 1267, the king, in a parliament at Marlborough, adopted many of the best of them. Thus, a milder and better government was restored in England; and, as a natural consequence, peace and order soon followed it.

Three years rolled on in tranquillity, and, peace restored at home, the crusading spirit was again revived. At a parliament held at Northampton, in 1268, Prince Edward, and several of the most powerful barons, assumed the cross; the former being animated alike by military ardour, and by the example of the French king. The love of fame will frequently urge princes to take unwise and injudicious steps; and thus Edward, who had long been the main support of his father's throne, sailed away for the Holy Land in the summer of 1270 (the intermediate time having been spent in the requisite preparations), with his wife Eleanor, and some thousands of bold English knights and yeomen. This force was to be united with that of Louis IX. of France, which had departed not long before, with the king at its head. The French landed in Africa, and set down before Tunis, where many died from the effects of the climate, and the fatigue of the enterprise; and when Edward arrived, he found that Louis had breathed his last. He was succeeded by his son, Philip III.

The absence of the prince was soon felt at home; the laws were violated with impunity; and although the old king was too feeble and ill to oppress the people himself, he was unable to prevent any turbulent and dishonest baron from doing so. Many outrages were committed, and Henry longed for the return of his strong-minded, strong-handed son. That son he was never to behold again; a lingering illness slowly wasted him, and on the 16th of November, 1272, at Bury St. Edmund's, death put an end to his long and troubled reign; during the latter part of which his mind took a decidedly religious turn. He was buried at Westminster, in the tomb of Edward the Confessor, whose body he had formerly removed to a golden shrine. Henry was sixty-six years of age, and had worn the crown fifty-six years. He left two sons; Edward, who succeeded him, and Edmond, Earl of Lancaster; and two daughters, Margaret and Beatrix. His brother Richard, the King of the Romans, who has been so often mentioned during this reign, died a few months before him. He pined away on account of the assassination of his son Henry, who was savagely murdered in Italy by his two cousins, Simon and Guy de Montfort, in revenge for the death of their father, the Earl of Leicester.

The character of Henry is so apparent, that very little need be said about it. He was a weak-minded, prevaricating, obstinate man, who would have been a tyrant if he had possessed sufficient decision and courage. Insincerity was the leading point of his nature; that, and his want of resolution, led him frequently to commit the crime of perjury. He has been called a religious

king: but piety and perjury can never be united; and although a sincerely religious man might be a *weak* king, it is impossible that he should be a *bad one*. Henry was incapable of governing, and the affairs of the nation were carried on by others.

The Jews were shamefully treated during this reign. Henry feared to oppress the strong; but the poor Jews were weak; and as they possessed the protection or pity of none, he plundered them as much as he pleased. At one time he extorted from them the sum of 20,000 marks; and a Jew, named Aaron, who was accused of forgery, he condemned to pay the enormous penalty of 30,000 marks. It is more than probable that the ill-used Hebrew was quite innocent of the charge laid against him, and that it was got up as a means of robbing him. A few years afterwards, Henry demanded 8,000 marks from his Jewish subjects; and declared that he would hang them all unless they gave it him. Terrified by a fear of ruin, the Jews represented the large sums they had paid, and begged the king to permit them to retire with their goods out of the country. This would not have answered his purpose, so he replied —"How can I remedy the oppressions you complain of? I, who am myself a beggar; I am stripped of all my revenues, and am deeply in debt; I am obliged to pay my son, Prince Edward, 15,000 marks a year; I have not a farthing, and I must have money, from any hand, from any quarter, or by any means." Then, without any further ceremony, he delivered them over to his brother, that he might draw from them every shilling it was possible to extract. Such was the conduct of the king, whom a parasitical historian has called good-tempered and religious.

It should also be mentioned, that, if the king fleeced the Jews, the Jews in their turn fleeced the people; and it is said they sometimes charged as much as fifty per cent. interest on the money they lent. Still they were partly driven to such over-charges by the exorbitant fines and taxes imposed upon them. The peculiar religion of the Jews also drew upon them much malicious hatred. They were frequently accused of crimes they had not committed; and it was even asserted that they had put a child to death by crucifixion, in contempt of the sufferings of the Saviour. So revolting a charge does not seem probable; still no less than eighteen of them were hanged at once on account of it. —Thank God, we live in a better age, when such injustice cannot be perpetrated.

Before closing this sketch of Henry's long reign—the longest of any English sovereign, except that of George III.—we may remark, that from its commencement to its close, peace was maintained with Scotland. During that period, two matrimonial alliances between the royal families of the two kingdoms took place. Alexander II., who came to the throne of Scotland eight years after Henry ascended that of the southern kingdom, married Joan, the eldest daughter of King John; and his son and successor, Alexander III., was united to Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST, CALLED LONGSHANKS.—A.D. 1272—1289.

PRINCE EDWARD left England for the Holy Land during the month of July, 1270, two years before the death of his father, and he did not return to England until the 2nd of August, 1274, nearly two years after that event. He was, however, proclaimed king immediately after the death of Henry III., and no opposition whatever was offered to his advancement to the royal power. He was respected by the nation for his talent and decision of character, and great hopes were expected from his government. The Archbishop of York and the Earl of Gloucester were appointed guardians of the kingdom during his absence, and the nation remained in tranquillity.

The prince had proceeded from Tunis to Palestine. While in Africa, he was deserted by many of his soldiers, and many others perished from the effects of the climate; so that when he did arrive at the city of Acre, on the shores of Syria, or the Holy Land, his army was too small to permit of his accomplishing any great result. Still his arrival gave hope and courage to the Christians he found there; for they remembered the heroic deeds of Richard Cœur de Lion; and the English name was yet a terror to the Saracens. Edward, by his valiant heroism, proved himself to well deserve the honour of being Richard's countryman; he several times beat the enemy in the field; and took [A.D. 1271] the city of Nazareth by storm. In this affair the Christian soldiers displayed their heroism in the assault; but, the city in their hands, the inhabitants were ruthlessly slaughtered.

The crusaders then returned to Acre, and, for many months, gave themselves up to idleness: indeed, they seem to have been too much weakened by illness and the effects of the climate, to support the exhausting fatigues of battle. But Edward's presence was unwelcome to the Turks, and a design was formed by them to assassinate him. The Emir of Jaffa pretended that he desired to become a Christian; and sent so many letters to the prince upon the subject, and made him so many rich presents, that at last his messengers were permitted to pass and repass without suspicion or examination. One hot day the prince was lying idly upon a couch, with nothing on him but a sort of loose dressing gown, when one of the Emir's people appeared at the door of the apartment. He made a respectful salaam, or salute, and was permitted to enter. Then, kneeling at the feet of Edward, he presented a letter; and as the prince began to read it, suddenly drew a dagger, and aimed a blow at his heart. Edward had not time to rise from the couch; but he kicked the assassin, who fell, and only wounded the prince in his arm. Both rose together, and the assassin aimed another blow at Edward, who, according to one account, snatched the dagger from him, and killed him with his own weapon. Some say (according to Matthew Paris), "that having nothing at hand to defend himself with, he seized the tripod which supported the table, and brained the ruffian." It was soon discovered that the dagger was poisoned, and the prince looked upon his death as certain. There was, however, an English surgeon at Acre, who was not afraid to perform the operation required to save his life, if the prince himself could endure it. All doubt on that point was soon dispelled. "If suffering will restore my health," he said, "I commit myself to you; work on me at your will, and spare not." The necessary operation was then performed, and Edward recovered. During the process of the cure, the Princess Eleanor attended upon her husband with great affection; and this devotion on her part, no doubt gave rise to the tradition that she saved his life by applying her lips to the wound, and sucking the poison from it. It is a pleasing narrative of womanly heroism and noble love; but, unfortunately, there is no contemporary evidence to sustain it; no chronicler of the time mentions the circumstance, and most modern writers have condemned it as a fiction.

Prince Edward, soon after this event, received letters from his father, begging him to return to England; and as his little army was still further thinned by sickness, and his soldiers longed to return to their native land, he entered into a truce with the sultan, and, at the close of 1272, left Acre for Sicily. On his arrival, he was met by messengers, who informed him of his father's death. He expressed great sorrow at the intelligence; and having lately lost an infant son, Charles of Anjou, the King of Sicily, expressed his surprise that he should grieve more for the death of his old father than for that of his young child. His answer deserves to be recorded —"The loss of my child is a loss which I may hope to repair, but the death of a father is a loss irreparable." The pope solicited Edward's presence at Rome before he left Italy; and while travelling leisurely through that country, he was everywhere received with honours and admiration, and universally regarded as the most illustrious living champion of the Holy Cross.—He was the last king who embarked in the cause of the crusades; and twenty years after he left Syria, the Christian soldiers were driven out from every part of the Holy Land.

Before Edward returned to England he met with another adventure, in which he nearly lost his life. As he found that everything was going on well and quietly in England, he resolved to settle the affairs of Guienne before he returned to his native land. For that purpose he spent nearly a year in France. While he was at Guienne, in the month of May, 1274, he received a challenge from the Count of Chalons to a trial of skill in feats of arms at a tournament. This he readily accepted, and it was arranged that both parties should arrive at the lists attended by 1,000 men. There was some suspicion that the count had a treacherous motive in giving this invitation, and it was strengthened by his appearing with 2,000 armed followers instead of 1,000. This provoked angry feeling, and the sham battle was soon turned into a real one—both French and English fighting with extreme fury. The count, like Edward, was famous for his great strength; and, during the contest, after charging the prince with his lance, he rode in, and grasping him by the throat, endeavoured to hurl him from his horse. Had the count succeeded in this, Edward would no doubt have been trampled to death, or slain in the confusion; and this appears to have been the object of his adversary. But the count had mistaken his man; and, instead of unhorsing Edward, he himself was violently thrown to the ground. The prince beat upon the stout armour of his fallen foe until he was nearly senseless, and then, turning haughtily away, left him to save his life by surrendering to a common soldier. So many people were killed in this strange quarrel, that it received the name of the Little War of Chalons.

Thus ended the adventures and dangers of Edward's crusade to Palestine; and, on the 2nd of August, 1274, he landed at Dover, after an absence of four years. The people received him with enthusiasm, and conducted him in triumph to London, where, on the 19th of the same month, he and Eleanor were crowned King and Queen of England. There was great feasting and re-

joicing, and the conduits which supplied the city with water were made to run with wine, so that the poorest persons might share in the general festivity. The King of Scotland, accompanied by 100 knights, on noble-looking and richly-caparisoned horses, came to London to attend the coronation: as soon as they had alighted, the knights set their steeds at liberty, to be scrambled for by the delighted multitude. King Edward was then in the full strength and flower of life, having just entered his six-and-thirtieth year.

Though the country was comparatively tranquil, yet, in consequence of long civil wars and a bad government, the evils and abuses were numerous. Gangs of robbers and murderers set the laws at defiance, and many of the powerful barons protected them. Judges also were corrupt, and sold their decisions; and thus the wealthy robber was enabled to mock at the cry of the suffering poor. King Edward was a lover of law and justice, and he resolved to suppress these practices, and punish the offenders. For this purpose he authorised a number of commissioners to travel through the country, enquire into all cases of crime and oppression, and take the necessary measures, not only to bring criminals to justice, but to inflict penalties on those who had protected them, and to remove those unjust judges who had brought the law into disrepute by their mal-administration. This commission had a great effect in restoring order, but it was mixed with evil. The king was poor, and this induced him to punish criminals by heavy fines; and such was the zeal of the commissioners in the service of their sovereign, that numbers of persons were accused and fined for offences of which they were entirely innocent. When Edward's treasury was well supplied by these strange proceedings, he had the wisdom to abolish the commission, and never to use it again.

One class of his subjects, however, was oppressed in a heartless manner. This was the Jews, whom Edward and his people appear to have hated with a most unchristian bitterness. As a crusader the king naturally detested all unbelievers; thought that he did heaven service by robbing and murdering them; and the English people of that day imputed to the Jews every heinous crime, the perpetrator of which escaped detection. In the early part of Edward's reign, the coin had been very much clipped and debased, and the Jews were accused of this offence. It is very likely that many of them were guilty of it; but this could not excuse the remorseless cruelty with which they were treated. In 1278, 280 Jews, men and women, were hanged in London alone for this crime; and it is supposed that numbers of the victims were entirely innocent. Such was the bad feeling against these wretched people, that to accuse a Jew, and to condemn him, was almost the same thing. Once suspected, he had no chance; his protestations of innocence were useless; and if he escaped with his life, much of his property was confiscated: he was prohibited from receiving interest for money lent, and compelled to wear a badge upon his dress, as a mark of disgrace, and an invitation to the insults of enemies.

Some years afterwards, Edward caused all the Jews in the kingdom to be suddenly arrested and thrown into prison, for some crime imputed to them—whether justly or unjustly is unknown; and they were not liberated till they paid a fine of £12,000. At length, on the 27th of July, 1290, the king, at the instance, it is believed, of his mother, the dowager queen, Eleanor, issued a command, that all Jews should, within two months, leave the kingdom for ever, under the penalty of death. The number thus banished was 16,711. They were permitted to take all their money and movable property: their lands and houses of course remained, and were seized by the king. Many of the banished men were robbed by the sailors; and the old chroniclers relate one act of villany which was most atrocious. Some wealthy Jews having hired a ship to themselves, the captain thought of a wicked scheme by which he could murder them all, and get possession of their wealth. When they arrived at the mouth of the river Thames, he anchored the vessel at a place which, during low tide, was a fine sheet of dry sand. After some time the sea ebbed away, and the ship was aground. The treacherous captain then invited the Jews to walk out with him on the broad, pleasant plain of sand, which lay all around them, dotted here and there with great clumps of sea-weed, or bits of projecting, shell-covered rock. Pleased with any show of kindness, they accepted the offer, and he cunningly led them to some distance from the ship. At length he saw the tide coming in, and went back to the vessel: the unsuspecting Jews, not aware of the danger, made no haste, and soon found themselves surrounded by the rising water. They instantly called to the captain for assistance; but the ruffian mockingly told them to call to Moses, by whose guidance their fathers had passed through the Red Sea. Then hoisting his sails he departed, and left them to perish. Edward caused the captain and sailors to be arrested, and several of them were hanged for their infamous deed; as were all against whom the crime of robbing the persecuted Jews was proved. Many inconveniences arose from the banishment of the Jews, and commerce suffered considerably; thus, it was not long before both king and people found that they could not do injustice to others, without suffering some of the ill effects of it themselves.

The king adopted other means of relieving the poverty of the crown, far less objectionable than his

proceedings against the Hebrews, but still very arbitrary. Under the provisions of the law called the Statute of Gloucester, passed in the first year of Edward's reign, he issued, in 1278, a commission to inquire into all encroachments upon the royal demesnes, and to examine into the titles by which many of his barons held their estates. Some, who could not strictly prove their right, were deprived of their lands, which went to enrich the sovereign. Edward found this so pleasant and profitable, that he urged the commissioners on to fresh exertions; and they began to question the right of some barons who had held their estates since the time of William the Conqueror. Amongst others they required the powerful Earl of Warrenne to show his title-deeds. The grim baron was not a man to be trifled with; drawing his bright and ponderous sword, he answered, "By this instrument do I hold my lands; and by the same I intend to defend them! Our ancestors, coming into this realm with William the Bastard, acquired their possessions by their good swords. William did not make a conquest alone, or for himself alone; our ancestors were helpers and participants with him!" Proceedings like this would have been the ruin of a less capable king than Edward; but he had the wisdom to see that he was going too far; he said no more about the estates of the Earl of Warrenne, and soon after he abandoned his inquiries.

Edward had formed the idea of reducing the whole of the island to his rule, and combining it into one kingdom. This, he justly thought, would be far more advantageous than fighting, as his ancestors had so often done, for land and towns in France; and he resolved to commence with Wales.

The Welsh were a brave pastoral people, simple and hospitable in their habits, and very proud of their national independence. They lived roughly, and most of the poor people among them dressed in nothing better than sheep or goat skins; yet they were not uninstructed in the learning of the day, and were very fond of music, and listened with rapture to the melodious recitations of their bards and harpers. Unfortunately for the Welsh, it so happened, that when Edward cast his eyes upon their land, they were distracted by quarrels amongst themselves. Rees-ap-Meredith, the Prince of South Wales, hated Llewellyn, the Prince of North Wales, so bitterly, that he joined their common enemy, the English king. In this bad example he was followed by Llewellyn's own brother, David. Llewellyn very well knew that he was disliked by Edward, because he had assisted Simon de Montfort, the brave Earl of Leicester, in his struggle against the crown, during the reign of Henry III.; and he was now engaged to be married to Elinor de Montfort, a daughter of that patriotic nobleman. As this young lady was on her voyage from France [A.D. 1275], to join her bridegroom, she was taken prisoner by some English ships, and sent captive to Edward. Llewellyn angrily demanded his bride; the English sovereign refused to surrender her, and then the wronged Welsh prince prepared for war. This was exactly what Edward wanted, as it gave him an excuse for the invasion of Wales; and, in the Easter of 1276, he entered the country with an immense army.

The Welsh prince retired from the unequal contest, and took refuge among the wild romantic mountains of Snowdon. In this position Edward contrived to surround him with his large force; and caused every outlet to be so strictly guarded, that Llewellyn's troops were soon suffering from the pangs of famine. They would now willingly have staked everything on a great battle; but the crafty Edward had them in his toils, and would not run the risk of an encounter with desperate men; he knew that extremity of hunger would do the work even better than the sword. At length the winter began to close in, and the sufferings of the brave Welsh were so dreadful, that they were, in 1277, compelled to submit. Edward's terms were, that Llewellyn should surrender to him nearly the whole of his principality, do homage to England for the remainder, and pay a fine of £50,000. Llewellyn accompanied the king to Westminster, where he performed the act of homage. Then the youthful Elinor was released from surveillance, and married to the Welsh prince, in the presence of Edward and his court. Soon after the fine was remitted, as Edward found that Llewellyn was too poor to pay it.

The Welsh people could not reconcile themselves to the loss of their national independence; they felt unhappy and degraded; and when David, the brother of Llewellyn, repented that he had forsaken the cause of his country, and again joined its standard, they flew to arms, and prepared for another war with the English. To this course they were also partially excited by the insolence of their victors, who treated them in a haughty and oppressive manner, and scoffed at their national customs. Edward was rather pleased than otherwise with this rising, for it gave him a chance of rendering his conquest more certain. A strange prophecy gave additional courage to the Welsh; for it said that the ancient race—that is, the original Britons, from whom they were descended—should rule again throughout England, and that the Prince of Wales should be crowned king in London. They fought with such spirit, that at first Edward experienced some reverses; indeed, several skirmishes, if not battles, took place, in which the English king had the worst of the contest; but at length, in 1282, Llewellyn was sur-

prised by the Earl of Mortimer, and killed, with about 2,000 of his followers. His exulting victors cut off his head and sent it to London, where it was placed on the walls of the Tower, and crowned with willow, in mockery.

His brother David succeeded him in the principality, and still carried on the struggle for national independence; but he had not followers enough to face the English troops, and was compelled to flee before them from mountain to mountain, and frequently assume disguises to save his life. After some months he was betrayed, and sent in chains to Shrewsbury. When he fought on the side of the English king, against his own brother Llewellyn, Edward had made him an English baron. He therefore treated him as a revolted subject, and condemned him to be executed as a traitor. He was hung, drawn, and quartered; and the quarters were displayed in different parts of the country. Thus was a brave prince put to a cruel and ignominious death, merely because he had fought to preserve the freedom of his native land.

This execution took place in 1283. The spirit of the Welsh was, at that period, completely broken, and they submitted to the rule of Edward. He exercised his newly-acquired power with moderation, and divided the land into shires and hundreds; granted the people a confirmation of their ancient liberties; extended to them the laws of England; encouraged them in trade and industry; and endeavoured to win them to a less wild and more social mode of life. He stayed more than a year amongst them; and during that time his queen, Eleanor, on the 25th of April, 1284, was delivered of a son (afterwards Edward II.), at the castle of Caernarvon. Edward soon after assembled the Welsh chiefs, and promised to give them a prince to govern them, who should be of unexceptional manners, born in their own country, and unable to speak any other language. The Welsh were delighted: and Edward then presented to them his infant son, who he declared should be their future ruler.

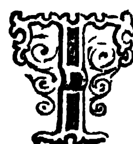
Some years afterwards, when a fresh revolt broke out in Wales, Edward, after having subdued it, is reported to have hanged all the Welsh bards, because the songs they sang about national independence, and the deeds of their native heroes, kept alive the spirit of the people and their love of freedom. Gray's spirited poem of "The Bard" has preserved this rumour, which, there is reason to believe, was utterly unfounded.

Having thus subjugated Wales (a feat which his ancestors had never been able to accomplish), Edward went abroad, and remained on the continent for nearly three years (from 1286 to 1289). His reason for going was, to act as umpire in a dispute between the kings of France and Aragon, and the House of Anjou, about the island of Sicily. He displayed a great deal of good sense and justice upon this occasion, and won the admiration of many foreign princes.

While Edward was abroad, the affairs of England fell into confusion; and the people complained that he neglected their interests, and gave his attention to things that did not concern him. This speedily brought him home again; and he set vigorously to work to put down violence, restore general tranquillity, and to procure from a parliament he had summoned, the enactment of several important and judicious statutes. He soon awed the open robbers into good conduct; but he found that the fountains of justice were polluted; or, in other words, that the judges were corrupt, and sold their decisions for money. To correct this gross conduct, Edward, in 1289, called a parliament, and brought all the judges to trial before it. Monstrous as it may seem, the whole body, except two, were guilty. They were heavily fined, and, in most cases, removed from the position they had so meanly disgraced. The chief justice of the Court of King's Bench was even convicted of inducing his servants to commit a murder, and then protecting them from the consequences; while the chief baron of the Exchequer, and the grand justiciary, were found to be so corrupt in the discharge of their lofty duties, that they were thrown into prison.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.—A.D. 1289—1297.



HE affairs of Scotland were, at this period, in great confusion. Its king, Alexander III., a sovereign much respected by his people, in travelling at night near the sea-coast, rode over the edge of a lofty cliff, and was killed on the spot.* The grief of his subjects at this melancholy event, was much increased by the fact, that the sole survivor of the royal family was Alexander's grand-daughter, an infant only three years old. She was called Margaret of Norway, because her mother,

who was dead, had been married to Eric, the King of Norway. Little Margaret then was the heir to the Scottish throne; but, in the eyes of the people of those times, there were three great things against her—she was a child, a female, and a foreigner.

A regency was appointed to govern the kingdom during her minority; but in most countries, at this period, men objected to have a woman for their sovereign ruler; and, perhaps, in those rude brawling times, ladies were not so fitted to wield a sceptre as were the sterner sex. Such being the case, it is not surprising that other claimants for the crown sprung up; and amongst these were Robert Bruce and John Baliol. They were both of royal blood, but descended from younger branches of the regal family of Scotland. Edward's attention was now drawn to that country, and he wished to unite it with England under his own government. He kept his design a secret; and his first step was a wise and unobjectionable one. He proposed that the infant Margaret should be married to his eldest son, Edward, the Prince of Wales. Thus the whole island would eventually have been united under one monarchy; and each country would help to strengthen and defend the other. The offer was, in July, 1290, gladly accepted by the Scotch; but, unfortunately, the young princess died (she was in her eighth year), on her passage from Norway; and thus that project fell to the ground. A much greater misfortune befel Edward about the same time. He had gone to the north, in order the better to attend to the affairs of Scotland; and the queen followed him. She was attacked with fever on her journey, in the neighbourhood of Grantham; the king was summoned to her bedside, and he arrived time enough to see his affectionate and beloved wife breathe her last, on the 20th of December, 1290. The corpse was conveyed to London, to be interred in Westminster Abbey; the king accompanying it, and ordering a magnificent cross to be erected at each place where the mournful *cortége* rested; the last being placed at Charing Cross, near the abbey. Only two of these crosses now remain—those at Northampton and Waltham.

The funeral obsequies performed, the king returned to the north, where, after the death of Margaret, the claims of Bruce and Baliol to the Scotch throne were urged; also those of several other competitors; and as a civil war was imminent, the parliament of Scotland, with a view to prevent that calamity, resolved to submit the rival claims to Edward's decision, and he accepted the office of referee. He desired the nobility, prelates, and the candidates—nine in number—to meet him at Norham, to hear his decision. Before he gave it, he claimed the right to do so, as the suzerain, or lord paramount, of the kingdom; exhibiting, at the general assembly of the parliament and the candidates, on the 10th of May, 1291, a number of documents to prove his right of feudal superiority. His audience were taken by surprise; and they told King Edward that no answer could be made to his demand while the Scottish throne remained vacant. Nothing was determined at this meeting; and several others were held between that date and the 13th of June. On the latter day, the rival candidates, hoping to win Edward's favour, acknowledged him as lord paramount of Scotland. One hundred and four commissioners were then appointed—forty by Bruce, forty by Baliol, and twenty-four Englishmen by Edward—to inquire into the respective claims of the candidates for the throne. It was now urged, that when Edward gave judgment in favour of one of the candidates, he ought to give him the kingdom also; and that he could not give the kingdom unless he first possessed it. Accordingly a deed was drawn up, by virtue of which the kingdom of Scotland, and all its castles and fortresses, were delivered into the hands of the English king, on condition that he should render them back to the future sovereign within two months after his decision.

The proceedings were protracted to a great length, for Edward wished to accustom the Scottish people to regard him as their superior chief, or lord paramount; but at last, in October, 1292, he adjudged the crown to John Baliol, who, as the descendant of the eldest of the three daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, the brother to William the Lion, and the next heir to the crown after that monarch and his posterity, was undoubtedly entitled to it. The great seal of Scotland was then broken into four pieces, and placed in the treasury of the English monarch, as evidence of his sovereignty over that country; and Baliol did homage to Edward for his kingdom, receiving possession of it from the hands of that monarch.

During the progress of these events in Scotland, a quarrel arose between England and France, from the following circumstances. A Norman and an English ship had both stopped at Bayonne for water, and the sailors of each met at the same spring. A quarrel ensued between them as to which should draw water first, in the course of which, an Englishman struck a Norman with his fist: the latter drew his knife, and rushed upon his opponent; they struggled together, and the Norman was accidentally killed by his own weapon. The Norman sailors were very indignant; and, soon after, meeting with a small English ship, they seized one of its crew, and hanged him at the yard-arm with a dog tied to his feet. They then let the rest go, and desired them to tell their countrymen, that vengeance was now taken for the blood of the Norman killed at Bayonne.

The English sailors retaliated by hanging every Norman sailor they could find; and, at last, whenever the ships of either nation met, a savage conflict always took place between them. A fleet of 200 Norman ships sailed through the English Channel, plundering every vessel they met with, and murdering many of their crews. The inhabitants of the Cinque Ports then [A.D. 1293] fitted out eighty ships of a large size, manned with experienced sailors, and went proudly forth to meet the Normans. A desperate sea-fight occurred, in which, after great slaughter, all the Norman ships were destroyed or taken. No quarter whatever was given; and it is said that as many as 15,000 Normans perished in this conflict.

During all these outrages, England and France had been nominally at peace; but the sovereigns of each country, when the quarrel rose to this pitch, were compelled to interfere. Philip IV., the French king, demanded reparation, and summoned Edward, as Duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris, and answer the charges against him. Of course Edward did not attend, and then Philip declared him a contumacious vassal, and that all his lands in France were forfeited.

The active English king got ready a powerful army; and, to increase its numbers, he liberated all the thieves and ruffians confined in the English prisons. This army he sent into France; but he himself was detained in England by an insurrection in Wales, which took him several months to subdue. The English force was commanded by Edmund, the king's brother; and at first it achieved some success; but Edmund died suddenly; victory seemed to lean to the French, and the English were compelled to abandon the contest. Philip then threatened to invade England, and did make a descent upon Dover, which his soldiers plundered and partially burnt; but the men of that town rallied, and drove the invaders back to their ships. In this petty warfare great numbers of people were slain, and thousands more ruined; but neither France nor England derived any great advantage.

Returning to the affairs of Scotland, we find that Edward soon rendered Baliol's position a very uneasy one. Though the latter had taken the oath of fealty to the English king, he refused, when summoned, to attend the court of his suzerain, in London. He found it better, however, to submit to subsequent summonses; but their constant repetition caused him to show signs of resistance. Edward, in consequence, declared him a disobedient vassal, and threatened to take away three of the principal towns and castles of Scotland. This was at the time when the war broke out between France and England; and the Scottish nobles, aroused to a sense of their humiliated position, determined to make an effort to shake off Edward's encroaching interference. Baliol, himself, seems to have been a feeble-minded, spiritless man, quite unequal to the trying circumstances in which he was placed; and his people, in derision, gave him a name which signified *empty*. Empty, indeed, he was in comparison with his clear-seeing and powerful foe; and at this period his nobles took the affairs of the country into their own hands. Their first act was [A.D. 1294] to call a parliament at Scone, and pass an edict that all Englishmen should be dismissed from the Scottish court; this was necessary, for these persons were no doubt spies of Edward's. They further confiscated all the estates in Scotland belonging to English barons, and to the Scotch nobles, who adhered to their feudal allegiance to Edward; amongst whom was Robert Bruce. Baliol also concluded a treaty with Philip of France; by one article of which, is was stipulated that the Scotch king was to marry Philip's niece: and, by another, that a body of French troops was to be sent to aid Baliol against Edward.

In the progress of these events, the suspicions of the English king were roused; and he sent an imperious message, commanding that the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh should be surrendered to him as a security for the quiet behaviour of the Scots, and summoning Baliol, as his vassal, to appear before an English parliament at Newcastle. As these demands were not complied with, he instantly prepared for war; but the Scotch were the first in the field. They raised an army, which ravaged the county of Cumberland, and then set down before Carlisle. The gallant citizens of that place repelled all the assaults of the enemy; and finding that Edward was in the north, the Scotch retired into their own country, leaving Carlisle on the 28th of March, 1296. The same day, the English army crossed the Tweed; and, on the 30th —Good Friday, a day that ought to have been devoted to very different pursuits—stormed and took the town of Berwick, one of the richest in Scotland. The usual consequences took place—a dreadful slaughter. In return for the Cumberland raid, Berwick was given up to the victors. For two days the work of plunder and massacre proceeded; and the town never recovered its former wealth and importance.

On the 5th of April, the abbot of Arbroath presented himself before Edward with a message from the Scottish king. That message was a formal renunciation of his homage, and a declaration of an intention of resisting the aggression of the English invader by every means in his power. Edward regarded the bold priest with a stern scowl, and exclaimed—"What a piece of madness in the foolish traitor! Since he will not come to us we will go to him." The defiance of Edward by the Scotch was followed up by several of

their nobles crossing the borders, and laying waste the country; whilst others seized the strong castle of Dunbar. The former let their followers loose upon the country; and shocking deeds of cruelty were committed; neither sex nor age being regarded by the rude and almost savage northmen. Such are the horrors of war.

The triumph of the Scotch was a very brief one; Edward sent a great force to Dunbar, under the Earl of Warrenne; which, on the 29th of April, after a short but desperate battle, in which 10,000 Scots perished, retook the castle. This was followed by the surrender of the castles of Roxburgh, Dumbarton, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling: thus all the defences of the kingdom were in the hands of Edward; and its independence lay prostrate at his feet. Baliol, dismayed and helpless, implored for peace, which his conqueror only consented to grant on the most humiliating terms. He was compelled to stand in presence of the English monarch and a number of his barons, divested of his robes of royalty, and, after abjectly confessing his offences against his liege lord, to resign his crown into the hands of his victor. This took place at the castle of Brechin, on the 7th of July, 1296. Three days after, Baliol delivered up his kingdom to King Edward. On the 29th of August, a parliament was held at Berwick; and the Scotch of all ranks and classes repaired there, to swear fealty and allegiance to Edward. Having received their submission; appointed the Earl of Warrenne guardian of the realm, and other Englishmen to the offices of chancellor, justiciary, and treasurer; whilst the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Edinburgh were garrisoned with English troops, Edward returned to the south. He took with him Baliol and his son as prisoners, and carried away from Scone, in Perthshire—at the market-cross of which town the kings of Scotland were formerly crowned—the famous Stone of Destiny, on which they used to sit while the ceremony was performed. On his arrival in the British metropolis, the king sent that stone to Westminster Abbey. It was regarded by the Scots with the greatest veneration; for an ancient tradition declared, that, wherever it was placed, their nation would always govern. It was, in consequence, looked upon with a superstitious reverence, as if it had been the abode of the guardian spirit of their country. It remains at Westminster still; and to this day our English sovereigns sit upon it at the time of their coronation.

War is an expensive thing; and during his wars against Wales, France, and Scotland, King Edward was often hard pressed for money. He had, in 1295, summoned a parliament to raise supplies; but he also frequently levied them in a very arbitrary manner, the clergy suffering most by his extortions. At one time he seized all the money and plate in the churches and monasteries, only promising that he would pay it back when he was able; at another he actually demanded *half* the incomes of all the priests in the land. A loud complaint was raised by the bishops and abbots against this tyrannous proceeding; but the king declared, that if any of them dared to oppose him, he would proceed against them as rebels. Besides these direct taxes, Edward's purveyors constantly carried away the contents of the granaries, store-houses, farm-yards, and larders, for the use of his army; and the monks were left in absolute want. They then applied to the pope for protection, and he issued a bull, prohibiting all princes from levying taxes upon the clergy without his consent. But things were altered since the time of Henry II., when Thomas à Becket so long defied the king; the power of Rome was not so great, and the influence of the priests over the minds of the people very much diminished: so Edward treated the bull with contempt; and when the clergy refused some of his demands, he outlawed the whole of them, and seized their property. He declared, that if they would not support the government, they should not be protected by it; and gave orders to his judges to do every one justice against them, but to do them justice against no one. The clergy were robbed and abused by every ruffian who pleased to raise his hand against them; even the Archbishop of Canterbury was stopped on the highway, plundered of everything, and compelled at last to take an humble lodging in the house of a country priest. The people remained perfectly indifferent during these shamefully arbitrary measures; and the stern king merely smiled at the sufferings of the clergy. At last their spirits were quite broken by this harsh treatment, and they submitted to the demands of their extortionate sovereign. Such violent behaviour as this would have caused the dethronement of a weak king—indeed of almost any king but the resolute, fierce, and strong-minded Edward. His iron will disregarded difficulties, and he generally succeeded in trampling all opposition beneath his feet.

He was not, however, always successful in intimidating his subjects, as we shall shortly see. The people had looked on very calmly while the clergy were plundered; but it was very different when the greedy hand of the king was thrust into their own purses. Urged on by his necessities, the rapacity of Edward knew no bounds; and after laying many exceedingly heavy taxes on the nation, he suddenly seized all the wool and hides that were ready for exportation, and sold them for his own profit. The citizens were struck with wonder; it is true that he promised to pay them for the goods he had robbed them of; but they had no faith in his pro-

mise; they knew it was only an evasion, and that he had no intention of fulfilling it. In addition to this outrage, he seized an enormous quantity of corn and oxen for the use of his army without the consent of the lawful owners. All classes of people murmured, and many secret meetings were held to decide in what manner the extortionate tyranny of the king should be checked.

These meetings were encouraged by many of the barons, who began to feel that even they were not safe beneath the overbearing sway of such a man as Edward; and it was resolved that an opposition should be formed against the imperious king. This was in the year 1297, when Edward had raised two armies, one of which he intended to send to Guienne, and the other to Flanders. He gave the command of one of them to Humphrey Bohun, the Earl of Hereford, the constable; and of the other to Roger Bigod, the Earl of Norfolk, the marshal of England. To the astonishment of the king, both these powerful noblemen refused to quit the country. "Sir Earl," shouted Edward to Bohun, with a tremendous oath, "you shall either go or hang." The earl was as resolute and stout-hearted as the monarch, and with a repetition of the oath he replied, "Sir King, I will neither go nor hang." Then the two earls abruptly left the presence of the amazed king, followed by about thirty barons, and many hundred knights.

This was a moment of danger for Edward; he found he had gone too far. Had he continued his tyrannical oppression, a civil war would have followed, which might have ended in his death or deposition. But he was as wise as he was arbitrary—as prudent as he was stern; and he adopted some singular measures to win back the submission and affection of his people. He knew that this opposition had the sanction of the clergy, whom he had so ill-treated, therefore he set to work to win them to his side by restoring them to favour. Then he caused a platform to be erected in front of Westminster Hall, from which he addressed an oration to a vast crowd of people. He told them he grieved very much for the heavy taxes laid upon his dear subjects; but that they were necessary to preserve, not only his crown, but their lives, from the attacks of the Welsh, Scots, and French. He added, that he was going to expose himself to all the dangers of war for their sakes; and that if he perished, he trusted they would place his dear son upon the throne, whose gratitude he felt certain would reward their fidelity. He also promised, that, if he returned in safety, he would redress all their grievances; begged them to suspend their animosities, and judge of him not by the past, but by his future conduct, which he would regulate in such a manner as would satisfy them all. This speech was followed by enthusiastic shouts of applause; and Edward felt confident that he had won over the people; but he found the nobles more difficult to manage.

The king resolved to head the force going to Flanders himself; and he departed in August, 1297. On his way to the coast to embark, a remonstrance was presented to him by the barons, complaining of his violations of the Great Charter, his unjust seizures of his subjects' corn, leather, cattle, and wool; and stating that they were not bound to follow him in his present expedition. Edward replied, that as his council was at a distance, he could not answer these things just then; and, to the surprise of his nobles, started at once for Flanders. But the barons acted in so resolute a manner, that even Edward was alarmed, and compelled to bend before the threatening storm. While in Flanders, he put the royal seal to the two charters (the Great Charter and the Charter of Forests), and thus again confirmed them; and also consented to a statute, which declared that no taxes should be laid upon the nation without the consent of the barons, clergy, knights, and commoners. But he did it with a very bad grace, and after a great deal of shuffling and evasion; and it is said that he laughed in private with his friends, and said he would not observe the restrictions placed upon him. However, on this point the nation was as obstinate as he was, and it compelled him to keep his word. The time had arrived when English kings could not altogether trample on the convictions of their people.

Edward went to Flanders, because he had entered into an alliance with the Flemings against the King of France. The French were in possession of many towns in Flanders, and from some of these Edward drove them out; but the English and Flemish soldiers quarrelled and fought with each other, instead of fighting only against the enemy. There were also great dissensions among the English sailors at home; those of Yarmouth constantly fighting with the mariners of other ports. The result was, that many conflicts took place, and more than five-and-twenty ships were burned or sunk. Edward was also disappointed of some foreign troops he had engaged, so that he was glad to enter into a truce with King Philip of France [A.D. 1298], and consent to refer their dispute to the pope for decision.

The pope suggested that Edward should abandon his league with Flanders, and leave that country to the French, and that Philip should do the same with regard to Scotland, and leave the Scotch to the fury of the English king. Thus the Roman pontiff encouraged each sovereign to commit a shameful act of perfidy. He also advised that the union of England and France should be confirmed by two royal marriages: that

Edward should marry Philip's sister, Margaret; and that the Prince of Wales should marry Philip's daughter, the Princess Isabella. Edward had previously engaged his son to the daughter of the Count of Flanders; and had taken a solemn oath never to make peace with France unless in conjunction with the count; but he seldom, it would seem, permitted either promises or oaths to stand in the way of his interest. On the 8th of September, 1299, he married the French princess, Margaret; and his son, who was thirteen years of age, was contracted to Isabella, who was only six.

Edward fully believed that the submission of the Scots, in 1296, had crushed their independence; and that his conquest was a decisive and lasting one: in this he was greatly deceived. Scotland was paralysed for a time, but it was not crushed; bold hearts beat within the bosoms of its hardy people; and they resolved not to give up their independence so lightly. A spirit of gloomy discontent soon broke out into active resistance; and a few months after Edward's departure from the north, the standard of liberty was raised by that brave patriot, William Wallace.

Some account of this heroic and unfortunate man is a debt due to his memory, for his actions are the best monument of his fame. He was the son of a Scottish knight, Sir Malcolm Wallace, of Ellerslie, in Renfrewshire, and was born in 1276. In his youth he was remarkable for his great stature, strength, and courage. He also possessed a quick and powerful intellect, a commanding manner, great decision of character, and a kind of rough eloquence of speech, which had a great effect upon his uncultivated countrymen. He was a devoted lover of his native land, and viewed its wild glens, its rocks, mountains, floods, and forests, with an ardent affection; and even while a child, a love of freedom and hatred of oppression had been instilled into his mind by a good priest, who was his uncle. The conquest of his country by King Edward was a thing he would not acknowledge, and could scarcely believe. One day he was insulted by some English officers in the town of Lanark; he instantly resented the insult; but was overpowered and compelled to fly. The English sheriff put to death an unhappy woman who had concealed him; and, shortly afterwards, Wallace, in return, attacked and killed the sheriff. He was immediately proclaimed a felon and a traitor; and to avoid the consequences, he fled to the woods and mountains. There he was joined by many other ruined men, and became a sort of outlaw, constantly attacking and plundering the English. Wallace was so successful in these expeditions, that multitudes of people flocked to join him. At length, in the spring of 1297, he found himself at the head of a little army, and was then bold enough to defy the conquerors of his country. At this time he was joined by Sir William Douglas, and they resolved together on a very bold exploit.

Earl Warrenne, the governor of Scotland, was in England, and he left his duties to be performed by William Ormesby and Hugh de Cressingham. These persons were insulting and tyrannical in their conduct, and, consequently, very much disliked; and Wallace resolved upon attacking them at Scone, where the English court was held, and punishing them for their violence and injustice. Daring as the scheme was, it was successful; the English rulers only saved themselves by rapid flight, and left many prisoners and a rich booty in the hands of the patriots, who were immediately joined by recruits from all quarters. Many of these were men of high rank; and among them were the Steward of Scotland, the Bishop of Glasgow, Alexander de Lindesay, Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, and Robert Bruce, the grandson of that Bruce who had disputed the Scottish crown with John Baliol.

As soon as King Edward heard of this insurrection, he sent the Earl of Warrenne into Scotland with an army of 40,000 men. This force came upon the patriots suddenly, near the town of Irvine, in Ayrshire. Petty jealousies existed in the Scottish camp; the nobles who had joined Wallace were too proud to submit to his command; and the army was, in reality, without a leader. Under these circumstances, Bruce and the rest of the nobles rather disgracefully made their submission to the English, and renewed their allegiance. Only one baron honourably stood by Wallace —the brave Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell. But though the high-born left the side of the champion of their country's liberty, the low-born flocked to it more than ever, and Wallace was still at the head of a numerous army, and, what was more, ruled in their hearts.

Wallace had soon driven the English from many of the Scottish castles; when, about the beginning of September, 1217, he heard that an English army was advancing rapidly upon Stirling. He instantly led his followers to its defence, and reached the banks of the river Forth, opposite the town, before the arrival of the English. He had about 40,000 foot, and a small body of horsemen; the English army, which made its appearance on the 11th September, consisted of more than 50,000 men. It was led by Henry Percy, nephew of the Earl of Warrenne. Seeing that Wallace had posted his army in an admirable position, and perhaps anxious to save the shedding of blood, Percy sent to know if the Scotch would enter into terms of submission. Wallace answered the messengers proudly—"Return, and tell your masters that we come not here to treat, but to assert our rights, and to set Scotland free; let them advance; they will find us prepared." This defiance

made the English anxious for the battle; and Cressingham, King Edward's treasurer, said, "What is the use of wasting the king's money in keeping up an army if it is not to fight!"—On the 12th of September, the battle of Stirling took place.

Over the river which ran between the armies, a narrow, old wooden bridge was extended—so narrow that only two men could walk abreast upon it. Across this the English general was so imprudent as to lead his army. Wallace waited until about half of them had passed over, and then, sending a part of his troops to take possession of the end of the old bridge, he, with the rest, rushed upon the unformed English army with such fury that they were instantly thrown into confusion. What followed was rather a slaughter than a battle; the English soldiers seemed paralysed, and were slain in heaps, while numbers of the heavy-armed horsemen threw themselves into the river, and were drowned in their attempt to escape. Nearly all the English who crossed the bridge perished, and then the lumbering old structure was broken down, and fell in pieces into the stream. The English on the other side of the Forth, astonished at the sudden destruction of their comrades, also fell into disorder, and fled towards Berwick. The Scotch lost but very few men; but among them was the brave Sir Andrew Moray, of Bothwell, the only baron who had not deserted Wallace at the town of Irvine. Amongst the English, Hugh de Cressingham, the treasurer, was killed. This man's rapacity and insolence had made him so hateful to the Scottish people, that they stripped the skin from his dead body, and then hacked the corpse to pieces.

The victory of Stirling put fresh courage into the bosoms of the Scots: everywhere the banner of Wallace floated triumphantly; the castles of Edinburgh, Dundee, Roxburgh, and Berwick all surrendered to him; the English were driven from the country; and the ambitious Edward lost Scotland even more rapidly than he had gained it. Wallace then proceeded to punish the invader of his native land: he led his troops into the English counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, which they laid waste with a frightful ferocity. Their progress was marked by mangled bodies and burning ruins; for no cruelty was considered too great to be practised on the people of their oppressors. Unhappily, in these wild retaliations, the punishment seldom falls on those who have done the wrong. When Wallace returned in triumph to Scotland, a great meeting of its nobles was held at the Forest Kirk, in Selkirkshire, and by it he was invested with the title of guardian or governor of the kingdom, and commander-in-chief of its armies. The patriot had now reached the highest point of his prosperity; and he was rapidly approaching the end of his brilliant career.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIRST.—A.D. 1298—1307.

KING EDWARD was in Flanders when news reached him that Scotland had thrown off his yoke and regained its independence. He immediately sent letters to all his barons in England, commanding them to assemble the whole military power of the kingdom, and meet him on the 10th of February, 1298, at York. In consequence of this order, 100,000 foot-soldiers and 4,000 horsemen were collected at that ancient city; but the king was unable to join them until about the middle of March. He led this enormous force immediately into Scotland, but was, at first, unable to discover the enemy. When he had arrived at a small town called Kirkliston, a mutiny broke out in his camp. Some quarrels arose between the English and the Welsh soldiers, and the latter, to the number of 40,000, threatened to abandon Edward and join the Scots. "I care not," said the high-spirited monarch; "let my enemies go and join my enemies; I trust that in one day I shall chastise them all."

The discontent in Edward's army was pacified; and soon after he received information, from two traitorous nobles, that the Scottish army was encamped not far off, near the forest of Falkirk. He resolved that the next day he would go in pursuit of it. That night, while sleeping on the ground, his horse suddenly rolled over, and broke two of the king's ribs by a kick. Edward gave a cry of pain; the sleeping ranks were aroused, and a rumour ran through the host that there was treason in the camp, and that the king was either wounded or killed. The day was dawning, and the resolute monarch, injured as he was, mounted his horse, and rode about among the soldiers to reassure them.

Edward and his army soon came in sight of the Scots. Wallace's force was a considerable one; some say it amounted to 60,000 men: but even then it was

not half so numerous as that of the English. The latter commenced the battle. The Scotch infantry sustained the shock of the enemy's cavalry very bravely; but the king's horsemen fled without striking a blow. It is not known whether this infamous conduct proceeded from treachery or cowardice. For some time the Scottish infantry stood firm, but at last their columns were broken by the ceaseless charges of their enemies, and the flights of stones and arrows from the English cross-bows. A frightful slaughter took place, and it is said that no less than 15,000 Scots perished on the field of Falkirk. This fatal battle was fought on the 22nd of July, 1298. Wallace fled with the remains of his army; and having, in consequence of the disgraceful jealousy of the nobles, resigned his rank as guardian of Scotland, retired for a time into obscurity. Edward thus regained possession of the south of Scotland, which his victorious army overran; but the north still remained free.

Edward was still engaged in his quarrel with the French king; and England and Scotland remained in a state of hostility. In the spring of 1299, the pope, Boniface VIII., induced Edward to give up Baliol and his son—who had been prisoners in the Tower since the autumn of 1296—to his legate, and they were sent to the castle of Bailleul, in France. There the ex-king lived in retirement, till his death in 1304. The war continued in 1299 and 1300, with few events of importance, and no further results. In the latter year the Scotch applied to the pope for protection; and his holiness sent an extraordinary letter to Edward, in which he claimed Scotland as belonging to the see of Rome, and ordered the English king to abandon it. This letter was presented by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the king, who was then with the army, which was encamped near the castle of Caerlaverock. The prelate, on delivering the missive into Edward's hands, gave the king some admonitions concerning the necessity of his obedience to the will of the Roman pontiff; and added, "That Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and to cherish, like Mount Sion, those who trusted in the Lord." When the fiery Edward read the document, he fell into a passion, and exclaimed with an oath, "I will not be silent or at rest either for Mount Sion or Jerusalem; but, as long as there is breath in my nostrils, I will defend what all the world knows to be my right." Growing calmer, he added, that he could not answer the holy father without first consulting his parliament. The king was constantly in motion, being sometimes in England, and again suddenly recrossing the border. He was at Dumfries in October, 1300. There he received ambassadors from Philip of France; and yielding, he declared, to their intercession, on the 30th of that month he granted the Scots a truce, which was to end on Whit-Sunday, 1301. He then returned to England; and on the 31st of January, met his parliament at Lincoln. The first business brought before the legislature was the letter of the pope referring to Scotland; to which, after some discussion, a very spirited reply was drawn up, and ordered to be sent to Boniface. In this document the king's claims were set forth, and a resolute determination expressed that they were not to be submitted to the jurisdiction of the court of Rome. The Peers and Commons, however, concluded their letter by "reverently and humbly" entreating "his holiness to permit the king to possess his rights in peace, without domination or disturbance." With this missive, the king transmitted a private letter to Boniface; in which, while he set forth his claims forcibly, and evinced no intent to forego them, he expressed great reverence for the holy see. The determined tone of Edward and his barons had its effect upon the pope, and that potentate very wisely abandoned his claim. Adopting the party which he thought to be the strongest, he gave up the Scottish cause, and severely reproved their clergy for opposing the King of England; whom he hypocritically termed his "dearly-beloved son in Christ."

The truce expired, the king summoned his barons to meet him at Berwick on the 24th of June, 1301; and he again entered Scotland on the 3rd of July, at the head of an army. Wherever he went he found the country desolate, for the Scots destroyed everything, and then retired before the invader, hoping, by this means, to starve him into a return to England. This expedition ended in a truce, entered into at Dunipace, in Stirlingshire, on the 11th of October, and to continue till the 30th of November, 1302. Then he again renewed the war. He had made one Sir John de Segrave governor of Scotland, and that officer led an army of 20,000 men against the patriots, who were still in arms. Several small engagements took place, generally unfavourable to the English; and in the battle of Roslin, fought on the 24th of February, 1303, the English were defeated with great slaughter. De Segrave himself was taken prisoner, and once again Scotland had asserted its independence.

On hearing of this reverse Edward collected an enormous army; and, though he was now getting an old man, again took the field himself. Exasperated by the long resistance of the Scots, he declared that he would reduce them to obedience, or convert their country into a desert. In this spirit he destroyed with fire all the towns, villages, and corn-fields that he passed; before him fled the wretched people, behind him remained their burnt and blackened dwellings. Castle after castle yielded to him; and at length that of Stirling only held out Edward arrived before that fortress in April, 1304,

and besieged it with great fury. Two immense machines hurled great masses of stone and lead against it. One of them threw stones of between two and three hundredweight each. Still the besieged patriots held out bravely; and one day, a javelin, which was thrown from the walls, struck Edward on the breast, and entangled itself in his armour without wounding him. Plucking it out himself, he brandished it in the air, and swore he would hang the man that threw it. Another time an immense stone fell at the feet of his horse, and so frightened the animal that it reared and fell backwards upon its rider. Such an accident might have put an end to Edward's conquests, but he was rescued from his perilous position, and found to be not much hurt.

For nearly three months did the garrison of Stirling defy their assailants: the walls of the castle were little better than a ruin, when the defenders submitted. The whole of them amounted to but 140, and a magnanimous man would certainly have pardoned them. Edward enjoyed the mean triumph of compelling Sir William Oliphant, their commander, and twenty-five knights and gentlemen, to kneel before him, stript to their shirts and drawers, and, in that degrading condition, beg for their lives. He then sent them to be confined in English prisons. The king himself returned to England soon after, and celebrated the Christmas of 1304 at Lincoln.

A little before the submission of Stirling Castle the brave William Wallace again made his appearance. The other nobles and distinguished men of Scotland had previously made their peace with Edward by submission. Wallace himself seemed weary of the struggle, and also promised to submit if Edward would give him a written assurance that his life should be safe, and his property secured to him. This offer was refused, and a large reward offered for his head. Once again the hero betook himself to the life of an outlaw, and lived hidden in the wilds of the north. Edward ordered his captains to hunt for him incessantly; and at length the unhappy man was captured by one of his personal enemies, Sir John Menteith, the high sheriff of Dumbartonshire. He was carried triumphantly to London, and his victor caused him to be tried at Westminster Hall for treason. This was the height of injustice, for Edward was not his king, nor had Wallace ever acknowledged him. To add bitterness to the numbered hours of the hero, a laurel crown was placed in mockery upon his head. His servile judges found him guilty, and, on the 23rd of August, 1305, he was hanged at the Elms in Smithfield. His body, after the breath had expired, was beheaded and quartered. The head was set up on a pole on London Bridge, and the four quarters were sent to Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. This cruel and tyrannical act was intended to strike terror into the Scots, and awe them into an abject submission to the will of their conqueror; but it served rather to increase their hatred to the English yoke: the memory of Wallace was cherished with enthusiastic affection; both barons and people regarded him as the champion of Scotland, and the martyr of freedom; and his unhappy fate casts one of the greatest blots on the character of his conqueror.

Robert Bruce had given his services to King Edward during the time that John Baliol ruled Scotland. He would not fight for the man who he thought had robbed him of his inheritance; for the family of Bruce was of royal blood, and his grandfather had been the rival of Baliol for the crown. His heart, however, yearned towards his country; and the captivity of Baliol and his son Edward, seemed to open for Bruce a path to the throne. There was also another powerful Scottish noble who had some claim to the diadem of his country; this was John Comyn, the lord of Badenoch. Many jealousies existed between him and Bruce; but at length the latter sought the confidence of his rival, begged his aid in ridding their country from the oppression of the English, and proposed, if he eventually obtained the crown, Comyn should have all his estates; but that if Comyn became king, then Bruce should succeed to all his possessions. To this just arrangement Comyn pretended to agree, and even consented to give the crown up to Bruce; but he was acting a false part, for he went secretly to Edward and perfidiously revealed Bruce's plan. This he did to get rid of his rival, whom he, no doubt, expected would soon share the horrid fate of Wallace.

Bruce was at that time (January, 1306) stopping at the court of King Edward, who resolved to arrest him on a charge of treason; but wishing to obtain all the information he could respecting the conspiracy, that monarch did not change his manner to the Scottish noble, or reveal his purpose except to his own council. But Bruce received a hint of his danger from his friend the Earl of Gloucester, who was Edward's son-in-law. Fearing to tell him openly, lest their conversation might excite suspicion, he hit upon the plan of sending a messenger to him with a purse of money and a pair of golden spurs, which he pretended he had borrowed. The hint was understood; the spurs suggested flight, and the next morning, at early dawn, Bruce mounted his horse, and set out for Scotland. It was the depth of winter, and the ground was thickly covered with snow; this would of course show the footprints of his steed, so the fugitive noble had the cunning to have the beast shod backwards. During his journey he met a messenger hurrying with letters to the English king: they were from his treacherous rival, John Comyn. Bruce killed the man, and then, opening the letters, he

found they urged Edward to punish him with death or imprisonment. Rejoicing in his escape, he hurried on to his castle of Lochmaben, and arrived there on the fifth day after he had left the English court.

Shortly afterwards Bruce met Comyn at Dumfries, and demanded a private interview with him in the church attached to the convent of the Grey Friars. Comyn, not aware that his treachery was known, immediately consented. Bruce then taxed him with his villany, which the other denied; high words arose between them, and Bruce, in a fit of passion, plunged a dagger into the breast of his rival. The latter fell bleeding upon the steps of the high altar; and Bruce, horrified at having committed such an act in such a place, rushed out of the church in an agitated manner, and called to his companions to mount their horses. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick inquired what had happened, and Bruce replied, "I doubt I have slain Comyn." "Do you doubt!" exclaimed the fiery Kirkpatrick, "then I will make sure;" and, rushing into the church, he at once put an end to the dying traitor, and also killed a kinsman who tried to defend him. Violent as this conduct was, Comyn deserved his death; and Kirkpatrick was regarded with admiration by his countrymen for the part he had taken in it. To this day his descendants bear upon their crest, in remembrance of the deed, a hand grasping a bloody dagger, beneath which are the words, "I make sure."

The vengeance of King Edward was now implacably aroused against Robert Bruce; and there was but one plan for the latter to adopt. He assembled a meeting of the prelates and nobles of Scotland, and addressed them in an eloquent speech, in which he implored them to advocate his rights, and join with him in breaking the bondage under which the country groaned. Excited by his address, and disgusted with the English rule, they carried Bruce to Scone, and, on the 27th of March, 1306, he was solemnly crowned King of Scotland with a circlet of gold, placed on his head by his sister, the Countess of Buchan; the Scotch crown having fallen into the hands of Edward. The new sovereign made a progress through the country, receiving the homage of the Scots, seizing the towns and castles, and driving out or imprisoning the English sheriffs and officers. He succeeded, at last, in restoring the independence of Scotland; but at the commencement of his reign he met with several checks, which appeared to augur a different result.

King Edward was in his sixty-eighth year; but although he was in feeble health, his energy was not diminished by age. As soon as he heard of the revolution in Scotland, he sent an army into that country, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, and then prepared to follow it himself with another. Bruce, on hearing that the Earl of Pembroke was at Perth, proceeded at once to that place, and challenged the English to the contest. The earl replied, that it was too late that day, but that he would willingly fight on the morrow. Satisfied with this answer, Bruce retired to the wood of Methven, about a mile from Perth, and there encamped for the night. It was a pleasant summer's evening, and his army abandoned themselves to careless enjoyment; some went out on little foraging excursions, and others sat round their fires, cooking their suppers, and talking about the coming struggle. They were hopeful of success; for they had a confidence in their new king, and in the strength of their own brawny arms; and the gallant Edward was not in the army that was opposed to them. The sun had sunk in the west, and twilight was spreading a dull grey tint over the moss-grown trees and thick foliage of the old forest. Suddenly an alarm was heard—a regular, heavy tramp announced the approach of the enemy—the English were upon them. Taken while so unprepared, the Scottish army fell instantly into confusion, and were slain on all sides. Bruce fought with desperation, encountered the Earl of Pembroke hand to hand, and killed his horse. He himself was three times unhorsed, and even prevented, with great difficulty, from being taken prisoner. But all was useless—the rout was complete; and Bruce and his army were compelled to fly to save their lives.

The new-made king was now a fugitive and an outlaw, with a price set upon his head. For some months he and his friends wandered among the wild mountains of their native land, supporting themselves as well as they could by hunting, and suffering both from hunger and from exposure to the weather. Their position was miserable enough; but it was rendered still worse on their being joined by the queen and other ladies, who wished to share the misfortunes of their husbands, and console them in their adversity. Those brave men felt their privations the more bitterly when they were shared by those whom they best loved. Winter was approaching, and then it would be impossible for them to live any longer in the wild, desolate region where they had sought refuge and concealment. On one occasion they were attacked by the Lord of Lorn, a relation of Comyn, whom Bruce and Kirkpatrick had slain. His lordship surrounded the little party with 1,000 Highlanders, armed with terribly destructive weapons called Lochaber axes. But the fugitives fought their way through the ranks of their enemies; Bruce, who was a man of extraordinary strength, performing wonderful acts of valour. They were pursued for some distance, but at length reached the banks of Loch Lomond, where they found a leaky boat which would only carry three persons at a time: in this, after

great labour, they managed to escape to the opposite shore.

At last the Scottish queen and the other ladies were conveyed for safety to Kildrummie Castle, which was in the custody of the king's brother, the brave young Nigel. Bruce himself, and a few companions, managed to escape to Ireland. All this time Edward was lying ill at Lanercost, near Carlisle, for he had not been able to proceed further on his march towards Scotland. But neither his activity of mind nor ferocity of temper was at all subdued, and he vowed vengeance on all the leaders of the revolt. At his command, Kildrummie Castle was taken, and Nigel Bruce executed as a traitor. Many other Scottish nobles and gentlemen shared the same fate: among them was the Earl of Athol, whom Edward caused to be hanged on a gibbet fifty feet high, and the brave Sir Simon Fraser, who was crowned in mockery with a garland made of periwinkle shells. Bruce's queen and daughter had taken refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire; but they were seized and shut up in an English prison. The Countess of Buchan, who had distinguished herself by her loyalty to the Scottish sovereign, and two of Bruce's sisters, were also taken, and imprisoned: tradition says that one of them, and the Countess of Buchan, were confined in wooden cages. We hope that Edward never ordered such a cruel punishment to be inflicted.

Still the spirit of the bold Scottish king was not yet broken; and in the spring of 1307 he ventured from his concealment in Ireland. He brought with him about 300 men, and landed on the shore of Carrick during the night, expecting a rising in his favour; for in that district lay his ancestral estates. He had no sooner touched the land than he was met by one of his own emissaries, who informed him that there was no hope of a rising, as the neighbouring castle of Turnberry was in the hands of Lord Percy, and a powerful English garrison. Bruce attacked the castle, slaughtered numbers of the surprised English, and carried off a rich booty. He was soon joined by many of the patriots; and a series of petty wars or skirmishes instantly commenced. One of these was long remembered for its boldness and ferocity. Sir James Douglas had been deprived of his castle and estates, which were given by Edward to an English baron, Lord Clifford. Having collected a party of friends and followers, Sir James made a sudden attack upon the castle on Sunday, while the garrison were all at church. This building also was surrounded, a great number of the English killed, and the rest made prisoners. After taking from the castle all the arms and movables of value that were found in it, he piled up the corn, malt, wine-casks, and furniture together, and then, setting fire to the whole, murdered all his prisoners, and threw their dead bodies into the flames. In a little while the entire building was a blackened and smoking ruin; and this savage exploit is yet remembered in tradition as "The Douglas Larder."

Bruce was in great danger, and did not dare to show himself openly. His two brothers, Thomas and Alexander, in bringing him assistance from Ireland, were defeated and sent prisoners to King Edward, at Carlisle; who had them instantly executed as traitors. Bruce himself was hunted by the English with bloodhounds, and his escapes were so wonderful and numerous, that it seemed as if his life were miraculously preserved. At length his little army was strengthened by the arrival of some new partisans, and he accepted a challenge from the Earl of Pembroke to fight a battle at Loudon Hill. In this conflict, which occurred on the 10th of May, 1307, the English were defeated and compelled to fly, although their army was far more numerous than that of the Scots. Now that victory smiled upon Bruce, his countrymen joined him in great numbers; and a few days after the battle of Loudon Hill, he attacked another English army under the command of the Earl of Gloucester, and defeated it with great slaughter.

The wrath of Edward was great at seeing that the project he had cherished for so many years was being defeated, now that he had no longer the strength to take the field himself. Illness had confined him to his bed, and his conquests in Scotland were rapidly vanishing. After sixteen years' conflict, in which he had defeated all Scotland's great men, that country still defied his authority, and acknowledged an independent sovereign. He summoned his army to meet him at Carlisle. On its arrival, the unabated vigour of his mind giving him too great confidence in his physical strength, he left the litter in which he had for some time been carried about, and mounted his horse, to proceed to the head of his army. This was on the 2nd of July, 1307. He found the exertion too much for him; and on the 6th he stopped at the little village of Burgh-upon-Sands, where he expired the next day, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. His last breath was spent in enjoining his nobles never to sheathe the sword until they had completely subdued Scotland. The corpse was conveyed to the south, and interred at Westminster Abbey.

Edward was a resolute and powerful king, and his reign was productive of great good to the country; few sovereigns having won for themselves a more distinguished and honourable place in its history. Hume says of him, that the enterprises in which he engaged, "and the projects which he formed, and brought near to a conclusion, were more prudent, more regularly conducted, and more advantageous to the solid interests

of the kingdom, than those which were undertaken in any reign, either by his ancestors or successors." He was renowned for his personal prowess, which placed him at the head of the chivalry of Europe; but as a modern historian (C. D. Yonge) observes, "the invincible knight was lost in the consummate general, the wise law-giver, the far-sighted statesman." No doubt he was ambitious; but his scheme for combining Wales, Scotland, and England into one kingdom, was a wise one; and if he could have carried it out, it would, as experience has proved, have been beneficial to the people of all three countries. In the conduct of his wars, there was much that we must unhesitatingly condemn; but it should not be forgotten that those acts of spoliation and barbarity, which cause us to shudder as we read of them, were more in accordance with the spirit of the age than the personal character of the king, who, on many occasions, exhibited striking traits of magnanimity and generosity. He endeavoured to curb the power of the barons, and availed himself of those resources which the clergy had appropriated to themselves from the nation at large: for this reason, the historians who wrote their chronicles within the walls of a monastery, are disposed rather to display his evil, than to bring into light his good, qualities. But the people found him a father, protector, friend; and even the present generation owes much to the English Justinian; as his love of justice, and the excellent laws he passed, occasioned the first Edward to be called. And (we again quote C. D. Yonge), "so long as the equitable rule prevails of balancing men's virtues against their faults, and of looking at the general results of their conduct, so long will the splendid and universal abilities of Edward I., and the great and lasting benefits which his country had derived from them, secure him a leading, if not the very first, place among those monarchs who have left an example to be revered by their countrymen, and imitated by their successors."

Edward's personal appearance was majestic, although the length and thinness of his legs gained him the absurd and vulgar title of Longshanks. But, in spite of this defect, he possessed great activity and immense strength. He stood nearly a head taller than ordinary men; his eyes were black and sparkling; and his hair, which curled naturally, was of the same colour. His first wife, Eleanor, brought him four sons and eleven daughters; many of the latter died in their infancy; and of the former, only one, Edward, his successor, survived him. His second wife, Margaret, the sister of the French king, presented him with two sons and a daughter.

There are some men, though not connected with the wars or government of their country, whose lives are yet an important part of its history. Two of these men lived in the reign of Edward I., and a brief sketch of their career will not be uninteresting. One of them was "Friar Bacon," the learned monk and supposed magician, who is reported to have made a brazen head which answered questions; and but for the carelessness of his servant, through which it was destroyed, would have enabled him to build an impregnable wall of brass round England. There is much that is legendary in his biography; and it may be imagined that the whole history is an idle tale: but it is not so. Roger Bacon was not only a real character, but a perfect miracle of learning and knowledge in the rude age in which he lived; and his name will be cherished by the lovers of enlightenment and progress, until the records of England shall be regarded as things of the past. The story about the brazen head and Bacon's magical powers, are, of course, mere legends: in those days the wonders of science were so mysterious, that those who practised them were looked upon by the common people as enchanters, who were able to control the elements, and suspend the operation of the laws of nature; no wonder, therefore, that Bacon was supposed to be one of the class.

Roger Bacon was born near Ilchester, in Somersetshire, about 1214. He received his education at Oxford, and made such rapid progress, that he soon became famous for the extent and variety of his learning. On leaving the university he visited Paris; and, after spending some time in that city, and eagerly mastering all that he could learn there, he returned to England, and became a monk of the Franciscan order. He was then in his twenty-sixth year; and such was the extent and variety of his attainments, that he was considered the wisest and most industrious scholar in the world. He was a great mathematician, and frequently occupied in experiments in natural philosophy. These pursuits made the ignorant believe him to be a magician; and the belief was not confined to the common people only; those who should have been wiser shared in it; and, on account of his supposed devotion to the art of magic, Bacon, who had been accustomed to deliver lectures to the young students in the universities, was prohibited from doing so. Nor did his persecutors stop here; they threw him into prison, and gave him so little food that he was nearly starved. Such is the return which the wise and good too often meet with from an ignorant and thoughtless world. For ten long weary years did the learned monk remain in prison—years of pain and trial, only rendered endurable by his own radiant thoughts, which, like comforting angels, made him sometimes forget his cell, and feel happy in his visions of invention and philosophy. At length, some friendly

nobleman, somewhat better informed than the rest of the world, induced the pope to order Bacon to be released. His last days were spent in retirement, in the college of his order, where he was better understood and greatly respected. Indeed, his fellow-monks, out of admiration for his great abilities and learning, gave him the name of "Doctor Miribalis," or the admirable doctor. He died in the year 1292 or 1294.

Bacon has since been regarded as the greatest scholar in the mathematical and natural sciences that the thirteeenth century produced. Of mathematics he was a master; and he understood many matters connected with optics, that were then known to none but himself. He described, if he did not construct, a telescope; and discovered the cause of that beautiful phenomenon, the rainbow. His skill in chemistry and astronomy was considerable, although he was not so much beyond his age but that he mingled with them the studies of astrology and alchemy. He even compounded a tincture of gold, which he supposed had the power of prolonging life. This subject seems to have been a favourite one with him, for he wrote a treatise *On the Means of Avoiding the Infirmities of Old Age*. The invention of gunpowder has also been attributed to him; but it is now ascertained that, although he has described it in his treatise *De Nullitate Magiæ*, and although, probably, he made some experiments with it, he neither first invented it, nor was made acquainted with its terribly destructive properties. Bacon was familiar with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. He entertained a devout admiration for the Bible, always reading it in the original languages, which, he said, was necessary to enable him to understand it. No doubt this is true in a very critical sense; but for all ordinary purposes our admirable translation of that divine book is sufficient. But neither that nor any other translation of it in the English language existed in his time; it was then a book read by the priests alone, and carefully withheld from the people. Bacon said, that in it were contained the principles of true science and of all useful knowledge. He wrote many books, and some of them are still preserved, of course in manuscript; for there was then no printing-press to multiply thoughts with its wondrous machinery, and spread them to willing readers throughout the land. Bacon's studies included theology, grammar, the ancient languages, geometry, astronomy, chronology, geography, music, optics, mechanics, chemistry, and, indeed, the whole circle of the sciences. In all of them he was acquainted with whatever was then known. Honour the memory of this giant of learning, and respect the wisdom of the past!

The other great scholar who lived during this period was Sir Michael Scott, or Scotus, who was born at Balwirie, in Fifeshire, in the early part of the thirteenth century. He was a man of extraordinary learning, and devoted to mathematics and astrology. Having studied at the university of Oxford or Paris, he went to the court of Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, and obtained the patronage of that monarch, who appointed him his astrologer. The study of that science, as it was called, was not then irrational, because it had not been proved to be an error and an impossibility. We must not smile at the credulity of wise men who lived in the thirteenth century, when even in the nineteenth, with all its vast accumulated information, there are some people who still believe that their lives and actions are influenced by the situations of the stars.

Scott understood many things besides astrology. He wrote several books; amongst which were a *Treatise on Astronomy*, and a *History of Animals*; he was also famous as possessing a great knowledge of medicine and theology. The ignorant people of his time, regarded him, like Roger Bacon, as a great magician, and told many stories about him. They said that he frequently invited company to dinner without providing anything for them to eat; and that when his guests had sat down to table, he compelled the spirits, over whom he had power, to bring him every delicacy he required, even from the most distant parts of the world. Presenting these viands to his visitors, he would say to them, "Gentlemen, this comes from the kitchen of the King of France; this from the kitchen of the King of Spain; and that from the kitchen of the King of England!" The astonished guests, it seems, were not prevented from eating these delicacies on account of the mephistophelian character of the attendants who brought them. It was also reported, that he foretold he should perish by violence; and that his prediction was accomplished by a stone falling from a building and killing him upon the spot. He was knighted by Alexander III., and died in 1293. His famous namesake of modern times, Sir Walter Scott, the celebrated novelist and poet of the legends of chivalry, has given some account of him in the notes to *The Lay of the Last Minstrel;* to which those readers who have any further curiosity upon the subject are referred.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE SECOND, CALLED EDWARD OF CAERNARVON.—A.D. 1307—1319.



DWARD THE SECOND was acknowledged King of England by a great assembly of prelates and nobles the day after his father's death; but his coronation did not take place until February in the following year. He was twenty-three years of age, graceful and handsome in his person, and of a cheerful temper. These qualities, together with the respect entertained for the memory of his stern and talented father, were calculated to win for him the esteem both of his barons and people. But the young king soon showed that he bore no resemblance to his father; and that he was indeed as weak-minded and incapable of governing, as the other was wise and well fitted for it. Among Edward's attendants, when he was Prince of Wales, was a young man named Piers Gaveston. He was the son of a knight of Gascony; was very handsome, active, sprightly and fascinating in his manners, and soon won the complete attachment of the young prince, who treated him as his friend and equal. He was an ardent lover of pleasure, and he led the youthful Edward into many follies and ridiculous excesses. This caused a decree of banishment to be issued against him by a parliament held at Lanercost, in 1307. Edward I. is said, on his dying bed, to have charged his successor not to admit him again to favour.

Edward's first act, however, was to recall his favourite, upon whom he bestowed the earldom of Cornwall, and the vast estates belonging to that important title. Nor did this magnificent present comprise the whole of his liberality: he constantly loaded him with honours and offices, married him to his own niece, Margaret de Clare, the sister of the proud Earl of Gloucester; and it was reported that he went so far as to say he would leave him his kingdom if he could. The nation could not understand this extreme affection, and said that the king was bewitched; indeed, a more singular friendship was never known; for Edward even gloried in being the slave of his subject. Whatever were Gaveston's accomplishments, he seems to have been both insolent and unprincipled; and his bounded influence over the mind of the young king was used for evil purposes. At his instigation, all the chief officers of the state, who had ably and honourably served the late king, were suddenly stripped of their places, and some of them deprived of their estates and thrown into prison. If charged with having misconducted themselves, no attempt was made to bring them to justice; no legal steps were taken against them; and we must take it for granted that no wrong could be proved. The fault of the Lord Treasurer, who was one of those most severely treated, was said to be, that, during the life of the late king, he had reproved the prince for extravagance, and refused him money. Under these circumstances, it was no wonder that the barons soon felt a jealous hatred of the upstart favourite.

A few months after Edward's accession, he went to France to be married to the Princess Isabella, the daughter of Philip le Bel, to whom he had been long engaged. During his absence he appointed Gaveston guardian of the kingdom, and gave him more authority than was usually attached even to that elevated office. The favourite was intoxicated by his good fortune; and, instead of trying to disarm envy by modesty and gentleness of manners, he incurred universal hatred by his haughtiness, wanton profusion, and rapacity.

Edward was married at Boulogne, on the 28th of January, 1308: the ceremony was conducted with great magnificence, and the lady was exceedingly beautiful. A gallant writer of the time calls her one of the most lovely women in the world; but, unfortunately, her goodness of heart afterwards turned out to be by no means equal to her gracefulness of person. The marriage ultimately proved a most unhappy one; but Edward himself was much to blame; for, although his queen was so beautiful, he was a cold, indifferent husband, and neglected her even from the first.

As soon as the young king returned to England he kissed and embraced Gaveston, and called him his brother, in the presence of the queen and the whole court. The barons were surprised and angry, and the queen was, naturally enough, offended. On the 24th of February she was crowned, with her husband, at Westminster Abbey; and the favourite carried the diadem before the royal couple in the procession, an honour that properly belonged only to princes of the royal family. At the festivals and tournaments which followed, he outshone all the nobles by the magnificence of his attire and attendants; and, being exceedingly powerful and expert in martial feats, vanquished several of them in those mock battles. His vanity also rose to such a height, that he frequently appeared in public arrayed in the king's jewels; and sometimes even wore the crown itself, a liberty which Edward freely per-

mitted. This added to the dislike already borne to him; and the barons being encouraged by the queen, who felt that her husband's affection was drawn from her by this unworthy companion, they insisted that Sir Piers Gaveston should be banished. Edward was much grieved, but he was intimidated by the stern manner of his nobles, who all attended armed, and he felt it prudent to comply. The favourite left the kingdom; and the bishops extorted from him an oath that he would never return. But the young king was crafty enough to deceive his court: for he only sent his friend to Ireland; and, as a compensation for this exclusion from his presence, made him governor of the whole of that island.

Edward then employed himself in subduing the animosity borne to his minion by the barons; and by many presents and promises of improved conduct, he at length won their consent that Gaveston should be recalled. This done, he wrote to Rome, to get the favourite absolved from his oath. The pope consented; and, after an absence of thirteen months, Gaveston returned to England, and was once more embraced by his weak and whimsical sovereign. Experience had not taught the favourite wisdom; he was as haughty and ostentatious as ever; and he and the foolish king passed their time in vulgar amusements and feasting. He was famous for his ready wit, and imprudent enough to indulge it at the expense of the proudest and greatest barons in England. To many of them he gave ridiculous nicknames: the Earl of Lancaster he called the Old Hog; to the Earl of Pembroke, because that nobleman was pale and tall, he gave the name of Joseph the Jew; while the stern Earl of Warwick he called the Black Dog of Ardenne. With these indications of Gaveston's humour, the king and his parasites were delighted; but when they came to the ears of the nobles they were greatly incensed; and the Earl of Warwick swore that the royal minion should feel the black dog's teeth.

Edward's extravagance soon reduced him to a want of money; and he summoned a parliament of his barons at York for the purpose of granting him some. The young king's errors were the result rather of folly and natural weakness of character, than of any positive vice; and, perhaps, frequent good counsel from the oldest and most dignified of his barons might have reclaimed him. But they showed no disposition to act this kindly part, and seemed more ready to condemn than to reprove; to rebel rather than to reason. In this spirit they absolutely refused to attend his parliament; and even when he repeated his summons they still held aloof, on account of their great dislike to Gaveston. The king was alarmed; the favourite retired; and then, in the month of March, 1310, the barons assembled at Westminster Hall. But they came arrayed in armour, and attended by numerous bands of retainers; and Edward, who had not expected any such display, was completely in their hands. They presented a petition, requiring him to give the whole power of the crown to a committee of bishops and barons. A petition, presented by a number of armed and powerful men, is very like a command; and the king was compelled to consent. Only fancy such a request being made to his stern, resolute father! The barons would no more have ventured on such a thing, than an unarmed man would have presumed to pull the mane of a sleeping lion.

The committee were called ordainers, and their power was to last for a year. They were to reform the government of the kingdom, and even the household of the king; and their ordinances were to be regarded as laws. Having wrung this great concession from Edward, the barons declared that they owed it merely to his favour; and promised that it should never be used as an example, in future times, to curb and reduce the royal authority. Most of the decisions of the ordainers were just and reasonable; but there was one exceedingly hateful to Edward: it provided for the removal of all evil counsellors, and banished Sir Piers Gaveston, for ever, from the English soil. Another ordinance appointed that, in future, all places of honour in the kingdom should no longer be given away at the pleasure of the sovereign, but by the baronage in parliament. Edward had consented to convey his authority into the hands of the ordainers, apparently without much regret; but, as most weak people do when placed in situations of difficulty, he acted with great equivocation, and, making a secret protest against the acts of the committee, determined to revoke them as soon as he had the power to do so.

Proceeding to York [A.D. 1312], Edward recalled Gaveston, who, when exiled, had gone to Flanders; and the king hoped that he should be able to collect such an army as would protect his authority against the barons. This act sealed the fate of the favourite; for the nobles, provoked and alarmed at his return, entered into a conspiracy to ruin him utterly. It was headed by the king's cousin, the powerful Earl of Lancaster; and included many of the greatest barons of the country, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The royal party left York for Newcastle, when the barons suddenly made an attempt to surprise them. Edward and Gaveston escaped on board a ship, and hurried to Scarborough, where the king left his favourite in the fortress there, and himself proceeded to York, still in the hope of raising an army. Scarborough Castle had been a powerful place, and was supposed to be impregnable; but it was in a very bad

condition, and not supplied with provisions; so that on the arrival of the Earl of Pembroke and his forces, Gaveston was compelled, on the 19th of May, to yield. At the same time, the earl pledged his honour that Piers should receive no injury, and that endeavours should be used to bring about a general accommodation.

Gaveston was carried prisoner to Dedington Castle, near Banbury, where he seems to have been kindly treated. One night the earl left the castle on a visit; and he had not been long gone before the Earl of Warwick, who bitterly hated the favourite, arrived. His motive was a treacherous one. Pembroke had pledged his honour not to injure the fallen courtier; but he (Warwick) had given no such promise, and resolved to put the unhappy man to death. Seizing Gaveston, he carried him the next morning to Warwick Castle, where a number of barons, who were opposed to him, were assembled. Forming themselves into a kind of tribunal, they tried him for the offence of returning from banishment without their consent. They soon found him guilty; for they had resolved upon that beforehand. The Black Dog of Ardenne, as Gaveston had called the grim Earl of Warwick, kept his promise of making the jester feel his teeth, for he pronounced sentence of death upon him. Throwing himself upon his knees, Gaveston implored for mercy; but the dislike of the barons was far too bitter to admit of that. He was dragged away to a place called Blacklow Hill, a little distance from the castle, and there beheaded on the 19th of June. Such, too frequently, has been the tragic fate of the unworthy favourites of kings. His execution, or rather murder, was a shamefully unjust action. A French historian very properly asks—"What would these same lords have said if the king or Gaveston had done the like?"

When the news of this event reached Edward, he was plunged in grief and passion. Shedding many tears, he vowed vengeance against all who were concerned in it. Roused from his usual apathy, he raised an army, and prepared for a civil war: the barons did the same. For some months the nation was kept in a state of excitement; but, fortunately, no battle took place. The barons apologised to the king with great humility, and Edward promised to pardon the past—resolving, however, to break this promise as soon as he had an opportunity.

Now that Gaveston was dead, old jealousies died away; things seemed to augur fairly for the future; and the king turned his attention more seriously towards Scotland, with which he had been at strife from the commencement of his reign. His father and predecessor was regarded as the inflexible enemy of Scottish independence; and the English boasted that, while he lived, Scotland could never throw off their rule. An old ballad of that time thus vauntingly expresses this feeling:—

> "Tut! Scot for thy strife!
> Hang up thy hatchet and thy knife,
> While to him lasts the life,
> With the long shanks."

But when Edward I. was succeeded by his feeble-minded son, the Scots plucked up courage; and Bruce was more resolved than ever on driving the usurpers from his native land. Instead of carrying on the war as his father had done, and attempting to conquer Robert Bruce, young Edward merely appointed a regent of Scotland, and then returned to his court, to seek for those pastimes which were far more to his inclination than the stern rough life of a camp. A series of successes attended Bruce; and at Inverary, in Aberdeenshire, he gained a great victory. Although he was so ill at the time that he was obliged to be held on his horse by two attendants, such was the energy of this heroic man, that he took the field with his army. Shortly afterwards, his brother, Edward Bruce, obtained a brilliant victory over an army composed both of Scots and English, and led by Sir John de St. John: this was followed by great slaughter, and more successes; so that, at the close of 1309, only a few of the stronger fortresses remained in the hands of the English. On the 24th of February, 1310, the States of Scotland met at Dundee, reversed the judgment of Edward I. in favour of John Baliol, and declared, that Robert Bruce, as the grandson of Bruce, the competitor of Baliol, was the rightful and lawful heir to the crown. The irresolute King Edward had appointed no less than six different governors of Scotland; but one was not more successful than another: indeed, this frequent changing only made matters worse.

At length [in September, 1310], Edward himself led a formidable army into Scotland: but he was unable to do any more than his representatives had done. The Scots devastated their own country, and retired before the invader, who was compelled to abandon the war because he could obtain nothing for the support of his troops. An army, under the command of Gaveston, was equally unsuccessful; and when that had retired, Bruce, in return, crossed the English borders, and ravaged the country with great ferocity. On another occasion the Scots invaded the domains of the Bishop of Durham, burning every house they came to, and carrying away an immense amount of plunder, besides whole troops of captives, whom they drove before them like flocks of sheep. The English people living near the borders were so terrified by these incursions, that they

bought the forbearance of the Scots with a large sum of money.

Many were the successes of Bruce in 1311 and 1312. Castle after castle fell before him, and, in 1313, he subdued the Isle of Man. He was then gradually, but surely, reducing the whole of Scotland to his rule. It is strange that his own countrymen should, in many cases, have resisted him: but, for some jealous or mistaken motives, they did. All opposition was, however, disappearing before his energy and wisdom; and the sovereignty of Bruce was being firmly established. Edward seems to have been roused to activity by the prospect of losing Scotland; and he determined, by one desperate effort, to recover his authority over that country. He collected an enormous army, consisting, it is said, of 100,000 men, of whom 40,000 were horsemen; numbers of them, both horses and riders, being arrayed in complete armour. This army met at Berwick on the 11th of June, 1314; and a brilliant and imposing appearance it presented when the bright arms of the immense host were gilded by the sunbeams, and its gay banners floated proudly in the summer air. Away it marched to the sound of martial music, and with Edward at its head, towards the town of Stirling, the castle of which was the only one in Scotland, except Berwick, which remained in his hands. Bruce expected that this would be the scene of the coming contest, and he had posted his troops to the south of Stirling, in a field, along one side of which ran the rivulet of Bannockburn. His army was very inferior to that of the English; for it consisted of scarcely 40,000 soldiers, a very small number of whom were cavalry. But he was a skilful general, and had chosen an admirable position; a hill protected his army on the right side, and a morass on the left; while in front of it ran the stream just mentioned. Knowing that his soldiers dreaded the attacks of the English cavalry, he prepared a stratagem to lead the latter to destruction. He ordered a lot of pits to be dug along the banks of the Bannockburn, in the bottom of which sharp stakes were fixed, and the pits then carefully covered with turf and brushwood.

All this was done before the arrival of the English, who made their appearance on Sunday morning, the 23rd of June. Bruce then issued a proclamation to his army, declaring that all who felt faint-hearted, and were not resolved either to conquer or die with him, might retire in safety to their homes. Not a man, however, moved from his ranks; and these brave Scots raised a shout which seemed to shake the sky. King Edward had sent on 800 horsemen, under the command of Robert Clifford, with instructions to reach Stirling Castle, and reinforce the garrison. Bruce suspected something of this sort, and sent his nephew, Randolph, who commanded a division of the army, to watch for, and cut off, any force that might arrive. Clifford and his followers had approached so stealthily behind a rising ground, that they had not been observed by Randolph, and were first discovered by the eagle glance of Bruce himself. Riding up to his nephew, he exclaimed—"Oh, Randolph! you have neglected the charge committed to you; a rose has fallen from your chaplet; you have suffered the enemy to pass."

Clifford and his horsemen had not reached the castle: it was not yet too late; and away went Randolph with 500 spearmen on foot, resolved, if possible, on redeeming his error. Clifford seeing him approach, ordered his cavalry to wheel round and charge at full speed. Randolph formed his men into a circle, with the points of their long spears outwards; and in this position they received the shock of their enemies. A desperate conflict now took place, which Bruce and Sir James Douglas, together with a portion of the Scottish army, viewed from a little distance. The English horsemen seemed getting the best of the encounter, when Douglas begged permission to hasten to the relief of his friend. "No," answered Bruce; "you shall not stir from your ground; let Randolph extricate himself; I will not alter my line of battle for him." "Noble king," replied the bold Douglas, "I cannot stand still and see Randolph perish when I can help him; with your leave I must go to his assistance." Bruce yielded a reluctant assent, and Douglas hurried away with a body of troops. Before, however, he reached the combatants, he saw that Randolph and his followers were gaining the victory. Immediately he ordered his men to halt, saying—"We are come too late to aid them, and we will not lessen the victory they have won by claiming a share in it." This jealous regard for the honour of his friend was the more noble, because Randolph and Douglas were rivals for military glory. Clifford and his horsemen being unable to reach the castle, returned in confusion to King Edward's army, leaving many of their companions behind them lying lifeless among the long and now blood-bedewed grass.

Another remarkable incident took place upon that memorable Sunday evening. Bruce was riding in the front of his army, mounted on a spirited little pony; in his hand he held his broad battle-axe; while a golden coronet which encircled his bright steel helmet, pointed him out, both to friend and foe, as the Scottish king. An advanced portion of the English army came near at that moment; and its leader, Sir Henry de Bohun, recognising Bruce, determined on an attempt to gain himself an honourable name, and end the war at once by the destruction of the Scottish leader. Bohun was mounted on a powerful war-horse, and cased in complete

armour. Couching his lance, he rode against Bruce at full speed. The Scottish sovereign sat like a rock upon his little palfrey, as if he intended to meet his opponent's charge; but suddenly he moved upon one side, and as De Bohun passed him in full career, he raised his heavy battle-axe, and, with one fearful blow, dashed both the helmet and head of the knight to pieces. The Scottish leaders rushed to see if their king was hurt; but he, coolly glancing upon his weapon, the shaft of which had been broken by the blow, merely exclaimed, "I am sorry for the loss of my good battle-axe."

The day on which these events took place was exceedingly beautiful; an old Scotch chronicler says, that the vast English force looked perfectly radiant as the sunbeams fell upon their bright armour and gay attire; but night came on, the cold stars shone out, and there was no thought of the battle until the morrow.

When the day dawned, King Edward beheld a venerable priest with a crucifix in his hand, walking slowly along the Scottish lines, to bless the soldiers and the cause for which they were about to expose their lives. "See!" he cried to Sir Ingram de Umfraville, a Scotch gentleman in his service—"See! they kneel; they are asking for mercy!" "They are, my lord," answered Umfraville, "but it is from heaven, and not from us. Trust me, yon men will win the day or die in the battle." "Be it so, then," exclaimed Edward, and gave orders to sound to the charge. The clang of martial music rose into the air, and the conflict began. The Earl of Gloucester, with a great body of cavalry, rushed upon the Scottish army, and fell among the covered pits; many of the riders were thrown from their horses, and the poor animals, being frightfully wounded by the sharp stakes, became furious and unmanageable. More careful repetitions of the charge failed to break the Scottish lines, which presented a firm and bristling bank of spears to their assailants. Bruce's nephew, Randolph, and the divisions under his command, then moved forward and attacked the main body of the English army, into which for a time they seemed to disappear, such were its vast numbers. The battle now raged with the utmost fury, and the mixed sounds of shouts and groans, the trampling of horses, and the clang of steel, made an uproar that was exceedingly terrible.

The Scots suffered most from immense flights of arrows, which a great body of English archers shot constantly amongst them. Bruce beholding this, sent Sir Robert Keith with 500 horsemen to ride round a morass, and attack the bowmen from behind. The scheme was perfectly successful; and the archers, who had no weapons suited to close fighting, were thrown into instant confusion. Bruce then brought forward a part of his troops which he had hitherto kept as a reserve; and the English, who had already lost a great number of men, began to waver. Even the Scottish soldiers saw this, and called out in encouragement to each other, "On them! on them! they fall!" Still the day was doubtful, and this hard-fought battle continued in all its fury, when suddenly what seemed to be a large body of fresh troops made its appearance upon a neighbouring hill. It consisted of 20,000 half-clad and unarmed Highland gillies, camp followers, whom Bruce had kept till this moment concealed; but whom he now brought forward with drums beating and banners flying, as if they had been a regular army of disciplined and useful troops. The stratagem was successful: a panic seized the English host; and Bruce himself, at the head of a body of troops, rushed upon them with tremendous fury. Immense numbers of the English were slain, and soon a general confusion and flight took place. King Edward himself, who seemed stupefied at this unexpected result, escaped with difficulty, and was pursued as far as the castle of Dunbar, sixty miles from the field of battle. Twenty-two barons and sixty knights were taken prisoners, besides a great quantity of military stores and valuables. Thus ended the famous battle of Bannockburn, which was fought on the 24th of June, 1314, and which established Bruce on the throne, restoring to the Scottish nation that independence for which they had so bravely, but unsuccessfully, contested against the first Edward. It was the greatest defeat which the English had suffered since the country was invaded by William the Conqueror.

After this great victory, Edward Bruce and the terrible Douglas entered England with an army, and proceeded as far as the town of Richmond in Yorkshire, mercilessly ravaging the country with fire and sword; the population fleeing to Newcastle, Berwick, and Carlisle for shelter. This invasion was repeated in the autumn, and again in each of the four following years. The narrative is painful to read: it contains merely repetitions of the same merciless raids. At the close of 1317, Berwick was the only place left to the English, and that Bruce captured by assault in March of the following year. In July, 1319, Edward made an unsuccessful attempt to retake that important post; and repeated disasters compelled him, on the 21st of December, to agree to a truce for two years.

Not contented with ravaging England, Edward Bruce, in 1315, led a Scotch army to Ireland, landing on the 25th of May, at Antrim. His aim was to wrest that country from the English rule, and create himself its king. He had been invited by the Irish people, who detested England, and now, animated by the example of their Scottish neighbours, hoped to throw off its yoke. Edward Bruce caused himself to be crowned king of Ireland in 1316; but his invasion brought great misery upon the country; he remained in it nearly

three years and a-half, during which time he fought nineteen battles, and was himself killed in the last. He had always triumphed over the Irish who had opposed him; but when King Edward sent over an English army, he was defeated and slain, on the 5th of October, 1318. The Irish rejoiced at his death, for during the time he had ruled among them they had been afflicted with a famine so terrible, that they were sometimes reduced to the horrible extremity of eating each other. This famine also prevailed in England, and to such an extent, that it is related that criminals confined in prisons, being left almost without food, exhibited the same horrible appetites as the Irish did, and devoured each other in a shocking manner. People also kept their children at home for fear they should be stolen, and murdered for food. About this time a tanner's son of Exeter, named John Deydras, propagated an absurd story, that he was the true heir to the throne, that he had been changed when an infant while at nurse, and that Edward was an impostor. He, no doubt, thought that the king was so disliked, that he should succeed in his insolent deception; but in this he was fatally mistaken, for being arrested and tried for treason, he was found guilty and hanged.

CHAPTER XXV.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE SECOND.—A.D. 1319—1327.

IT is time to return to the affairs of England. Soon after the death of Sir Piers Gaveston, the weak King Edward attached himself to another favourite; this was a young man of English birth and noble family, whose name was Hugh Despenser. The Earl of Lancaster had procured him a position about Edward's person, with instructions that he was to act as a spy, and inform the barons of all that passed at court. But he saw that it would be more easy and pleasant to make his fortune by working for himself than for the barons; and at length, by flattery and obsequiousness he became the confidant of his weak sovereign. On him the king bestowed all the affection which he had previously borne to Gaveston; and after giving him immense estates, married him to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester. The father of Despenser was an aged and venerable nobleman, who had been much respected; but, through the influence of his son, he, in a short time, obtained so many offices that both of them became thoroughly detested by the barons. It is an old saying, that prosperity tries men's characters more than adversity; and very likely the two Despensers became haughty and avaricious; still, the barons seem to have evinced a determination to hate them, and to have been on the watch for a cause of complaint.

That cause soon arrived; the young Despenser was guilty of a mean and oppressive act towards a noble, named John de Mowbray. The Earl of Lancaster and other barons immediately took the part of the latter, and flying to arms, they sent a message to the king, desiring him to dismiss or imprison Despenser. Before receiving an answer they attacked and burnt the houses both of the son and father, killed many of their servants, and ravaged their lands. The king was too weak to punish this outrage; but he very properly answered, that he could not punish Despenser unless he had been legally tried and condemned for some offence. The barons then marched to London with their forces, and presented to a parliament at Westminster various charges against both Despensers, the chief of which were, that they had usurped the royal power, and estranged the king from his nobles. The accused were both absent, the father being abroad, and the son at sea; still, in July, 1321, a sentence of perpetual banishment was pronounced against them. This was shamefully unjust, and the bishops refused to sanction it, so the barons proceeded on their own authority. As to the king himself, he was so despised, and had become so timid, that he did not dare to refuse his assent. So incapable was he of sustaining the authority of royalty, and so little regarded at this time, that when the queen, while on a journey, desired a night's lodging at the castle of Lord Badlesmere, in Kent, she was rudely refused; even her attendants were attacked, and one of them killed. This insult roused Edward, or the queen's resentment did, and as she was generally popular with the barons, he assembled an army, in October, 1321, and punished the inhospitable and insolent noble. For the present Badlesmere escaped with his life, but he afterwards perished on the scaffold.

As he had now an armed force at his command, the king resolved to make a struggle to regain his lost authority, and to strike terror into his enemies. Seizing twelve knights, who belonged to the rebellious party, he ordered them to be instantly hanged; and

then [1322], reversing the sentence against the Despensers, recalled his favourites to England. The Earl of Lancaster was the chief of the barons who defied Edward's authority; and this noble now retired to the north, and entered into a traitorous alliance with the Scots, by which the latter were to assist him against the king. Edward pursued the earl with a superior force, and, in March, overtook him at Boroughbridge. Lancaster was no soldier; his Scottish allies had not arrived; and he attempted to escape. The Earl of Hereford, who was of his party, charged on foot to clear the bridge; but a Welsh soldier, hidden beneath it, suddenly thrust his spear through the flooring into the stomach of the earl, who fell dead on the spot. A sharp conflict ensued, which was interrupted by the darkness of night; and the next morning Lancaster was taken prisoner. He was conveyed to his own castle of Pontefract, and tried for high treason before the king and a number of barons of the royal party. His guilty connection with the Scots was clear enough, and he was, therefore, condemned to death, and beheaded. Many other knights and nobles who had been taken at Boroughbridge shared his fate. Lancaster was Edward's cousin, and the king afterwards repented putting him to death. Some nobles having entreated him to pardon a condemned criminal of obscure condition, he exclaimed in reply, "Is it possible that such a wretch as this should find so many friends to intercede for him, when not one would speak in behalf of my cousin Lancaster, who if he had lived, might have been useful both to me and the whole kingdom; therefore, as for this fellow, he shall die as he deserves." There has been much discussion about the character of the Earl of Lancaster; some writers regarding him as a patriot; and it is certain that many of the ignorant people of his own time, venerated his memory as that of a saint. It appears the king had done him an injury, and his motives seemed rather personal than patriotic, while Lancaster's conduct in inviting the Scots to invade and ravage England, was certainly that of a traitor. The truth no doubt is, that the king's unpopularity was so great, that for any one to oppose him, was enough to win them the favour of the people.

Edward had now an opportunity of recovering the respect of his subjects: the party of barons who had leagued themselves against him were ruined and dispersed; some of them having fallen by the hands of the executioner, and the rest fled as exiles to the French court. But the excitement of conquest over, he fell again into his habitual indolence, and giving himself up entirely to the society of Despenser, bestowed upon him and his father, most of the forfeited estates which had belonged to the nobles who had perished for treason. The barons who remained faithful to the king were disgusted at this shameful favouritism, which was the more unjust, because Edward's success had been obtained through their assistance. Thus, though tranquillity seemed to be restored, a spirit of discontent was everywhere at work.

The truce with Scotland having expired, Edward again prepared for war; but before he was ready, Bruce led an army into England, wasted all the northern counties with fire and sword, and returned home with an enormous amount of plunder. In August, 1323, Edward, with an army of 100,000 men, marched into Scotland, before which force Bruce thought it wisest to retire, having himself first laid waste the country. Edward proceeded as far as Edinburgh, where his army was reduced almost to starvation, and he was compelled to give orders for a retreat. During its progress, he was harassed by the Scots, who hung upon his rear; and, to add to his troubles, it is said that as many as 16,000 of the English soldiers died from famine and sickness. When Edward had reached Biland Abbey, in Yorkshire, he was attacked by the Scottish army, who had followed him to that place; a fierce battle ensued, which terminated in the defeat of the starving and dispirited English. Even the royal treasure and the privy seal of England were seized by the victorious Scots. Sick at heart, the incapable Edward entered into a truce, which it was agreed should last for thirteen years, and by which he bound himself to recognise the sovereignty of Bruce and the independence of Scotland.

Other troubles were in store for Edward—troubles far more serious than the reverses of fortune which had befallen him in Scotland. Charles le Bel, the French king, and Edward's brother-in-law, had, or pretended to have, some cause of complaint against him. The French monarch was as crafty and powerful as the English one was weak and simple; and his object in the quarrel seems to have been, to take possession of Edward's continental dominions. The latter, who felt himself unequal to any warlike struggle, was very desirous of preserving peace; and, at the request of the queen, he permitted her to go over to France [A.D. 1324], and arrange a treaty with her brother. She said that he would be sure to yield to her, as a sister, concessions which he would refuse to any other ambassador. But Queen Isabella cared nothing for the interests of her husband; he had never behaved kindly to her; and she had come to dislike him extremely. Her object was to leave him, and join the large party of discontented English nobles, who had already taken refuge in the French court.

During the progress of the negotiation between the English queen and her brother, the French king, that monarch declared that Edward himself must appear at his court, and do homage for the lands he held in

France. According to the customs of those times he was bound to do so; but still the act of homage was one which powerful princes were generally glad to evade. Despenser, also, was exceedingly anxious that the king should not go to France; he feared to go with him, because, in the French court, the dislike borne to him by Queen Isabella, might expose him to insults, and even danger; and he was equally afraid to stay behind, because he was so generally hated, that he relied on the presence of the king for protection. He was delighted, therefore, when a proposal was made by the queen, that Edward should resign the provinces of Guienne and Ponthieu to his son; and that the prince should repair to France, and do homage for them instead of his father. Edward consented to this arrangement, and thus fell into a cruel snare which was laid for him.

The prince, who was but thirteen years of age, joined his mother, rendered his homage at the French court, and then remained there. Edward was desirous that his wife and son should return to him, but they refused to do so, the queen declaring that Despenser had robbed her of her husband's love, that he had a design upon the lives both of herself and the prince, and that she would never again set her foot upon English ground until he was removed from the councils and presence of its king. The queen had been ill-treated, and there was some ground for her complaints; but she was a heartless and designing woman, and had another object in view, besides those which she avowed, in the course she was taking. The chief of the party of the English nobles who resided at the French court was Roger Mortimer; he was brave and handsome, graceful in manners, and attractive in his conversation. Queen Isabella was still young and beautiful; from her adviser he became her admirer [A.D. 1325]: in a short time a guilty love sprang up between them, and in his society she cared no longer for that of her indifferent husband.

Charles le Bel pretended to be offended at his sister's conduct, and told her she must not remain any longer at his court; but it is supposed that his anger was not very sincere, and that it was only assumed for the sake of appearances. Queen Isabella, therefore, proceeded to Holland, to the court of the Count of Hainault, where she was very hospitably entertained. While there, she affianced her son, the Prince of Wales, to the count's young daughter, Philippa. She also collected around her as many followers as possible, and very shortly 3,000 men, mostly knights and nobles, were ready to obey her bidding. In the meantime, Edward's affairs in England were in a deplorable condition; conspiracies were forming against him in every direction; popular sympathy was entirely with the queen, and he could scarcely depend upon the faithful service of a single knight or noble, except the two Despensers. Every little folly and extravagance of Edward was bitterly condemned, and he was soon hated by the people more than the worst tyrant that ever sat upon the throne had been.

Encouraged by this state of things, the queen, accompanied by the prince and her little army, sailed over to England. She landed without opposition at Orwell, in Suffolk, on the 24th of September, 1326. Many of the nobles and prelates immediately joined her party; while an army that had been sent by Edward to arrest her progress, deserted him, and embraced her cause. The wretched king was utterly abandoned, and his chief enemies were his wife and son. The queen declared that her only object was to rid both king and kingdom of the tyranny of the Despensers. When Edward appealed for assistance to the citizens of London, they would not arm in his favour; and even told him, that they owed an equal duty to their king, their queen, and their prince. Edward was then convinced that the Londoners shared in the general dislike of him; and, feeling no longer safe amongst them, he appointed the Bishop of Exeter governor; and, attended only by Despenser, the chancellor, Baldock, and a few attendants, fled hurriedly from the city. Scarcely knowing where to obtain shelter and protection, they embarked on board a ship, with the intention of proceeding to Ireland. A storm, however, threw them upon the coast of South Wales, and they concealed themselves among the woods and mountains of Glamorganshire.

No sooner did the Londoners discover that the king had fled, than the common people broke out into a great tumult; and, seizing the Bishop of Exeter, they beheaded him, and threw the bleeding corpse into the river Thames. The unfortunate prelate was bitterly hated; but he seems to have incurred this rancour only by his loyalty and attachment to the king. Then, breaking into the Tower, the mob set all the state captives at liberty, and entered into an engagement to put every one to death who dared to oppose Queen Isabella and the prince. The elder Despenser did not accompany the king and his son in their flight, but took refuge from the popular fury in Bristol Castle. On the approach of the queen and her party, the garrison delivered him into their hands, and the grey-haired old man was condemned by them to an immediate and ignominious death. His chief offence was, his avaricious grasping after the confiscated estates of those nobles who had fallen under the displeasure of the king. He had almost reached his ninetieth year; but his great age and venerable appearance procured him no pity. He was hanged, and left swinging upon the gibbet for four days; after which, the corpse was

cut to pieces, and thrown to the dogs. He had been created Earl of Winchester; so his enemies set his head upon a pole, and sent it, in derision, to that city.

During the month of September, 1326, the prelates and barons met in parliament, and declared that the king, by his flight, had left the throne vacant; and that, in consequence, they created his son, the Prince of Wales, guardian of the kingdom. Soon afterwards, the wretched king, together with Despenser the younger, and Baldock the chancellor, were hunted out, and seized by the Earl of Leicester, in the woods of Lantressan. Edward was sent a prisoner to Kenilworth Castle; and Baldock, after being severely beaten by the mob, was committed to Newgate, where he soon after died from the rough treatment he had received. Despenser was taken to Hereford, where the queen was staying, and tried for treason. He was found guilty; ordered to be executed; and was hung upon a gallows fifty feet high. The sentence and execution were alike unjust. Despenser possessed the vices of a courtier and a parasite; but no serious crime can be laid to his charge; his being so great a favourite of the king was the misfortune that led him to his fate.

Edward passed two months as a prisoner in Kenilworth Castle; during which time, no hand was lifted in his favour, no voice raised in his behalf. Then, on the 7th of January, 1327, the parliament was again assembled, and a charge, consisting of six articles, was drawn up against him. He was accused of being incapable of governing the country, of wasting his time in frivolous amusements, of neglecting public business, of being influenced by evil counsellors, and of having, by his misconduct, lost the kingdom of Scotland and part of Guienne. The last article declared, that he "abandoned his realm, and did as much as he could to destroy it and his people; and what is worse, by his cruelty, and the default of his person, he is found incorrigible, without hopes of amendment; all which things are so notorious, that they cannot be gainsayed." Other real or supposed offences were added to the list; but it seems evident enough, that his greatest faults arose from the natural weakness of his character, and not from any vicious feeling. The six articles being all adopted, the Bishop of Hereford put this question to the grave and stern array of prelates and barons—whether Edward should be restored to the throne, or his son at once placed on it? The question was decided against the father; and the next day it was declared that he was no longer King of England. A sentence of dethronement was then solemnly recorded, and the young prince proclaimed king, amid the enthusiastic shouts of the people. The queen pretended to shed tears in public for the unhappy fate of her husband; but, as she had been the great cause of his misfortune, her hypocrisy deceived no one, except her young son Edward, who solemnly assured his mother that he would not accept the crown during the life of his father, unless with his consent. That consent was soon wrung from the fallen monarch; and all the nobility, and most of the bishops, then took an oath of fealty to the young king, whose crown was snatched from his father's brow, and whose throne was raised upon that father's disgrace and ruin.

On the 20th of the same month, a deputation of barons and prelates visited the captive king at Kenilworth, to renounce their allegiance, and extort from him a resignation of his royalty. He appeared before them humble and dejected, and his gay robes of silk and velvet changed for a plain black gown. When he beheld his inveterate enemy, the Bishop of Hereford, among the group, his emotions overpowered him, and he fell on the ground in a fainting fit. On recovering, he meekly surrendered the name of royalty; saying, that he submitted to whatever was required of him, with the greater resignation, as he acknowledged that his sins were the sole cause of his misfortunes. He added that he could not, without extreme grief, behold the aversion his people had for him; but if his sorrow could admit of any comfort, it was from the consideration of his subjects' goodness to his son, for which he returned them his thanks. After this speech he formally delivered up the crown, sceptre, and other emblems of royalty. He was then told, that, in future, he must consider himself merely a private man; and the steward of his household, breaking his staff of office, declared, that by that ceremony all persons engaged in Edward's service were discharged. The barons and prelates then departed in solemn procession, and the uncrowned king was left to his own mournful thoughts. Sad, indeed, must they have been: his luxury and gorgeousness had vanished, his royalty passed away like a dream; pomp, power, friends and parasites, jewelled diadem and glittering sceptre, all were gone—nothing was left him but resignation or despair. Sadder still must the reflection have been, that all his humiliation and misery proceeded from folly and frivolity, from neglected duties, ill-selected friends, and want of thought. This was the first instance, since the Conquest, of an English king being deposed; and, if only on that account, it must be regarded as a remarkable incident. The position of a king is a lofty one, but it has its duties and responsibilities; and no doubt, many an oppressed or ruined subject had lamented Edward's indifference to his people's happiness, and his carelessness to law and justice, with as much bitterness as he himself now thought of them.

Edward II. having resigned his dignity, the nobility, and most of the bishops, took an oath of fealty to

Edward III., who was crowned at Westminster Abbey on the 29th of January, 1327. The young king was only in his fourteenth year; he was too young to understand and perform the duties of his elevated position; and the real authority of the crown was exercised by the queen and her lover, Mortimer. The popularity of this guilty pair did not last long: they soon incurred the dislike of the nation; the people began to think the fallen king had been treated with too much violence and severity; and a feeling of pity for him soon grew to hatred towards the woman, who, in spite of the dearest ties of nature, had been his bitterest enemy. This proceeded so far, that some priests even expressed their sympathy for the royal captive from the pulpit, and spoke in condemnation of the improper intimacy between the queen and Mortimer. That profligate and cruel man, stung by these reflections, longed for the death of the deposed monarch, and soon resolved on his murder.

Edward was confined at Kenilworth Castle, in the custody of the noble who had captured him, then the Earl of Leicester, but since made Earl of Lancaster. He had borne a bitter hatred to the late king, because Edward had condemned his brother to the scaffold; but he was not a hard-hearted or ungenerous man; and, his vengeance satisfied, he treated his captive with humanity and respect. It is said that Mortimer and the queen suspected that he had a design of restoring the fallen monarch to his throne; but that is not very probable. It is evident that they feared the helpless Edward; and Mortimer, hoping that cruelty and insult would kill him, took him away from the Earl of Lancaster, and committed him to the custody of Sir John Maltravers, a stern, fierce man, who had suffered some injustice at his hands in the time of his prosperity.

Maltravers evidently desired that the king should be altogether lost sight of and forgotten; so that if he were secretly murdered, the act would escape detection. For this purpose he carried him about by night from castle to castle; but after a few months he was shut up in a wretched little room, scarcely bigger than a large cupboard, at Berkeley Castle, in Gloucestershire. Lord Berkeley was then associated with Maltravers in his charge; and it was arranged that each should take care of him for a month alternately with the other. The former treated the king with some degree of gentleness; but the latter caused every possible indignity to be heaped upon his poor defenceless head. No insult was too mean or trifling for this ruffian and his dependents. On one occasion, when the king desired to be shaved, cold and dirty water was brought to him from the castle ditch, and he was refused any other. The broken-spirited man burst into tears, and said, that in spite of the insolence of his persecutors, he would still be properly attended to.

A proud spirit would most likely have sunk under this cruel treatment, and soon ceased to trouble its torturers; but it failed to kill the feeble-minded Edward. It is to be hoped he did not feel the indignities to which he was subjected so severely as a more noble and heroic mind would have done. But a lingering death, proceeding from a crushed spirit and broken heart, would have been mercy in comparison with the awful doom that awaited him. Lord Berkeley was taken ill while absent from the castle, and compelled to remain at his manor of Bradley. Taking advantage of this circumstance, the impatient Mortimer sent two ruffians, named Ogle and Gourney, to despatch the king. They had a warrant which gave them admission to his person; and, in the night of the 21st of September, they went to his chamber, where they murdered him in a manner almost too shocking for description. Holding him down on his bed by a table which they threw upon him, they ran a red-hot weapon into his body. By means of this atrocious cruelty they hoped that no visible marks of violence would appear upon the corpse; but their wicked design was betrayed by the shrieks of the wretched man, which were heard all through the castle, and even beyond its massive walls. The next day it was reported that Edward had died during the night, and the people were admitted to view the body: the face bore an expression of agony, but the vestiges of murder were not to be seen; and no one dared, or even thought it worth while, to make any inquiries into the matter. The corpse was carried to the city of Gloucester, and quietly buried there in the abbey church. The particulars of his fate soon became known, and his assassins fled: Gourney was arrested and beheaded at sea; Ogle's end is uncertain; but it is probable that retributive justice overtook him. Sir John Maltravers hid himself for some years in Germany; but having rendered a service to Edward III., he took courage, and throwing himself at the feet of that monarch, received a pardon.

Stained as the pages of history are with the records of blood and cruelty, perhaps nothing can be found more truly appalling than the murder of the foolish, feeble, persecuted, and unhappy King Edward II. He was forty-three at the time of his death, and had entered the twenty-first year of his reign. He left four children; two sons and two daughters. In his character, Edward bore a great resemblance to his grandfather, Henry III.; indeed, he seems to have been far more amiable, but he was much less fortunate. In all things he was rather weak than wicked; and he gave himself up so utterly to his favourites, that he even willingly sacrificed to them the esteem of his people. His great

vice seems to have been insincerity. Some writers have charged him with a leaning to drunkenness: this has not been proved; but if he indulged in such a habit only in the latter part of his reign, it will be but just to suppose that it was in consequence of his misfortunes. In private life, there is reason to believe that Edward would have been an estimable character: but, in that age, when there were no responsible ministers, no man could have been more unfit to perform the duties of a king.

During this reign the order of Knights Templars was suppressed both in France and England. The Templars were an association of gentlemen, which had sprung into existence during the enthusiasm that prevailed in Europe for the crusades; the order being instituted A.D. 1118. Its principles were both of a devotional and military character, and the object of its members was to defend the Holy Land, and fight for the tomb of the Saviour. The association was very rich, especially in France; and probably that was the cause of the cruelty exercised against its members. Prosperity, also, had made them proud in their manners, and luxurious in their habits; they had become unpopular, and Philip IV., the French king, caused them to be arrested all over France. A number of horrible and absurd crimes was alleged against them; they were charged with secret murders and robberies; and it was said that the devil frequently attended their meetings in the form of a black cat. The more to excite the feelings of the people against them, it was pretended, that every one who was received into the association was compelled to renounce his Saviour, to spit upon the cross, and to worship a gilded head, which was preserved at one of their houses. The object of the French king seems to have been to seize their property, and this he did after having fifty-four of them burnt to death in one day, in October, 1307, as heretics. They protested their innocence to the last, and went to the stake singing a hymn of resignation. In 1312 the order was formally abolished. Clement V., who was then pope, approved of this shocking barbarity, and he and the French king induced the weak Edward to extirpate the Knights Templars from England. At first, Edward spoke in favour of those unhappy men, and declared that, as they had done no harm, they deserved no punishment; indeed, it seems they were in most respects a moral and religious body, who had, on many occasions, done good service to their country; but, notwithstanding this conviction, he permitted the outcry against them, and finally confiscated their lands and abolished their order. It is some consolation to remember that they were not tortured or burnt in England, although the pope wrote a letter to Edward, persuading him to put the Templars on the rack, that they might be made to confess crimes of which they had not been guilty. At that time it was nobly declared that there was no instrument of torture in England! Alas! in after ages no such proud boast could be made.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE THIRD.—A.D. 1327—1337.



HEN the son of the deposed king was placed upon the throne, he was too young to conduct the affairs of the kingdom. The parliament, therefore, appointed a council of regency, of five prelates and seven nobles, to carry on the government until Edward had attained a maturer age; and the Earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian of the king's person. Though he afterwards became a great soldier and brilliant conqueror, Edward was not of a cruel or even unamiable nature, and there is no cause to suppose that he was at all guilty of the barbarity which had been practised upon his father. He had been entirely under the influence of his mother; and it was that hard-hearted woman, and her abandoned lover, Mortimer, who behaved so inhumanly to the late unhappy king. Notwithstanding her shameful conduct, the parliament acted very liberally to the queen, bestowing upon her £20,000 a-year, which was equal to about three times that amount in the present day; and, in spite of the council of regency, she and Mortimer shared nearly the whole power of the government between them.

The Scots, seeing the true King of England deposed, and a boy placed upon the throne, broke the truce which had been entered into between England and Scotland, and which it was agreed should last thirty years. We are told, that, in committing this act of bad faith, the King of Scotland had a good object in view: he wished to convert the truce between the two countries

into a lasting peace—a peace of such a character as should be more advantageous to his own country than the truce then existing. Whatever was his object, he raised a great army, and declared his intention of again commencing the war, unless his terms were complied with. His threat was answered in an angry and defiant manner; for the English people longed to wipe away the disgrace they had met at Bannockburn, and the whole military force of England was summoned to meet at Newcastle. Sixty-two thousand men obeyed this summons; and although they were really commanded by the Duke of Norfolk, who was grand-marshal of England, yet, in order to animate his soldiers, the boy-king rode at their head.

Scotland being a much smaller and less populous country than England, Bruce was unable to collect such a great army as that which followed the banners of young Edward. Indeed, he had only 14,000 men; but they were fierce, hardy soldiers, long used to fighting, and capable of enduring almost any amount of fatigue. They were commanded by two brave and skilful leaders —the chivalric Randolph and the fierce Douglas. Froissart, the pleasing French chronicler, who lived at that time, and wrote a romantic, but excellent, history of it, gives a curious account of the Scots, which will be read with interest, because it shows their simple manner of living at that period. He says—"The Scots are bold, hardy, and much inured to war. When they make their invasions into England, they march from twenty to twenty-four leagues without halting, as well by night as day; for they are all on horseback, except the camp-followers, who are on foot. The knights and esquires are well mounted on large bay horses; the common people on little galloways. They bring no carriages with them, on account of the mountains they have to pass in Northumberland; neither do they carry with them any provisions of bread or wine; for their habits of sobriety are such, in time of war, they will live a long time on flesh half-sodden, without bread, and drink the river water without wine. They have, therefore, no occasion for pots or pans; for they dress the food of their cattle in the skins after they have taken them off: and, being sure to find plenty of them in the country which they invade, they carry none with them. Under the flaps of his saddle, each man carries a broad plate of metal; behind the saddle a little bag of oatmeal. When they have eaten too much of the sodden flesh, and their stomach appears weak and empty, they place this plate over the fire, mix with water their oatmeal, and when the plate is heated, they put a little of the paste upon it, and make a thin cake, like a cracknel or biscuit, which they eat to warm their stomachs; it is, therefore, no wonder that they perform a longer day's march than other soldiers."

While the English army was assembling, the Scots crossed the river Tweed; and, bursting into the northern counties, ravaged Northumberland and Durham, and even marched into Yorkshire, razing every town and village they passed, and driving away all the cattle they met with. Burning with rage, the English army went in pursuit of the invaders; but the Scots had no desire to enter into conflict with an enemy of such superior power, and they retired to their wild glens and mountains. Edward's troops marched after the enemy for three days without discovering them; then they encamped on the north of the river Tyne, and waited eight days more, thinking that they should meet the Scots returning to their own country, and be able to punish them for their savage inroads into England. All this time it rained in torrents; and the soldiers, who had a small supply of not very wholesome food, began to be gloomy and discontented. They did not mind fighting, but starving was a very different matter; and the ceaseless, pelting rain, during the bitter month of February, made them feel very despondent. Edward, seeing the courage of his soldiers ebbing gradually away, offered a reward of £100 a year, and the honour of knighthood, to any one who could show him where his enemies were hidden. Many English knights and squires were bold enough to ride off on the dangerous task of finding where the Scottish army lay; and at length one of them, named Thomas de Rokeby, came riding breathless to the young king, and told him that the Scots were encamped not far off, behind a hill near the river Wear. He had been taken prisoner by the Scotch advanced guard, and carried before Randolph and Douglas. Those chiefs no sooner heard the objects of the prisoner than they set him at liberty, that he might carry to Edward the intelligence he was so anxious to receive.

Instantly all was in motion in the English camp; the army commenced its march, and soon came in sight of the enemy. But the Scots were in an admirable position, surrounded on all sides by natural defences, and with the river, swollen by long-continued rains, flowing rapidly in front of them. Finding it useless to attack them, Edward challenged his foes to come over and fight him; the Scots answered, that they should do no such thing—that they intended to remain encamped there just as long as they chose; and that if the King of England was displeased at their being there, he was quite at liberty to cross the river and drive them away, if he could. For three days did the two armies remain opposite each other, with the broad stream only between them; and then the Scots suddenly decamped during the night.

They did not, however, go far, only changing their position for a still better one higher up the banks, in a wood, called Stanhope Park. There the English fol-

lowed them, and again the two armies encamped on the opposite sides of the river. Eighteen days were consumed in the uninteresting occupation of looking at each other over the water, and then the Scots once more stole away in the night, so silently, and in such good order, that they left no trace of where they were gone to. But before they fled, they performed one bold and startling deed, which might have ended young Edward's wars for ever. One dark night Douglas quietly crossed the river, followed by 500 Scottish horsemen, and made an unexpected and furious attack upon the English. Suddenly aroused from their sleep, the latter were incapable of making much resistance; 300 of them perished beneath the weapons of their enemies, who even reached the tent of the young king, and cut the ropes which sustained it. The object of Douglas was to capture or kill the English sovereign; and he might have succeeded, but for the bravery of Edward's chaplain and some other of his attendants, who sacrificed their lives to save his. Douglas then found himself in great danger, but he fought through the crowds of English who surrounded him, and, dashing his spurs into his steed, plunged into the river, followed by his companions, who, nearly all of them, succeeded in returning to their camp.

Immediately after his arrival, and before the night had passed away, the Scots fled. In the night, and when Edward found that, after all his toil, they had escaped him; he was so vexed that he burst into tears. His army was in a wretched condition from sickness and want of food, and a great number of the horses were dead. In this state of things it was agreed by the English leaders, that it would be folly to pursue their light-footed enemy any further; so Edward returned, humbled and melancholy enough, to York, and the army was disbanded. Commissioners soon arrived in the Scottish camp, sent by Isabella and Mortimer to treat for peace. A truce was entered into, to continue from November 23rd, 1327, to March 22nd, 1328; and a parliament was summoned, to meet on the 12th of the latter month. It assembled at York; and agreed to recognise Scotland as a free and independent kingdom. A deed was drawn up, in which Edward was made to say, that he gave up that kingdom "for ever to the magnificent prince and Lord Robert, by the grace of God, the illustrious King of Scots, our ally and dear friend, and to his heirs and successors, free, entire, and unmolested, separated from the kingdom of England by its respective marches, as in the time of Alexander, King of Scotland, of good memory, of late deceased, without any subjection, servitude, claim, or demand whatsoever." This point conceded, there was no difficulty with the Scots. The peace was concluded at Edinburgh, on the 17th of March, 1328; and confirmed on the part of the English government, by a parliament that met at Northampton on the 4th of May. To render this peace more secure, it was agreed that Edward's sister, Joanna, should be married to Bruce's son, David. The English princess was only seven years old, and the Scotch prince but five; but, notwithstanding this, they were married immediately, and the little bride was called, by the Scotch people, "Joan Makepeace."

On the 7th of June in the following year (1329), the brave Robert Bruce sank into his grave, at the age of fifty-five. He was one of the greatest kings that ever wore the crown of Scotland; and his life had been so crowded with adventures, that it reads more like a romance than a true and sober history. He was a tall and strongly made man, with curly hair, a low forehead, and high cheek-bones; but his face wore an expression of cheerfulness and pleasantry, and his manner to his friends and subjects was kind and generous. He died at Cadross; and, with his last breath, entreated his courtiers to send his heart to the Holy Land, and to seat his infant son David on the throne of Scotland. His body was buried in the abbey church of Dunfermline; and his old friend and companion-in-arms, Sir James Douglas, undertook to carry his heart to the Holy Land. That brave man being killed by the Moors at Grenada, the heart of Bruce, which had been enclosed in a magnificent casket, was brought back to Scotland, and placed, as a sacred relic of the hero, in the church of Melrose.

The treaty of peace with Scotland was not completed before the young King of England, though but in his seventeenth year, married Philippa, daughter of the Count of Flanders. The wedding took place at York, on the 24th of January, 1328. The young lady proved an affectionate and admirable wife, and retained her husband's affection until the time of her death, which happened about forty years afterwards.

All this time the Lord Mortimer had been conducting himself in an insolent and haughty manner, and increasing the dislike felt towards him both by the nobles and the people. Confident in the favour of the queen-mother, he grasped almost all the authority of the crown, and lived in a state of royal magnificence. At length the powerful Earl of Lancaster attempted to humble him; and in this he was aided by the uncles of the king, the Earls of Kent and Norfolk. Their efforts failed, and Lancaster was compelled to beg the pardon of the favourite. It was now Mortimer's turn; and he determined to intimidate his enemies by making an example of one of the most distinguished of them. The simplicity of the Earl of Kent, the king's uncle, pointed him out as the fittest and easiest victim. Some crafty agents of Mortimer spread a report that

the late king, Edward II., was still alive, and confined in Corfe Castle. The earl believed this strange statement; and some monks, who were in the plot, persuaded him that it was his duty to attempt to restore his injured brother to the throne. They were so successful, that the earl was cajoled into writing a letter to the dead king, promising to undertake his cause. This letter was placed in the hands of Mortimer, who instantly caused the earl to be arrested as a traitor. The letter was undoubtedly a treasonable one, as it bound the writer to attempt to depose his nephew, the king; and the foolish nobleman was tried by parliament, and condemned to perish on the scaffold. It was supposed, that, on account of his high rank and relationship to the king, this sentence would not be executed; but Mortimer was resolute, and Edward did not interfere, so the earl was beheaded at Winchester, on the 19th of March, 1330. He was so pitied by the people, that for some time no one could be found to perform the office of headsman: for four hours the wretched man was kept in an awful suspense; but at last a convicted criminal struck off the head of the earl on condition of himself receiving a pardon for his crimes. Thus another son of the great Edward I. met a violent and ignominious death.

Soon after this event the young king became a father, his queen, Philippa, presenting him a son, who was also christened Edward, and became very famous in after-times, when he was known as the heroic Edward the Black Prince. Probably this circumstance roused the mind of the youthful sovereign. Though but eighteen, he was a husband and a father, and he resolved to trample down the usurped authority of Mortimer, and be a king in fact as well as in name. This was no easy task, for he was surrounded by the spies of that arrogant courtier, who lived in the strong castle of Nottingham, and never travelled without a numerous guard. But young Edward was wise and cautious, and he arranged his plan with great care. Having told it to Lord Montacute, that nobleman instantly undertook to assist him; and, by bribing the governor of the castle, obtained information that there was a secret subterraneous passage, which could be entered by a hole in the castle hill, and would lead them into the interior of the fortress. Mortimer suspected some design against him, and caused the castle gates to be locked every night, and an armed watch always kept. He could not refuse Edward admission, but he only permitted him to bring a few attendants with him.

It was dark midnight, in the month of November, 1330, when Lord Montacute, with several other nobles, and a large party of followers, tore aside the brambles and weeds which concealed the hole in the hill-side, and groped their way in silence, and almost in darkness, through the long vault, until they came to a flight of stone steps, which led up into the castle. There they beheld the king, who had been anxiously waiting for their approach: making a sign to them to be cautious, he led the way to a dark room, from which they could hear the voices of Mortimer and his friends, in an adjoining apartment, in debate. Suddenly the king and his associates rushed into the room; two knights who opposed them were killed on the spot; and Mortimer was made a prisoner. The queen-mother, hearing the struggle, rushed from her bed, and implored her son to spare her lover, whom she called her dearest friend, the gentle Mortimer. With a stern look, Edward turned from his unworthy mother, and her arrogant favourite was dragged away.

The very next day a parliament was summoned for his trial, and the fallen courtier was charged with several crimes, the chief of which were, his having caused the murder of the late king, procured the unjust condemnation of the Earl of Kent, and usurped the authority of the council of regency. His guilt could not be denied; and his peers condemned him to an ignominious death, as a traitor and murderer. He was hanged at the Elms, in Smithfield, on the 29th of November, much to the joy of the whole people. Edward's guilty mother was deprived of her great income, and confined in her own mansion at Risings. She lived there in obscurity until her death, which happened seven-and-twenty years afterwards; her son paid her a visit once a year, but never restored her to any favour or authority.—Edward was now, for the first time, really King of England, and he soon showed that he possessed the requisite abilities for governing. His first acts were to redress all the evils which had proceeded from so long an abuse of the royal authority, and to exterminate the gangs of thieves and murderers with which the country was overrun. These ruffians were so numerous that it frequently required a military force to subdue them; but by Edward's activity the land was soon in a state of comparative safety. The example of a king, whether for good or for evil, is sure to be followed; so the efforts of the monarch were soon rigidly seconded by his officers of justice.

Though Scotland had recovered its national independence, its troubles were far from being over. It might be fancied that both the Scotch and English had sufficient of war and slaughter; that they had learnt to respect each other's strength and bravery, and wished to live in peace, that they might rebuild their burnt towns and villages, and cultivate their blighted and ruined fields. But men in those times were like the surly mastiff in the well-known fable, who loved fighting better than his food: to their fierce minds, a battle-field, strewn with the mangled bodies of their enemies,

was a more welcome sight than a rich corn-field nodding in the summer breeze, while awaiting the sickle of the husbandman, or a broad green tract of pasture cropped by flocks of fleecy sheep, or herds of cattle. But in the wars and distresses which followed, it was England, and not Scotland, which was the aggressor; and the third Edward became almost as great a scourge to the land of floods and mountains as the first had been.

By the treaty of peace entered into with Scotland in 1328, it was agreed that all English nobles who had possessed estates in that country before the successes of the great Robert Bruce, should be restored to them. That patriotic king was succeeded by his son David, now nine years old, who was either unwilling or unable to restore all the lands claimed by the English; and two powerful barons, Thomas Lord Wake and Henry de Beaumont, determined, in revenge, to attempt to dethrone David Bruce, and put the obscure and almost forgotten Edward Baliol, the son of John Baliol, in his place. Knowing how much he was disliked by his countrymen, Edward had long since resigned all pretensions to royalty, and lived as a private man. The Lords Wake and Beaumont aroused his ambition; and Baliol, raising his standard in Normandy, where he then lived, was joined by a number of greedy, disappointed English, and rebellious, discontented Scots. These conspirators against the happiness and prosperity of Scotland then applied to King Edward for assistance; but as he had sworn to a peace, and the little queen of that country was his own sister, he refused all open and avowed aid; but secretly encouraged Baliol and his English associates. This was unjust, and an act of bad faith; but Edward was not destitute of ambition, and was beginning to feel those great abilities for war and conquest for which he soon afterwards became so famous.

Landing in Scotland with an army of less than 3,000 men, Baliol and his friends attacked a royal army which was sent to oppose them, and obtained a victory which seemed almost miraculous. It took place at Duplin Moor; and Baliol, who fell upon his foes during the night, while they were sleeping in fancied security, killed as many as 13,000 of them, while he himself lost only a few men. Some writers of the time say, that in parts of the field the bodies of the dead lay so thick that they formed a mass as deep as the length of a spear. Baliol soon after obtained another great success: the friends of David Bruce, in alarm, sent him and his little betrothed queen to France for safety; and the usurper, marching to Scone, was there [A.D. 1322] crowned King of Scotland. This was a wonderfully rapid revolution, even for those days of violence and sudden change.

The triumph of Baliol was viewed with sorrow by the whole Scottish nation; and the mushroom king, knowing he could not maintain his position without the assistance of Edward, formally surrendered the independence of the country into the hands of the English monarch. Though defeated for a time, the Bruce party soon made head; and one night Baliol was attacked, and compelled to fly for his life: leaping from his bed, he galloped away in his night-dress, and escaped to England, where he was kindly received by its ambitious king. England then declared war against Scotland, urging, as an excuse, that the Scots had broken the treaty by their predatory excursions into England. Collecting a large army, he crossed the borders in the month of May, 1333, and encamped before the town of Berwick. He was still very young for a statesman and a warrior, being then scarcely one-and-twenty; but he was brave and wise for his years, for the chequered events of his life had given him a knowledge of the world which very few at his age possess.

Edward was opposed at Berwick by a Scottish army, under the command of Lord Archibald Douglas, and a battle between the two armies took place on the 19th of July, on a hill near the town, called Halidon Hill. The Scots, being eager for the contest, hurried forward, and got upon a plot of soft marshy ground, where their feet sank into the mire, and they soon fell into confusion. In this condition they were exposed to vast flights of arrows from the English bowmen. Those arrows, says an old chronicler, flew as thick as motes in the sunbeams, and many thousand Scotch soldiers fell dead in consequence. At last, the Scots got upon firm ground, and rushed passionately up the hill, to be revenged of their enemies. But passion is a bad substitute for judgment; they were received with a resolute coolness, repulsed with great loss, and soon defeated with terrible slaughter: 14,000 Scots, besides many of the nobility of that country, were left dead upon the field. On the other side the loss was incredibly trifling; it is very difficult to believe that only fifteen Englishmen were killed. It was long since Scotland experienced so sad a misfortune as the defeat at Halidon Hill.

Once more was Baliol forced as king upon an unwilling people, and he rewarded the services of Edward by again professing himself a vassal of the English crown, and surrendering to that monarch a large part of Scotland. The hardy, liberty-loving Scots would not submit to have their country divided in that manner, and themselves disposed of as if they had been so many herds of cattle; therefore, as soon as King Edward had returned into his own land, they rose in rebellion against Baliol, who was so alarmed that he fled to England to seek again the protection of his master.

Again did Edward place his creature upon the Scottish throne; and three times after that did he lead an army into that unhappy country to assist in keeping him there. The Scots were compelled to submit to a superior force; but Baliol was despised and hated, and lived amongst them rather like a fugitive than a king. At last Edward's attention was withdrawn from Scotland, and his mind filled with another scheme of conquest—a scheme so ambitious, vast, and romantic, that it resembles a feverish dream—a scheme which was to cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of men, and plant between two great nations an enmity so fierce and bitter, that to this day it can scarcely be said to be thoroughly extinguished. This subject had better be commenced in a new chapter; in which, leaving the picturesque mountains and glens of Scotland, attention will be directed to the more fertile and sunny plains of France.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE THIRD.—A.D. 1337–1348.

KING EDWARD'S intention was to lay claim to the crown of France, upon the following grounds:—The King of France, called Philip le Bel, or the Fair, who reigned from A.D. 1285 to A.D. 1314, when he died, left three sons and one daughter. The daughter was the beautiful but cruel Isabella, who became the queen of our English king, Edward II., and mother of Edward III. The sons, Louis, Philip, and Charles, succeeded each other as Kings of France; but, what was remarkable, though each of them left daughters, neither of them had a son to succeed them. The daughters were all set aside on account of an old law, called the Salic Law, by which no female was permitted to wear the crown of France; under these circumstances it descended to Philip de Valois, the son of Charles de Valois, the brother of Philip the Fair, who was cousin-german to the last king. That prince ascended the throne with the united consent of the prelates, peers, and people of the kingdom; and every nation throughout Europe recognised him as possessing a just and indisputable title.

Edward had acknowledged Philip's title by the fact of doing homage to him, as King of France, for the dukedom of Guienne, because at that time he was not strong enough to declare and enforce the claim which he secretly entertained. Philip de Valois—or to speak of him according to his title as King of France, Philip VI.—had ruled that country for nine years, when, in 1337, Edward put forth his claim to the regal diadem. He contended that his mother Isabella's right superseded that of Philip; and although he was compelled to acknowledge that she, being a woman, could not legally wear the crown of France, he asserted, that he, to whom her right descended, being a man, could do so. Thus he insisted that he inherited, through his mother, a property which she herself had never possessed.

If the Salic law, whilst it excluded the female herself, had permitted her son to ascend the throne, still Edward was not the rightful heir; as Louis, the eldest son of Philip the Fair, left a daughter, who married the King of Navarre; and their son, Charles of Navarre, would, in that case, have been the next in succession. However, Edward put forward his claim, and was determined to maintain it. Irrespective of this claim to the throne, there were other causes of quarrel between Edward III. and Philip VI. The latter gave offence to the former on the question of Guienne; he had, also, received and protected young David Bruce, and was secretly giving assistance to the Scots, to enable them to continue the struggle against England. On the other hand, Edward had welcomed Robert d'Artois, a powerful but exiled French noble, who had attempted the life of his sovereign. This man, although Philip's brother-in-law, hated him very bitterly, on account of an injustice which he had experienced at his hands; and he now endeavoured to revive in Edward his claim to the French throne, and flattered him by saying that a prince of his great courage and abilities would very properly succeed in obtaining it. Philip sent a haughty message to Edward, desiring him instantly to dismiss Robert from his court, and declaring that if he did not, Guienne should be seized by the French arms. Edward replied by demanding the crown of France as his indisputable right, and collecting an army to obtain it. This demand was made for Edward on the 7th of October, 1337, by the Earl of Brabant, whom he had induced to support his cause.

The idea of a war with France was very popular with the English people, and they readily assisted their king with large contributions. Edward himself did his

utmost; and after collecting money in every just way, and by many unjust ones, he even pawned the jewels of his crown. Sensible that he had a powerful enemy to contend against, he also entered into several foreign alliances against France, and particularly courted the governor and people of Flanders. The latter country was at that time governed by a famous brewer, named James von Artaveldt, who had, in 1336, expelled the earl, and ruled with much strictness and wisdom; it was by his advice that, at a later period, Edward assumed the title of King of France, and quartered the French lilies in his arms.

In July, 1338, Edward, and his army of 50,000 men, sailed from the Orwell. They landed at Antwerp. Proceeding to Flanders, he remained there for some months, and soon found that his allies were not so active as himself. Nothing was done until late in the next year, when Edward entered France, and having burnt some towns and villages, and ruined a number of unoffending people, was compelled to retire and return to England. During this rather disgraceful campaign, the French and English armies had faced each other; but although Philip had 100,000 men, while Edward had only 50,000, yet they seemed mutually afraid, and separated without a battle.

The English people looked a little serious; they had already been enormously taxed, without producing any result; but they submitted to new levies, and in the next year (1340) Edward was again ready for war. King Philip, expecting another invasion, had fitted out a fleet of no less than 400 vessels, and stationed them at Sluys, to intercept the English expedition upon the sea. Hearing of this, Edward sailed out with a fleet of 240 ships, and, on the 24th of June, came in sight of the French. When he beheld them, he exclaimed—"Ha! I have long desired to fight with the Frenchmen, and now I shall fight with some of them, by the grace of God and St. George." The English seamen contrived to get the wind of the enemy, and also to have the sun at their backs; and, with these great advantages in their favour, the battle began. For some time it raged with great fury; and the vessels were grappled so closely together, that the men fought hand to hand, as if they had been on shore. Edward himself acted with great courage and energy, and his example animated his soldiers and sailors in a remarkable degree. In the end the English gained a decided victory; 230 French ships were taken or burnt, and 15,000 (some say 30,000) Frenchmen killed or drowned. For some time no one dared to tell Philip of this heavy misfortune; at last his fool undertook to break the news. "The English are but cowards," said the jester. "How so?" inquired his sovereign. "Because they had not courage to leap into the sea, like the French and Normans at Sluys," was the reply. The countenance of Philip fell; he understood that his fleet was vanquished and destroyed.

Edward's foreign allies now crowded round his standard, and an enormous army followed him into France; but again nothing of any importance was done. Edward sent a herald to Philip, and challenged him to decide their respective claims to the crown of France by single combat. Philip replied, that the terms of the duel were unequal, but that if Edward would increase the stake, and put the kingdom of England also on the issue, he would accept it. It is most probable that neither of the kings intended to risk their own lives in a personal contest, and that they only sought, by idle bravado, to obtain popularity with their subjects. Before any hostile movement was made, Edward was again deserted by his foreign allies; and he began to see that their object was rather to assist themselves to his money than to assist him in his war. He also suspected that he had been imprudent enough to undertake a design which he was not able to accomplish; and therefore, when the aged Countess of Hainault, who was related to both Edward and Philip, endeavoured to bring about a truce between them, he was not sorry to consent to it. Again he returned to England in a very ill-temper, and was only saved from disgrace by the victory of Sluys.

Edward's want of success abroad was followed by some troubles in his own kingdom, and he incurred great unpopularity by a foolish attempt to wreak his disappointment on his own subjects at home. Soon after his arrival he visited the Tower of London, and finding it carelessly guarded, threw the governor, and all officers who had charge of it, into prison. The next day he removed the chancellor, treasurer, and Master of the Rolls; imprisoned some of the judges, arrested many of those servants of the crown who had been employed in collecting the revenue, and appointed commissioners to inquire into their conduct. Even the Archbishop of Canterbury fell under the displeasure of the king, who accused him of having used, for other purposes, money which had been voted by parliament for the use of the sovereign. But the archbishop was not the sort of man to be intimidated; he not only defended himself from the charge brought against him, but appealed to the Great Charter, and pronounced a sentence of excommunication against all who exercised violence on the persons or goods of any clergymen. This excommunication was, in reality, aimed at the king; for both the chancellor and the treasurer, whom he had so rudely displaced, were bishops. The bold head of the church even went so far as to send a letter to Edward, in which he told him that the clergy had even cited emperors before their tribunal, and sat in judgment on their life and behaviour.

This letter put Edward into a furious passion; and

when, shortly afterwards, he summoned a parliament, he would not invite the archbishop to attend it. But that prelate, arrayed in his pontifical robes, and attended by a numerous procession of priests, presented himself, and demanded entrance as the first peer of the land. For two days Edward would not consent to his admission: but at length he had the sense to yield, and the archbishop took his seat.

Edward had yet another humiliation to encounter; for the parliament refused to vote him any supplies until he granted them very extensive reforms and concessions. His poverty compelled him to accede to their demands; but he is said to have had the dishonesty to make a secret protest, that, as soon as he was able, he would revoke all that been extorted from him. If he did make such a protest in secret, it is difficult to imagine how it became known.

A year had not passed since Edward had abandoned France, and entered into a truce with the king of that country, before he was again in arms against it. A dispute having arisen between two nobles—John de Montfort and Charles de Blois—as to which of them had the best right to the dukedom of Brittany, they both appealed to the French king for his judgment in the case. That monarch decided in favour of Charles de Blois, in consequence of which De Montfort fled to England, implored Edward's assistance, and did homage for his duchy to him, as the lawful King of France. On his return to Brittany, De Montfort was taken prisoner by Philip, who shut him up in the tower of the Louvre; but his wife, the Countess de Montfort, was a beautiful, spirited, and very courageous woman. Her husband had held possession of Brittany; and she, after riding from town to town, and imploring the inhabitants to support her cause, shut herself up in the strongly-fortified castle of Hennebon, and awaited the troops which King Edward had promised to send from England to her assistance.

At Hennebon she was besieged by a French army, under the command of her husband's rival, Charles de Blois. But this remarkable woman showed no fear; and although the attack was conducted with great spirit, she so encouraged the town and garrison, that the besiegers were driven back in every assault they made. The countess rode about encouraging the soldiers; showed herself upon the ramparts, despite of the arrows of the enemy; and sometimes sallied out against them at the head of a party of troops. So cheering an example could not be resisted; and every one fought their bravest, and tried to emulate the deeds of their bold and beautiful chieftainess. One day, while standing upon a lofty tower, to watch the progress of an attack, she observed that the enemy had brought up all their forces, and left their camp unguarded. Descending from her position, she sallied out at the head of 300 knights; fell, unperceived, upon her enemy's camp; set fire to the tents; threw her foes into confusion; and thus drew them away from the assault upon the town.* After this exploit she would have returned, but a large body of troops had thrown themselves between her and the gates. Clapping spurs to their horses, she and her friends rode for their lives, and took refuge in Aubrey Castle. After five days, the bold countess reappeared with 500 or 600 knights, instead of 300, and, dashing unexpectedly through the enemy's camp, re-entered Hennebon amidst the welcoming shouts of her people.

At length the besiegers had made several breaches in the walls of the stout old castle, and a want of provisions was also felt. The English succours did not arrive; and the people's hearts began to fail. Much against the wishes of the countess, a treaty was entered into with the enemy to settle the terms of a surrender. Mounting to her lofty tower, that unconquerable woman cast many longing glances towards the sea; and at last, to her great joy, she beheld some sails in the distance. Transported with delight, she called to her soldiers—"Behold the succours!—the English!—I see the English coming!—No capitulation." She was right, and in a few hours an English fleet sailed proudly into the port, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, a brave and skilful soldier. Thus assisted, the countess and her little army sallied out, encountered the besiegers, and compelled them to retire.

Still the war continued; and some months afterwards (in 1342), Hennebon was again attacked by Charles de Blois and a French army. The countess then went to England, and applied personally to Edward, who lent her the assistance of forty-five vessels, under the command of Robert d'Artois. This English force was met by a French fleet near Guernsey, and a battle ensued, in which our countrymen suffered some loss, and the contending parties were in the end separated by a storm. The English fleet arrived safely in Brittany, where Robert d'Artois and his soldiers captured the town of Vannes; but it was shortly after recaptured by the enemy, and Robert died in consequence of a wound he had received in the contest. Thus the countess was compelled to return to Hennebon, and affairs stood much as they did at first.

The truce having ended, Edward himself led an army to Brittany. At first he was successful, and accomplished several little triumphs over the French arms. But the winter set in; his army was in want of provisions, and opposed to a very superior force, so that when the pope interfered as a peace-maker, Edward was again glad to conclude a truce. By this truce, which was to

last for three years, it was arranged that the Countess de Montfort and Charles de Blois should each keep what towns they possessed in Brittany, and that hostilities should cease between France and England.

It was, however, impossible to subdue the ill-feeling which had arisen between both the sovereigns and the people of the two nations: the truce was never fairly observed; and no sooner had it expired, than both parties prepared for war. Immense taxes were laid upon both the English and French people to enable their rulers to carry an this useless and wasteful struggle. Amongst other things Philip put a heavy tax on salt, upon which Edward sarcastically observed, that now his rival indeed reigned by *salic* law. The English king's revenues were chiefly derived from wool; so Philip retorted by calling him a wool-merchant. This attempted smartness was as poor and unsuccessful on both sides as their military exploits had hitherto been. Now, however, the war was to be carried on in a more vigorous and brilliant manner. Edward, in the year 1345, sent the Earl of Derby with an army to Guienne, where the French had seized many of his towns. This nobleman's efforts were attended with astonishing success; he defeated the French in a battle near Auberoche, took fortress after fortress, and finally drove his enemies from Guienne.

The following year, 1346, Edward himself again sailed over to France with an army of 30,000 men, and landed at La Hogue in Normandy. He had brought his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, with him, and the flower of the English nobility. After destroying all the ships he found in the ports of La Hogue, Barfleur, and Cherbourg, he ravaged the country, took and pillaged several towns, and among them the rich and populous city of Caen. Then he marched away to Rouen, hoping to serve that in the same manner; but when he came to the banks of the Seine he found that the bridge was broken down, and the French king, with an army much larger than his own, on the opposite side of the river. Unable to cross, Edward marched along the banks towards Paris, burning every town and village he met on his way. But the English king was by no means easy in his mind, or satisfied with his position, for the French were enclosing him round in all directions, in the hope of either starving him and his army, or cutting them to pieces. The French army amounted to 100,000 men, while the English had but 30,000, so that the chances were immensely in favour of the former.

By a clever scheme Edward managed to lead his troops across the river Seine at Poissy, and marched rapidly on, still plundering and burning, until he came to another river, the Somme. Again was his crossing opposed by Philip and the French army, and the danger of the English was immense. Collecting his prisoners, Edward offered liberty and a rich reward to any of them who would show him some shallow part of the river where he, his soldiers, and their baggage, could cross with safety. A countryman, whose name was Gobin Agace, betrayed the interests of his country, and told the English king that there was a place not far off called Blanche-Taque, or the White Spot, at which he could cross the river during the low tide. At midnight the army was on its march; and as the early rays began to tint the horizon, Edward and his soldiers stood on the river's bank at Blanche-Taque. But here they experienced a sad disappointment; not only was it high tide, but a numerous French army was encamped on the opposite bank. This was a trying moment for the English; Philip and a French army was behind them, the river and another French army was before. Had Philip overtaken them they would have been enclosed between two opposing and greatly superior armies, and, in such a condition, their destruction would have been almost certain.

Anxiously did Edward watch the slow receding tide, fearing that, in a few hours, its stream would be stained and swollen by torrents of English blood. At length the water had ebbed sufficiently to admit of a passage; the king gave the command, and, with a cry of "God and St. George!" his troops dashed into the river. The French cavalry on the opposite bank did the same; and a fierce conflict took place in the bed of the stream. Flights of arrows, also, from the opposite bank galled the English dreadfully; and many who had rushed so bravely into the water, full of strength and hope, dropped in its now turbid channel never to rise again. But Edward's troops were successful: they forced their passage across the river, dispersed their foes, and encamped in the meadows just as Philip and his army appeared on the side which they had so recently quitted. By this time the tide was rising; therefore, before Philip could get at the English, he was forced to make a circuit, and cross the river by the bridge of Abbeville.

Encouraged by the result of the little battle of Blanche-Taque, tired, and perhaps, also, ashamed of retreating even before an army many times more numerous than his own, Edward halted on a gentle ascent near the village of Crecy, or Cressy, and prepared for an engagement. His army he placed in three divisions: the first he entrusted to the command of his son, the Prince of Wales; the second to the Earls of Arundel and Northampton; while the third he headed in person. The night before the battle the king gave a supper to his nobles and chief officers, and was very affable and cheerful; after which he entered his oratory, and spent some time in prayer. The next morning he rode about among his soldiers, talking to them in an

earnest and eloquent manner. He said that the honour of England was in their hands; that destruction awaited them if they relied upon anything but their own strength and courage; that they always, hitherto, maintained a superiority over the French troops; and that the greater number of the army then opposed to them was counterbalanced by the excellence of the position in which they were placed. He added, that he demanded nothing but that they would imitate his example and that of his son; that the lives, honour, and liberty of all were exposed to the same danger; and that he was confident they would unite in one great effort to extricate themselves from their present difficulties, and to obtain a glorious victory.

Philip and his army had marched hastily from Abbeville, and it was three o'clock in the afternoon of the 26th of August when they came in sight of the English. His soldiers, therefore, were too fatigued to fight well that day; and, on the advice of one of his captains, the French monarch determined to put off the battle until the following one. A command was given for the army to halt; but many of the French nobles were so impatient, that they still pressed forward until they faced the enemy. Then they halted suddenly; and those behind, still pressing onward, were thrown into confusion. Philip himself was carried along by the vast moving stream of soldiers; and when he saw the order and calm resolution in the ranks and faces of the English, he became so excited as to lose all judgment, and with a loud voice he called out, "Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle in the name of God and St. Denis!" There were 15,000 of these Genoese, brave and skilful cross-bowmen; but they complained at being brought into action while they were so overcome by fatigue. Philip's brother, the Earl of Alençon, then exclaimed, "This is what one gets by employing such scoundrels, who fall off when there is any need of them."

Stung by this insulting remark, the Genoese advanced to the attack; but their hearts were no longer with their employers. Shortly before the battle there had been an eclipse of the sun, and a great flight of crows hovered in the air, cawing over both armies; then came a terrific thunderstorm and floods of rain, which relaxed the strings of the Genoese cross-bows, so that, when the weather cleared up and the battle began, their shafts fell short of their aim. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that the Genoese staggered before the flights of arrows which the English archers shot in clouds among them. First they hesitated, and then, seized with panic, fell into disorder, upon which the French king, mad with passion, exclaimed, "Kill me those scoundrels; for they stop up our road without any reason." This savage order was partly obeyed; his horsemen fell upon the Genoese, put many of them to the sword, and nothing but terror and confusion reigned in the vast army of France.

The young Prince of Wales, taking advantage of this wild scene, led his division on to the charge; but the French cavalry, by desperate efforts, began to disentangle themselves from the crowd, and recovering their order, the prince was hemmed round by superior numbers. The battle now raged furiously, and young Edward was in great danger of perishing. His father, who commanded the reserve division, had not joined in the conflict, but calmly viewed it from a windmill on the summit of a neighbouring hill. The Earl of Warwick, who fought with the prince, sent a messenger to the king to beg assistance. The self-possessed monarch enquired if his son was killed or wounded? "No, sire, please God," was the reply, "but he is hard beset." "Then," said the king proudly, "return to those who sent you, and tell them that they shall have no help from me. Let the boy win his spurs; for I am resolved, if it please God, that this day be his, and that the honour of it be given all to him and to those to whose care I have entrusted him." This spirited answer gave such encouragement to the prince and his fellow-warriors, that they fought with renewed vigour, and at length repulsed and scattered the host by which they had been environed.

Still the battle raged on; but it was evident that, in spite of the immense numbers of the French, they were losing the day. Wrought up to desperation, Philip himself fought with great valour, and many times rushed with his troops of horse upon the English lines. It was in vain; nothing could penetrate that dense little forest of glittering spears; the French king had his horse killed beneath him; and at length he was led off the field by an ally. His troops were flying in every direction, and were pursued and slaughtered without mercy, until the darkness of the night put an end to the carnage. Descending from his station on the hill, King Edward embraced and kissed his valiant son, and said to him, "My brave son! Persevere in your honourable course. You are my true and dear son, and have this day shown yourself worthy of a crown."—This famous conflict, so long celebrated as the battle of Crecy, took place on Saturday, the 26th of August, 1346. It is scarcely right to boast of success, however brilliant, in an unjust cause; but the coolness and intrepidity of the English troops upon this occasion certainly achieved a triumph almost miraculous.

The English lit great fires on the now almost silent field, and watched by them till the morning. Though a summer night, it was dark and starless, and blazing faggots threw a strange light upon the pallid faces and battered armour of the vast heaps of dead. The next

day was Sunday: what a sight was there for the Sabbath sun to shine upon! But that day witnessed a scene of slaughter far less excusable than that of the day before. A large body of French soldiers, who arrived too late for the battle, were deceived by the English erecting some French standards; and when they had approached, without finding out their error, too near to be able to retreat, they were all mercilessly massacred. A second party of French was allured in like manner, and, after a brief fight, nearly all slain. In the two days 30,000 French soldiers perished, besides 1,200 knights, eighty nobles, and eleven princes. Among the latter was John de Luxembourg, the blind old King of Bohemia. Hearing that his son, whom he greatly loved, was wounded and not likely to live, the sorrow-stricken old man also wished to die. But he resolved first to raise his withered arm and strike one blow in revenge. Mounting his horse, he placed himself between two knights, and fastened his bridle on each side to theirs. In this manner the sightless, white-haired man rushed upon the ranks of the enemy, and perished fighting. His crest was three ostrich feathers, and beneath them the following motto:—"ICH DIEN;" that is, *I serve*. Whether from admiration of the fallen monarch, or because he thought them peculiarly applicable to himself, as serving in arms beneath so brave a father, is not known; but Prince Edward adopted this motto, and it has ever since been worn by the eldest son of the English sovereign.

Though he had obtained so great a victory, King Edward was not dazzled by his success; he was too prudent to suppose that because he had vanquished a French army he had conquered so powerful and extensive a country as France. Still, he proposed to secure an easy entrance to that kingdom; and marching away to the strongly fortified town of Calais, he encamped his troops around its walls, and commenced a siege. Aware of the great strength of the place, Edward would not throw away the lives of his soldiers in useless attacks; but he built a number of wooden huts around it, and resolved, by cutting off all supplies of provisions, to make the inhabitants yield from the effects of famine. John de Vienne, the governor, seeing King Edward's intention, collected together all the poor and feeble inhabitants, who had not laid up any stock of provisions, and drove them all out of the town. There were 1,700 of these poor wretches, the greater number of them being women and children. As they tremblingly approached the English camp, the soldiers in astonishment asked why they had left the town? They answered, they were driven out because they were poor, and had nothing to eat. On hearing this, Edward was touched with pity for the suffering he had caused, and ordered a good dinner and a piece of money to be given to each of these victims of his ambitious views.

David Bruce, the young King of Scotland, who had fled to the French court for protection against Edward, was now again seated on the throne of his native land, having returned home in 1342. Encouraged by the King of France, by the absence of Edward, by a desire of revenging the disgrace they had incurred at the battle of Halidon Hill, and by the love of plunder, the Scots resolved on an invasion of England. Collecting an army of about 50,000 men, David proceeded as far as Durham, committed the most frightful atrocities, and leaving the country they overran a smoking and dismal desert. The Scotch fancied that the whole chivalry of England was absent with King Edward at Calais, and they said in contempt, "that there were none but mean merchants and mechanics to stand between them and a march to London." But they were greatly deceived in the estimate of the English courage and resources; and, to their surprise, they were soon opposed by an army of 30,000 men. One old writer tells us that this force was headed by Philippa, Edward's queen, and that the brave woman rode about among the troops, and exhorted them to sustain the honour of the English arms. A battle took place between the two armies on the 17th of October, 1346, at a place called Neville's Cross, in which the Scots were defeated with terrible slaughter: 15,000 of them are said to have perished, and nearly all the principal nobility of Scotland were killed or taken prisoners. Among the latter was David, the young king. He had fought that day with wonderful bravery, and even seemed desirous of emulating the deeds of his heroic father; but his personal courage was useless against the attacks of the host of English which bore down upon him. After having been twice wounded, he was seized by a gentleman, named John Copland, who carried him off a captive, though not without losing two of his teeth by a blow in the face from a dagger. David was sent for safety to the Tower of London; but Copland would not at first surrender his distinguished prisoner to the queen, saying he owed no obedience except to his sovereign lord, the King of England. David remained for eleven years in England, and was then only released upon engaging to pay an enormous ransom. Edward, having the King of Scotland in his power, treated its people as a conquered nation. To this they would not submit; and, in 1355, they were again in arms against him.

The siege of Calais continued through the winter of 1346-'47. Philip advanced with an army to the relief of the town; but finding his road beset with difficulties, and not relishing another battle with Edward, he retired, and left the garrison and inhabitants to their fate. At first a few Norman ships supplied the townspeople with

food; but Edward blocked up the port with an English fleet; and gaunt looks and pallid faces proclaimed that famine reigned within the walls. After the citizens had eaten all the horses and dogs in the town, the governor appeared on the fortifications, and desired a parley. Sir Walter Manny was sent by King Edward to hear what he had to say; and John de Vienne thus appealed to his feelings of honour and generosity:—"Brave knight, I have been entrusted by my sovereign with the command of this town: it is almost a year since you besieged me; and I and those under me have endeavoured to do our duty. But you are acquainted with our present condition: we have no hopes of relief—we are perishing with hunger; I am willing to surrender; and desire, as the sole condition, to ensure the lives and liberties of these brave men, who have so long shared with me every danger and fatigue."

When this proposition was reported to Edward, he treated it with stern disdain, and declared he would accept nothing but an unconditional surrender. Had this been yielded, it is probable that the town would have been given up to plunder, and its people put to the sword; for the English king was greatly incensed against them. But Sir Walter Manny, and other of Edward's chief officers, persuaded him to be more merciful to men, who, in resisting him so obstinately, had only done their duty. "Well," answered the English monarch, "I will not stand alone against you all. Six of the most notable burgesses must be delivered up to me, stripped to their shirts, with halters round their necks, and the keys of the town and castle in their hands. On these I will show my severity, and the rest I will pardon."

On hearing this decision, the people of Calais were filled with sorrow, and lamented their fate with tears. At length a generous and bold-hearted man, the richest merchant of the town, whose name was Eustace de St. Pierre, offered to be one of the six who must fall a sacrifice to save the lives of the rest. His noble example was immediately followed by five others; and these heroic men left the town with halters round their necks, according to the conditions, and prostrated themselves at the feet of King Edward, who, with a stern look, ordered them to instant execution. Many of his nobles and officers begged the king to be more merciful, and said that so cruel an action would tarnish the great reputation he had won. Still he was inflexible, until the Queen Philippa (who herself had carried to him the news of the battle of Neville's Cross), kneeling before him, said, with tears in her eyes, "Ah! gentle sire, since I have crossed the sea with great danger, I have never asked you anything; now I humbly pray, for the sake of the Son of the Holy Mary, and your love of me, that you will have mercy on these six men." Edward yielded to this appeal; and the kind-hearted queen ordered the halters to be taken from around the necks of the citizens, and suitable clothes and a dinner to be provided for them; after which, she dismissed each of them with a little present in money.

Then, on the 4th of August, 1347, Edward and his troops entered Calais in triumph, and took possession of the vanquished city. Knowing that he was both feared and hated by the French, he drove away most of the inhabitants from the town, and put his own English subjects in their places; by this means Calais remained for a length of time subject to the kings of England. The following year Edward entered into a truce with France, which lasted for six years. Before, however, it was concluded, the French had attempted to recover Calais, which they entirely failed to do. The incident is a romantic one. King Edward trusted an Italian, named Aimery de Pavie, who had served him with great courage, with the command of the town. This man consented, in consideration of receiving a bribe of 20,000 crowns, to betray the English by secretly admitting a French army within the walls. The treachery was discovered by Edward, who promised Pavie his life if he would turn the contrivance to the destruction of the enemy. The Italian consented; and, as he had failed in his attempt to betray the English, resolved to redeem his own worthless head by betraying the French. The king, who had returned to London, arrived on the 31st of December, 1348, secretly at Calais, with 900 picked men. The next day the French were to be admitted. They advanced; found all silent within the town, and suspected nothing. After paying the traitor his reward, the great gates were thrown open, and the French prepared to enter. Judge what was their surprise when Edward and his troops suddenly rushed out and attacked them with great fury. Though taken by surprise the French fought bravely, and were not defeated until after a severe conflict. The English king was disguised as a private man, and fought by the side of the captain of the body of troops that accompanied him. During the conflict, he noticed, with great admiration, the valour of a French gentleman, one Eustace de Ribaumont, and at length challenged him to personal combat. The challenge was accepted, and a fierce struggle began between them, in which the king was twice struck to the ground. Each time he instantly leapt to his feet, and the combatants seemed so equally matched, that victory inclined to neither. At length Ribaumont, being left almost alone by the retreat of his countrymen, yielded himself a prisoner to his unknown foe.

Edward was so pleased with his victory that he treated all the French officers who had been taken prisoners with great kindness, and invited them to a

supper within the walls of Calais, with the Prince of Wales and many of the English nobility. During the evening he himself entered the room, and walking about among his captives, spoke to them familiarly. To Ribaumont he was particularly affable, saying that he had never been in so much danger as when he had fought with him; then taking a string of pearls from his neck, he placed it around that of the French knight, adding—"Sir Eustace, I bestow this present upon you as a testimony of my esteem for your bravery; and I desire you to wear it a year for my sake. Let all know from whose hand you received it. You are no longer a prisoner; I acquit you of your ransom; and you are at liberty to-morrow to dispose of yourself as you think proper."

After Edward's return to England he instituted a new order of knighthood, to bestow on such of the nobles as might render him any great service. During his reign the system of chivalry was in its glory, and every knight and noble prided himself on his dexterity in arms, and on the unsullied purity of his honour. Consequently no reward was more highly esteemed than being invested with the insignia of "The Order of the Garter;" which, from that time to the present, has consisted of five-and-twenty members, besides the sovereign. It was, therefore, exceedingly exclusive, and admission into it was esteemed an honour of the highest character. The first installation took place on the 30th of April, 1349. It is said that an amusing incident suggested to Edward the idea of the new class of knights. At a court ball he picked up a garter which had been accidentally dropped by a lady of rank, and observing some of his courtiers to smile, as if they thought it to be a token of gallantry, he exclaimed, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense;*" that is, "Evil be to him who evil thinks." He then instituted the Order of the Garter, and gave those words as its motto. It may be as well to remark, that up to this reign, and during the greater part of it, the kings, nobles, and gentry of England usually spoke in the French language. They had not yet so far forgotten their Norman extraction as to prefer the Saxon language to the French; but the fierce animosity which then prevailed between the two nations, arising out of the wars which Edward waged against France, led to a dislike both of the people and language of that country, and thus the Saxon speech of England once more resumed its sway, although greatly enriched by many words and graces which had been adopted into it from the French.

But festivities of all kinds were suddenly put an end to in England, and the sounds of rejoicing turned into tears and passionate lamentations. A cry of terror went throughout the land, and all its inhabitants were arrayed in the garb of mourning. A conqueror greater than any human king stalked over it, and hundreds of thousands fell before his invisible but unsparing arm. He had come from the vast and distant empire of China; swept in merciless triumph over the wilds of Tartary; passed, in his mysterious and desolating career, through the Levant, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Germany, and France; and, in the autumn of 1349, burst like a storm into England. In many countries a third of the population fell dead at his touch; and some writers tell us that half the inhabitants of England perished. London was like an enormous sepulchre; and for a time the greatest labour of the living was to bury the dead. Would you know the name of this grim, murderous visitor? It was the PLAGUE!

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE THIRD.—A.D. 1349—1377.

THIS terrible calamity, which swept hundreds of thousands to a sudden and premature grave, helped greatly to prolong the truce between France and England; but it did not prevent a naval battle between the English and Spanish fleets from taking place in the following year. The Spaniards had helped the French, and plundered the trading vessels of England; and for this reason Edward determined to chastise them. For a time the affair was doubtful, and the king and his son were in great danger; but at length victory fell to the English, though not before they had experienced considerable loss.

For a period of six years peace reigned in England; during which, the people were recovering from the sad effects of the plague; but at the end of that time, the war between this country and France again broke out. Philip VI., the French king, was dead, and his honourable but unfortunate son John succeeded him. Edward had made offers of peace to this monarch, and promised to resign his claim to the French crown if the latter

would consent to his retaining possession of Calais, Guienne, and certain other places formerly held by the English. The pride of the French would not permit their king to accept these conditions, so in the year 1355, Prince Edward entered the south of France with an extensive host, while his father led another army into the north of that kingdom. As France was agitated by severe quarrels at home, the prince was enabled to ravage the country without receiving any check. All the villages, and many of the towns of Languedoc, he left mere smoking ruins, making the land desolate as far as Toulouse; then turning to the south-east, he plundered and burnt the rich cities of Carcassonne and Narbonne. Having collected immense plunder, he returned in triumph, and took up his winter quarters in the English province of Guienne.

His father was not quite so successful; he advanced without opposition to St. Omer, where the King of France and his army were posted. King Edward had given his troops license to ravage, plunder, and burn as much as they pleased; but the poor inhabitants were beforehand with them, and, collecting all their valuables, had destroyed the rest of their property and fled. Edward challenged John to meet him in the field, and fight a battle; but although the French king had a numerous army, he declined this, and sent a challenge to Edward to meet in single combat. The English king treated this as an idle bravado; and, as the enemy would not fight, and the country was so bare that his soldiers had nothing to subsist upon, he was compelled to retire to Calais, from whence he was recalled to England by the information that the Scots, encouraged by his absence, were invading its northern counties.

Hurrying home, Edward entered Scotland at the head of an immense army, during the winter of 1355-'56. He had purchased Baliol's right (and worthless enough it was) to the throne of that country; and now, laying claim to Scotland by a double title—namely, the gift to him of the country by one of its rival kings, and the acknowledgment of his feudal sovereignty by the other—he resolved to overcome all opposition, and awe or crush the people into a passive submission to his authority. He encamped at Roxburgh; and being tricked by one of the Scottish leaders into a truce of ten days, during which time his countrymen were preparing for their defence, determined on a savage revenge. Ordering his army to advance, he burnt every town, village, church, and monastery within his march; and continued his horrible progress as far as Edinburgh, which also was committed to the flames. This fearful invasion was long remembered by the Scots as the "Burnt Candlemas." But Edward and his army soon felt the want of provisions; the country was so bare and desolate that it yielded nothing; and a fleet which he expected to arrive with supplies being dispersed by a tempest, he was compelled to return to England. His invasion had inflicted dreadful misery upon the Scots; but it brought him no advantage whatever.

Prince Edward and his army were suffered to remain in Guienne without receiving any reinforcements; and it was not until the Midsummer of 1356 that young Edward undertook another expedition, with a small force of only 12,000 men, with which he penetrated as far as the Loire. It was about this time that Edward received the odd name by which he is always remembered—the BLACK PRINCE. It was bestowed upon him on account of his wearing black armour, which set off the exceeding fairness of his complexion; and in the expedition of 1356, it was a sound of terror to the French. The advance of the prince, and the devastation which the march of an army through an enemy's country invariably causes, aroused John, the French king; and collecting an enormous army, he marched to intercept the course of this scourge of his people, determined, if possible, to overwhelm and extirpate him. The Black Prince very wisely kept out of his way; but as every Frenchman detested the English, and refused to give them any information respecting the army of their king, the prince, by accident, came suddenly upon it in the evening of the 18th of September, at Maupertius, a village near Poictiers. Edward would willingly have retreated; but the enemy spread themselves in such a manner that he was surrounded, and retreat rendered impossible. "God help us!" he exclaimed, "we must now consider how we can fight them."

Prince Edward's military talents were very great, and he placed his troops in admirable position; but his army did not amount to more than 10,000 men, many of whom were Gascons, while the French possessed more than 60,000. On the morning of the 18th, Cardinal Perigord, a legate from the pope, arrived at the scene of the coming struggle, and did his best to bring about an accommodation without a battle. Representing to the Black Prince his extreme peril, he implored him to submit and treat for peace. Edward, who would willingly have shunned the conflict, if he could have done so without staining the brightness of his reputation, answered, "Save my honour, and the honour of my army, and I will listen to any reasonable terms." The French king's numbers made him confident of victory; therefore he would only consent to letting the English army pass, on condition that the prince and 100 of his knights of the highest rank would surrender themselves as his prisoners. Edward would not submit to this; and his soldiers loved him too well to purchase their

liberty at such a price, so the negotiation was broken off, and both sides prepared for battle.

The next morning, as the sun rose upon the fields and vineyards, the clang of trumpets sounded to arms. The English had chosen a position which could only be approached by a narrow lane, down which the French cavalry poured to the attack; but they were saluted with such a flight of arrows from a body of English archers, who were concealed behind the hedges, that they hesitated, fell into confusion, and then retreated, leaving the lane blocked up with dead and dying men and horses. At this moment a body of 600 archers and men of arms, having made a considerable circuit, fell upon the rear of the French army, and by an unexpected attack caused great confusion. A large detachment of the army, under the command of the Duke d'Orleans, on perceiving this, was seized with a panic, and retreated without striking a blow. Thus, in a little while, two out of the three divisions into which John's army was formed had taken to flight; the third only, under the command of the king, stood firm.

Even this division was more numerous than the whole of the English army; but the latter was so greatly encouraged, that instead of entertaining fears for the result, the soldiers deemed victory certain. A brave knight, named Sir John Chandos, called out to the Black Prince, "Sire, ride forward! the day is yours; let us address ourselves to our adversary, the King of France; for around him lies all the strength of the enterprise. Well I know that his valiancy will not permit him to flee, and he will become our prisoner, please God and St. George." The prince approved this counsel, and, with a loud shout, he and his horsemen dashed through the lane, and swept down like a torrent upon the French battalion. For a time the French stood firm, and the battle raged with terrible fierceness; the air rang with the clash of steel, and was darkened by thick flights of arrows; but it was soon evident that victory was on the side of the English. King John stood with a battle-axe in his hand, laying his enemies dead around him; but his troops fell back, and he was left almost alone, though his youngest son, a boy only sixteen years of age, still fought bravely by the side of his father. The French king was nearly exhausted, had already received two wounds on the face, and might easily have been slain; but the English, by whom he was surrounded, hesitated to kill the unfortunate monarch, and called out to him to yield. Still he fought on with the courage of desperation, and would have fallen a victim to his temerity, had not a young knight, Dennis de Morbecque, speaking in French, urged him to surrender. By the rules of chivalry it was thought dishonourable for a king or noble, even though overpowered, to yield to a commoner, or indeed to any one beneath their own rank. So the French king said, "To whom shall I surrender? Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales?" "He is not here," was the answer; "but surrender and I will conduct you to him." "Who are you?" hurriedly responded the king. "Dennis de Morbecque, a knight of Artois," was the answer; "but I serve the King of England, because I am an exile from France, and have forfeited all I have there." The French king and his brave young son then yielded.

The Black Prince was resting in his tent after the fatigue of victory, when he heard of the capture of his distinguished foe. He met the fallen king, and treated him with every mark of respect and sympathy; invited him to supper; and even waited upon him personally during that repast. At the same time, he endeavoured to soothe him by saying—"Dear sir, do not make a poor meal because the Almighty God has not gratified your wishes in the event of this day; for be assured that my lord and father will show you every honour and friendship in his power, and will arrange your ransom so reasonably that you will henceforth always remain friends. In my opinion, you have cause to be glad that the success of this battle did not turn out as you desired; for you have this day acquired such high renown for prowess, that you have surpassed all the knights on your side. I do not, dear sir, say this to flatter you; for all those of our side who have seen and observed the actions of each party, have unanimously allowed this to be your due, and decree you the prize and garland for it." The French king was touched by this generous behaviour; and said, that though he had lost the victory, it was some consolation to know that it was gained by a prince who possessed so much valour and humanity.

After the famous battle of Poictiers, which was fought on Monday, the 19th of September, 1356, the Black Prince and his army marched to Bordeaux, without any further attempt being made by the French either to stop him or to re-capture their king. There he concluded a truce for two years with the Dauphin Charles, and, in the spring of the following year, carried his royal prisoner to London, which he entered on the 24th of May, 1357, amidst the applause of immense multitudes of people.

In London, the French king met another royal captive, David Bruce, the King of Scotland, who had remained in easy imprisonment at the English court for a period of eleven years. But as King Edward found that Scotland still defied him, although its king was in his power, he consented to restore him to liberty on receiving a ransom of 100,000 marks. This was agreed to; and in the month of October, 1357, David returned to his native land. At the same time a truce for ten

years was entered into between the two countries. David was unable to pay the whole ransom, and endeavoured to discharge it by proposing that, if he died without children, the King of England should succeed to the throne of Scotland. The parliament of that country instantly rejected so unpatriotic a proposition; and on David's death, which took place in the year 1371, he was succeeded by his nephew, the Steward or Stewart of Scotland, from whom descended the family of the Stuarts, who, in after times, ascended the throne of England, and contributed many stirring and tragical events to the pages of its history. King Edward never invaded Scotland again; and after years of violence and conquest, nothing remained to him of that country but the town of Berwick: such is the unprofitable nature of war. Had the wealth and energy which, during so many years, he had lavished in heaping misery upon Scotland, in a vain effort to subdue it, been directed for the benefit of mankind, he would have been the most illustrious philanthropist.

The unfortunate French king was treated with great courtesy by Edward, who, however, demanded an enormous ransom before he would set him at liberty. This ransom was to consist of a great sum of money, together with the restoration of Normandy, and all the French provinces which had been possessed by Henry II., to the English king. John hesitated; the price was a heavy one; the surrender of so much of France to the enemies of his people would make him disliked, if not despised, by his subjects. On the other hand, France had fallen into a deplorable state of anarchy during his absence; his son Charles, the dauphin (who assumed the royal power during his father's captivity), was defied by the King of Navarre, who also laid claim to the throne. The citizens of Paris thought this an excellent opportunity for the assertion of their liberties, and for restraining the despotic power of their sovereigns. The unpaid army lived by plundering the people; and a fearful insurrection took place among the peasantry, who had for ages been treated little better than dogs, and who now rose against their oppressors, the nobles, numbers of whom they murdered in a shocking manner. As people are always cruel in proportion as they are ignorant, it is no wonder that these ruined and starving peasants committed many savage and revolting acts. The nobles and gentry soon retaliated; the peasants, in their turn, were attacked and slaughtered in heaps; those who fled being hunted down, and put to death like wild beasts. Few things could exceed the miserable, distracted state to which France was reduced. An Italian poet who visited it at the time, said—"I could not believe that this was the same kingdom which I had once seen so rich and flourishing. Nothing presented itself to my eyes but a fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, lands uncultivated, houses in ruins. Even the neighbourhood of Paris manifested everywhere marks of destruction and conflagration. The streets are deserted; the roads overgrown with weeds; the whole is a vast solitude." All this was known to the captive king; he longed to return and attempt to restore tranquillity to his distracted country; therefore he yielded to the demands of King Edward, and signed the treaty which was to liberate him.

The signature of King John could not bind his people; and the dauphin and nobles of France disdainfully rejected a treaty which they considered dishonourable to their country. Therefore John remained a prisoner, and Edward prepared for another invasion of France. In a little while, an army of more than 100,000 men was ranged beneath his banners; for the fierce, idle, and dissolute of all classes flocked, like so many hungry wolves and vultures, to prey upon that defenceless land. In the November of 1359, Edward again entered France. Landing at Calais, he advanced and ravaged the provinces of Picardy and Champagne, and then laid siege to the city of Rheims. In the magnificent cathedral of that place the kings of France were crowned; and it is said that Edward's object in his endeavour to take it was, that his coronation, as sovereign of the country, might be performed there. Rheims was bravely defended; and having remained before the city seven weeks, Edward raised the siege.

After plundering several small towns, he marched upon Burgundy, and extorted a fine of 50,000 marks from its duke, on condition of sparing that province. Other places saved themselves from his vengeance in a similar manner; and then the English marched upon Paris, and encamped before its gates. That pleasant historian, Froissart, gives the following account of the manner in which the army proceeded on its march:—"I must inform you that the King of England and his rich lords were followed by carts laden with tents, pavilions, mills, and forges, to grind their corn and make shoes for their horses, and everything of that sort which might be wanting. For this effect there were upwards of 6,000 carts, each of them drawn by four good and strong horses, which had been transported from England. Upon these carts, also, were many vessels and small boats, made surprisingly well of boiled leather; they were large enough to contain three men, to enable them to fish any lake or pond, whatever might be its size: and they were of great use to the lords and barons during Lent: but the commonalty made use of what provisions they could get. The king had, besides, thirty falconers on horseback, laden with hawks; sixty couple of strong hounds, and as many greyhounds; so that every day he took the pleasure of hunting or fish-

ing, either by land or water. Many lords had their hawks and hounds as well as the king." Paris was too well defended for Edward to besiege, and too well stored with provisions to be reduced by a blockade; for the dauphin had spent all his energies in rendering it a secure retreat for himself. Edward challenged the dauphin to lead out his troops and fight him; but that prince had no intention of exposing himself to the chances of such an unequal contest, and he very prudently remained where he was. A want of provisions then caused the English king to retire; and he led his army towards Brittany, abandoning the almost barren country to the fury of his now half-starved soldiers. The misery they had occasioned began to recoil upon themselves; hundreds of men and horses dropped dead from hunger, fatigue, and sickness, and left their bones to whiten on the land they had so cruelly afflicted.

All this time negotiations for peace continued; but Edward insisted upon the terms which he had proposed to the captive King John; and as the French still refused to accede to them, no amicable arrangement could be made. At length the brave Duke of Lancaster, touched with pity, persuaded Edward to listen to terms of a milder and more acceptable character. He said—"My lord, this war which you are carrying on in the kingdom of France is wonderful to all men, and not too favourable to you. Your people are the only gainers by it, for you are wasting your time. Considering everything, if you persist in it, it may last your life; and it appears to me doubtful if ever you will succeed to the extent of your wishes; I would recommend, therefore, whilst you have the power of closing it honourably, to accept the proposals which have been offered to you; for, my lord, we may lose more in one day than we have gained in twenty years." The king was much attached to the Duke of Lancaster, who was his cousin, and this advice had a great effect upon him. A dreadful storm which occurred shortly afterwards, attended by thunder and lightning, and hailstones so large that many of the soldiers were killed by them, also had an effect in softening his mind. Edward feared that this tempest was an announcement of God's anger against his cruel and devastating career, or else that the day of judgment was at hand. Turning himself towards the church of the Virgin Mary at Chartres, he fell upon his knees, and vowed that he would accept terms of peace.

The compact which was entered into by the two nations, is known as the Peace of Bretigny, because it was agreed to at that place. It was concluded on the 8th of May, 1360; and by it Edward renounced his claim to the crown of France, and also to the territories of Normandy, Anjou, and Maine. In exchange for these great concessions, he was to receive the entire sovereignty of Guienne, Poictou, Saintonge, Agenois, the Limousin, Perigord, Thouars, Ponthieu, Calais, and Guisnes. These he was, and his successors were, to possess, without yielding any homage for them to the kings of France. It was also agreed that 3,000,000 crowns of gold, equal to £1,500,000 of our present money, should be given as a ransom for the French king. This great sum was to be paid in instalments extending over a period of six years, and twenty-five barons and fifty-two rich citizens were surrendered as hostages, that this and other parts of the treaty should be fulfilled. It was some time before the business was concluded; but in October the French king was restored to his liberty; and although Edward had proved a dangerous enemy to him, the two monarchs parted with mutual professions of respect and esteem.

The French king was an honourable man; and, although not unstained by some vices, he had obtained from his subjects the title of John the Good. Finding himself unable to pay his ransom, and opposed by his sons and nobles when he wished to make over to Edward the provinces stipulated in the treaty, he resolved on returning to England, and explaining his difficulties to its sovereign. His courtiers strongly advised him against this noble but romantic step, and urged that Edward might, perhaps, again detain him as a prisoner. The resolute monarch grandly answered, that though good faith were banished from the rest of the earth, she ought still to retain her habitation in the breasts of princes. Proceeding to London, he was received by Edward with every mark of respect and affection, and lodged in the Savoy Palace, where he had lived during his captivity. His troubled course was nearly ended. Shortly after his arrival he fell ill; and on the 8th of April, 1364, he died. His melancholy end excited great sympathy among the English nobles. Some French historians have accused him of coming to England to visit a lady whom they say he loved, and not to satisfy his honourable scruples. This ungenerous statement is not supported by facts; and is rendered the more unlikely when it is considered that he was in his fifty-sixth year.

The French king was succeeded by his eldest son, who was crowned as Charles V. In the early part of his reign France was overrun by vast bands of soldiers, or rather robbers, who called themselves "Companies of Adventure." They consisted of outcasts from every country of Europe, who, in times of war, sold their services to the highest bidder, and great numbers of them had been in the pay of King Edward. After the treaty of Bretigny those men refused to lay down their arms, and return to peaceful labour; indeed, it is very likely they were unfit for it. They were so numerous as to be able to defy the law, and, on several occasions,

even defeated the troops of the French king in regular battles. When not occupied in fighting, they supported themselves by plunder, and thus proved the curse of the land, and an enormous impediment to its tranquillity.

As Charles could not subdue the troublesome marauders, he hit upon an excellent plan for getting them to abandon his country, and carry on their depredations elsewhere. Castille was ruled by an abominable tyrant, named Pedro the Cruel, who had been guilty of so many cruelties and murders, that his subjects, headed by his half-brother Enrique, Count of Trastamara, rose in insurrection against him. Pedro subdued them, and Enrique fled to France for protection. Among other shocking crimes, Pedro had lately poisoned his wife, Blanche of Bourbon, sister of the French queen. This induced Charles to adopt the cause of Enrique, and he succeeded in persuading the Companies of Adventure to follow that prince to Castille, for the purpose of placing him upon the throne instead of his savage brother. Any scheme that offered a chance of plunder was to the taste of these military vagabonds; so, putting themselves under the command of a chieftain, named Bertrand du Guesclin, they marched with Don Enrique against Pedro.

The French king gladly gave a sum of money towards the enterprise, and the pope also promised 200,000 livres, and to absolve the soldiers beforehand of all the crimes they might commit. Du Guesclin, therefore, went with his army directly to Avignon, where the pope kept his court, and demanded the money. This the latter hesitated about paying; but he readily offered the absolution, which, of course, cost him nothing. Du Guesclin answered abruptly—"I believe that my fellows may make a shift to do without your absolution; but the money is really necessary." Thus pressed, the pontiff extorted a large sum from the inhabitants of the city and neighbourhood, and offered it to Du Guesclin. The generous soldier replied—"It is not my purpose to oppress the innocent people. The pope and his cardinals can easily spare such a sum from their own coffers. This money I insist must be restored to the owners; should they be defrauded of it, I shall myself return from the other side of the Pyrenees, and oblige you to make them restitution." The head of the church was compelled to submit, and he paid the money from his own treasury.

Cruel people are frequently cowardly: this has been recognised almost as a rule, and Don Pedro was no exception to it; he fled from the approach of Du Guesclin without waiting to fight a battle; and, proceeding to Bordeaux, where the Black Prince was residing, implored his protection and assistance. It is not to Edward's credit that he took the part of Pedro; but it appears he considered him an injured sovereign, unjustly driven from his throne, and, consequently, undertook to restore him. It seems, also, this prince was so used to the excitement of war, that he could not live happily without it. Besides, the French king, as we have shown, had undertaken the cause of Don Enrique, and that decided the Black Prince in favour of the cruel Don Pedro. So difficult is it to root out long-cherished animosities.

Prince Edward's views were approved of by his father, and the Black Prince speedily led an English army into Spain. He was met near Najara, on the 3rd of April, 1367, by Don Enrique, with an army said to amount to 100,000 men, or three times as many as were ranged beneath the English standards. In the beginning of the battle, Enrique's brother, and a large division of his army, fled without striking a blow; this contributed to damp the spirits of the rest, and, in the end, Edward obtained a decided victory; and Pedro the Cruel was placed upon his throne again. True to his savage nature, he wanted to slaughter the great number of prisoners who had been taken in the engagement; but the more generous English prince was shocked at such a proposal, and would not permit it. Edward soon found that, to assist the worthless is to reap ingratitude; for base minds are always tainted with that ignoble vice. Don Pedro refused payment and supplies of provisions to that very army which had raised him from the dust, and placed the regal diadem again upon his distinguished brow. Thus, after accomplishing a brilliant victory, the English soldiers, half starved and suffering from the effects of the climate, were compelled to return to Guienne. During this expedition, the Black Prince himself was seized with that fatal disorder which, a few years later, laid him in a premature grave. But Pedro did not live long to triumph in his ingratitude. About a year afterwards he was stabbed by Enrique in a conference which took place between them, and the latter then ascended the throne of Castille.

Prince Edward had contracted great debts by his Spanish expedition; and, to discharge them, he was compelled to lay heavy taxes upon the French provinces belonging to the English, over which he ruled as sovereign. To those taxes the people refused to submit; and some Gascon nobles appealed to the French king as their superior lord. Charles was still smarting from the wrongs France had received from the English: for some years he had been waiting for an opportunity of retaliation, and now that opportunity seemed to have arrived. The great and once terrible Edward had grown old, and age had robbed him of the energy and vigour of former years. He seemed desirous of spending the remainder of his life in peace; and his warlike son had become a melancholy invalid. It was evident

that he also was travelling to that land of repose and silence, from which none ever return.

These events were not lost upon the French king; and having secretly made preparations for war, he summoned the Black Prince, as his vassal, to appear at Paris, and justify his conduct to his subjects. By the treaty of Bretigny, when peace was made between England and France, the king of the latter country gave up all claim to homage from the kings of England for the lands they held in France. It was agreed that they should be no longer regarded as vassals of the French crown, but rule Guienne and the other provinces ceded to them as independent sovereigns. So that in summoning Prince Edward as his vassal, Charles was putting forward a claim which he had but recently solemnly abandoned. His object was to create a dispute; and the Black Prince, who perfectly understood it, replied that he would shortly appear at Paris; but that it should be at the head of 60,000 men.

The English king seemed averse to a renewal of the war; but when Charles invaded the territories the English possessed in France, it roused his former spirit; and again assuming his title as king of that country, he sent reinforcements to the Black Prince, under the command of his son John, afterwards well known in history as John of Gaunt, and then created Duke of Lancaster, in the place of the king's cousin, who was dead, but who had given such excellent advice to Edward at Chartres, about making peace with France.

Charles was a prudent monarch: he obtained from his subjects the name of Charles the Wise, and he had timed his aggression well: his troops first fell upon and took Ponthieu, after which the people of Abbeville, St. Valori, Rue, and Crotoy threw open their gates, and yielded submission to the French sovereign. Limoges, the capital of the Limousin, threw off its allegiance to the English, and welcomed the French within its walls. This highly incensed Prince Edward, for it was a place on which he had conferred many benefits. Raising himself upon his bed, to which disease had confined him, he swore by the soul of his father that he would re-take the town, and put all its inhabitants to death.

He instantly laid siege to the devoted town; and, although too ill to stand, caused himself to be carried about in a litter, and thus directed the operations. For a month the stout old walls resisted every attempt to batter them down; but when a breach was made, the English soldiers rushed in, and men, women, and children were slaughtered without mercy. The almost dying prince was carried through the streets in his litter; and trembling, unarmed men, and women with dishevelled hair, and eyes starting with terror, threw themselves in his path, and cried aloud for pity; but the stern cadaverous conqueror went on, heedless of the shrieks and groans of anguish which rose on all sides around him, and left them to their fate. The near prospect of his own death seemed to harden his heart; and he who was once so humane in victory, and generous to the fallen, then became pitiless and rigid as a marble statue. A few knights only he spared from the general massacre; but it was from admiration of their desperate bravery, rather than a sense of compassion; all others perished in one promiscuous butchery, and then the town itself was set on fire, and became a fierce red funeral pyre to the mounds of blood-stained and mangled dead. This sad deed ended the military career of the Black Prince; his star was struggling amid encroaching darkness, and in a few years he was to follow the victims of his savage wrath. In hope that the air of his native country might restore him, he caused himself to be carried to England, and left his affairs in France in a tottering and ruinous condition.

The military successes which the English had hitherto obtained over the French were now to meet a reverse. In the month of June, 1372, an English fleet, which King Edward had sent to France, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, was met, near Rochelle, by a Spanish fleet of superior strength, and totally defeated. The English fought desperately; for they had already began to consider the sea as their natural element; but they were over-matched, and every ship was sunk or captured. King Edward, forgetting his age, then embarked with an army; but the weather was so tempestuous, that after being detained in port for some time by contrary winds, he abandoned the expedition. Sir Robert Knowles, with 30,000 soldiers, marched from Calais to the gates of Paris, and devastated the country by the way; but the prudent French king would not risk a battle; the English found the towns all closed and fortified, and they could only wreak their fury upon the land. The Duke of Lancaster then marched almost from one end of France to the other; but the French, instead of fighting, only hung upon his rear, and slaughtered all stragglers from the army. Charles had secured the services of Du Guesclin, the famous and skilful general, who had fought in Spain and against Don Pedro; and he managed so well that King Edward was glad to enter into a truce, after having lost all his numerous conquests in France, except Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais.—This is commonly the result of victories. Territory won by violence is, as it deserves to be, frequently lost by it also.

The Black Prince seemed to get better after his return to England, and he recovered so far as to be able to take a considerable part in parliamentary business. His activity was spent in opposition to his father, who, in his old age, had grown somewhat indifferent to the interests of his people. He left most of the business of

the state to his son, the Duke of Lancaster, who was much disliked, and even suspected of a design to set aside the son of the Black Prince, and obtain the succession to the crown for himself. To satisfy the people on this subject, the king declared, in parliament, that his grandson, Prince Richard, was to inherit his crown. Edward's good queen, Philippa, had been dead some years, and the old king had since attached himself to a beautiful but profligate young woman, named Alice Pierce or Perrers. She was very pleasing in her conversation, as well as graceful in herself; and Edward doted on her so much, that he was quite uneasy in her absence, and he even bestowed upon her the costly jewels which had belonged to his dead queen. Her great influence over him aroused the dislike of the nation against her to such an extent, that the parliament threatened her with banishment.

Another event soon absorbed the minds of Englishmen and filled them with sorrow. This was the death of the Black Prince, who breathed his last on the 8th of June, 1376, regretted, and indeed loved, by the whole of the nation. His great talents, courage, and military glory had much endeared him to the people. He was not free from those cruelties which usually stain the characters of conquerors; but he seems generally to have been humane, generous, and affectionate. It is said that his manners were exceedingly affable and winning; and it is certain that his death was felt as a great national calamity. To this day his memory has been praised by historians, and cherished with admiration by his countrymen. This distinguished prince died in the forty-sixth year of his age, and left but one son, a boy of ten years old. The body of the deceased warrior was carried, with great state, to Canterbury, and buried in the cathedral there. His old, battered, rusty helmet it still suspended above his tomb.

Scarcely more than a year after the death of his brave son, King Edward himself went to his long resting-place; but before that event occurred, a humble parish priest rose up in England, and began that great struggle against ignorance and superstition which, nearly two centuries later, ended in the Reformation. His name was John de Wycliffe, or Wiclif, for it is differently spelt—a name that will always be honourably remembered in England, as that of the first distinguished reformer of the errors of the Roman church. A short account of his life should be contained in every history of this country.

He was born about the year 1324, in the parish from which he took his name, near Richmond, in Yorkshire. After being educated at Oxford, he became a priest; and when in his thirty-second year, attracted great notice by writing a book against the corruptions of Rome, called *The Last Age of the Church.* Sixteen years later he took the degree of doctor of divinity, and obtained considerable distinction as an excellent public lecturer on theology. About that time Pope Gregory XI. was exerting himself to make King Edward perform the homage and pay the tribute to Rome that had been promised by the weak tyrant, John, but had been latterly neglected. Amongst other means, the pontiff employed a learned monk to write a work in favour of this claim. Wycliffe, who saw the worldliness and ambition of the great head of the church, immediately wrote an answer, which gained him the patronage of the Duke of Lancaster, and a presentation from the king to the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. Having occasion to go to Rome, he was confirmed in his opinions about the abuses of its church, and afterwards spoke very boldly against the pope, both to his friends and in his public lectures; and on all occasions he defended the authority of the crown against the avarice and usurpations of the church. This gained him many enemies among those idle priests who loved corruption, and hated all reforms; so they collected a number of passages from his sermons and lectures, which they called heretical; that is, containing opinions opposed to those of the church; and these passages they sent to Rome for the inspection of the pope. As Wycliffe was a truthful, enlightened man, much beyond the spirit of his age, and the passages, no doubt, contained opinions not then commonly understood, the pope, of course, condemned them, and sent letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, to seize and imprison the man who had been presumptuous enough to write them.

These prelates, therefore, cited Wycliffe to appear before them at St. Paul's, and answer for his conduct. On the appointed day the cathedral was crowded; for at that time heresy was new in England, and the people were taught to consider it a profane and wicked thing. When the bold reformer appeared, in company with his patrons, the Duke of Lancaster and Earl Percy, they were scarcely able to obtain an entrance on account of the dense throng. The Bishop of London censured the duke for supporting a heretic, upon which the duke broke out into a violent passion, and threatened to drag the bishop from the church by the hair of his head. As may be supposed, a great uproar followed, and the meeting soon broke up in confusion. This time the people sided with the prelates; and, rushing from St. Paul's, attacked the Savoy Palace, where the Duke of Lancaster lived, and reversed his arms as those of a traitor. Their excitement was so great, that they even murdered an unfortunate priest whom they took for Earl Percy in disguise; and so much tumult followed, that the debates in parliament were interrupted, and the king himself was obliged to interfere to restore

tranquillity. This was in the early part of 1377, the last year of Edward's reign.

The remainder of Wycliffe's life was passed during the time of Richard II.; but, as the great events of history do not bring him again into notice, it will be well to mention what is necessary to be further told about him. The following year (1378) he was summoned by the bishops to appear before them in the chapel of Lambeth Palace; but the people had then changed their opinions, and began to regard Wycliffe as a wise and religious reformer, and they forced their way into the chapel in such numbers, and wore such threatening looks, that the bishops were seriously alarmed. They were relieved from this embarrassing position by the arrival of a messenger from the mother of the young king, forbidding them to proceed any further with the cause. Shortly afterwards the pope died; and thus, for a time, the reformer escaped further persecution. He then continued working at the great labour of his life, the translation of the Bible into English. The Bible used by the church was in Latin; and thus it was a sealed book to nearly the whole nation. The gospels had been translated into the Saxon, and so had several outlines and paraphrases of particular books; but the Bible, as a whole, could only be read by the priests. Printing was not invented until the next century; but many copies of Wycliffe's Bible were written and circulated during his life.

He had previously written a work *On the Truth and Meaning of Scripture;* in which he maintained that the Bible was the sole guide in all religious doctrines; that it was to be followed without regard to the traditions of the church; and that every one had a right to read and judge concerning it for themselves. That it was not a book for priests alone, but for the people; not for a single people, but for the whole world; and that in its sacred pages "all truth is either expressed or implied." He added, that we should follow "the law of God and of reason more than that of our popes and cardinals; so much so, that if we had a hundred popes, and if all the friars were cardinals, to the law of the gospel we should bow more than to all this multitude."

Wycliffe also lectured against the doctrine of transubstantiation; that is, the doctrine which teaches that, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the consecrated bread and wine is miraculously transformed into the actual body and blood of the Saviour. Wycliffe's lectures on this subject raised such a storm against him, that he was compelled to retract his opinions, and was, even then, deprived of his rectory at Lutterworth. In after-times, hundreds of pure-minded and heroic men and women were burnt to death at the stake for holding his opinions upon this subject. In the year 1383, the reverend reformer was seized by paralysis; but he recovered so far as to be able to fulfil his clerical duties The next year he had a second stroke, which rendered him speechless, and he died two days afterwards. He was one of the most remarkable men of his age, which was an age of strong minds and stirring events, and one of preparation for the great work of reformation that followed it. Thirty years after the death of Wycliffe, the high dignitaries of the Roman church had his bones dug up from the grave, as those of a heretic, and committed to the flames. Then, collecting the ashes, they cast them, in scorn, into a little stream which ran into the lovely river Avon—a mean and bitter insult that the effect of his writings well avenged.

To return to King Edward.—In the January of 1377 he completed the fiftieth year of his reign, and, in celebration of it, proclaimed a pardon for all minor offences. In the latter part of his life he sunk into apathy, if not into dotage; and four months after the fiftieth anniversary of his coronation, he expired at his beautiful manor of Sheen, now the town of Richmond. In his last moments he was deserted by his relatives and courtiers; and it is said that even Alice Pierce, his beautiful mistress, after stealing a diamond ring from his finger, abandoned him also. At the moment of his death no one was with him but a faithful priest; all the courtiers and attendants of this once mighty sovereign were crowding to offer their services to his successor. Edward died on the 21st of June, in his sixty-fifth year. He had a numerous family, several of whom preceded him to the grave. Those who survived him were Lionel, Duke of Clarence; John, Duke of Lancaster, called John of Gaunt, in allusion to the place of his birth; Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, afterwards Duke of York; and Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, afterwards Duke of Gloucester. Edward also left four daughters, Isabella, Joan, Mary, and Margaret.

The third Edward was a king of great courage and abilities. He experienced several reverses; and some of his victories (particularly the one of Crecy) were the result of the mismanagement of his enemies rather than of his own skill in war. His reputation as a soldier was also increased by the great military talent of his son, the Prince of Wales. His wars with France and Scotland, though they may have added to the national military fame, were unjust, because they were aggressive. The only thing that can be said in justification of them is, that they prevented conspiracies against him by his powerful and turbulent barons at home. In this light, some excuse may be found for them; but, in a moral point of view, they cannot be defended; and they produced no advantages even to the victors. They compelled Edward to apply frequently to his parliament for money, and thus enabled it to wrest from him many

valuable concessions to English liberty; Magna Charta was confirmed fifteen times during his reign, and the law against treason was rendered more simple and merciful. His government, though an arbitrary one, was, in most respects, prudent, usually just, and always vigorous. He was an ambitious prince; but, considering the practices of that age, certainly not a cruel one. His intended severity to the burgesses of Calais is the most reprehensible in this respect; but he suffered himself to be persuaded from that savage design. In his manners he was generous and affable, and his character was unstained by any petty tyranny. Altogether, England prospered under his government, and historians generally speak of his reign as an interesting and glorious period.

The nobility, gentry, and all others who could afford it, indulged, during this reign, in great extravagance of dress and luxury of living. This was a necessary consequence of the gradual extension of commerce and industry, and consequently of wealth. Luxury in living, and expense in dress, when not indulged in to the neglect of necessary duties, are both conducive to the prosperity of a country; but this our ancestors of that age did not understand, and several laws were made to check what was looked upon as mischievous prodigality. No persons who possessed less than a hundred a year were allowed to wear any ornaments of gold or silver, or any dresses of silk; while servants were prohibited from eating meat or fish more than once a day, and their masters (no matter what was their rank or wealth) were not to have more than two courses at dinner or supper, or more than three dishes to each course. These foolish laws (as we now deem them, though, when enacted, they were deemed quite the reverse) were frequently broken, and soon came to be disused. It seems that in dress people were just as fanciful then as now: indeed human nature is always the same; our fashions change, but our feelings remain unaltered. It would be absurd to suppose that people in those times did not possess a little vanity as well as ourselves; but they did not possess the same means of gratifying it, nor always the same taste in doing so. The Scots, who were not quite so wealthy as their English neighbours, ridiculed this love of finery, and some northern wit of that time one day fixed the following lines upon the door of St. Peter's Church, at Stangate:—

"Longbeards heartless,
Pointed hoods witless;
Gay coats graceless,
Make England thriftless.'

Many nobles and men of rank still remained exceedingly ignorant; they studied to fit themselves for war, rather than to acquire that information which is now considered necessary to every one who moves in any public or honourable station. An amusing instance of this ignorance is related by Robert of Avesbury, one of our old chroniclers. The pope, in the year 1344, created Louis of Spain Prince of the Fortunate Islands—meaning the Canaries, then but newly discovered. The English ambassador and his retinue, residing at Rome, were seized with alarm and astonishment. They had never heard of the Fortunate Islands; and, after debating together, came to the conclusion that they could be no other than England and Ireland; and, with this impression, they hurried home, to tell King Edward that the pope had actually presumed to give away his dominions. Of course the absurd mistake was soon explained; but so ill-informed and hasty an ambassador might have caused much mischief. Yet, in spite of this ignorance on the part of those whose duty it was to have been better informed, a desire for instruction was springing up among a part of the people. Speed tells us, that there were then 30,000 students in the university of Oxford alone. A modern historian inquires, "What was the occupation of all these young men?" and then sarcastically, but no doubt very truthfully, thus answers his own question—"To learn very bad Latin, and still worse logic."

In the reign of Edward III., lived the famous ancient English poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, who is regarded as the father of English literature, and has even been called the Homer of this country. The history of a nation is, in fact, a collection of biographies, arranged in chronological order, of its greatest and most illustrious people: a brief account of Chaucer is therefore indispensable. Though the conduct of kings and queens, warriors and nobles, greatly influences the condition of a people, and goes a long way towards producing their happiness or misery, so that upon it the national honour and prosperity mainly depends, it does not form the national *character*. That work is left to the teachers of the people, and to those who seek to diffuse instruction and information by their writings; and whose influence, through the press, is now so widely extended. When the literature of a country is of a wise and healthful kind, it improves the minds and elevates the tastes of a people; if, on the contrary, it be corrupt and depraved, it tends to debase them. Many a writer who may have lain in his grave, as Chaucer has, for four centuries and a-half, has, through his noble thoughts, strengthened the characters, formed the principles, and elevated the minds of the generation in which he lived; and his works now tend to have the same effect on those who read them. The memory of the intellectually illus-

trious dead, therefore, should always be reverenced, for our debt to them is great; as it is to the public instructors of our own times.

Chaucer was a public instructor of the age in which he lived. Some doubt has been entertained as to the precise year in which he was born, but it is generally admitted to be in 1328. Some say that his father was a knight; some that he was a vintner; and others that he was a merchant. At a proper age, Chaucer entered the university of Cambridge, but afterwards finished his education at Oxford. He then travelled abroad for a few years, after which he became one of the pages of the king. In this position his abilities attracted the attention and patronage of John of Gaunt, the celebrated Duke of Lancaster. The poet was afterwards made shield-bearer to his sovereign—an office long since disused and forgotten; and, finally, comptroller of the customs, in the port of London, for wool, woolfells, and hides. The profits arising from this office made him a very wealthy man; but he was also exceedingly industrious; for although he kept all the accounts of it himself, yet he found a great deal of time for study and writing poetry. His poems are numerous and very long. They consist of *The Canterbury Tales*, his greatest work, and which, though unfinished, contains more than 17,000 verses; *The Romaunt of the Rose; Troilus and Creseide; The House of Fame; Chaucer's Dream; The Book of the Duchess; The Flower and the Leaf; The Court of Love;* &c.

His writings are now somewhat difficult to read, as the English language has undergone many changes and improvements since his time; but there can be no doubt of their great merit, and by many they are considered as only second to the works of the great poet, William Shakspeare. Chaucer certainly possessed a vivid fancy, was a great observer, and his descriptions of character and costume are close and humorous, but tedious to a modern ear. The antique language in which he wrote scarcely looks like the English of our own day at all; though in the following often-quoted lines, Spenser celebrates it for its purity and English character:—

> " Dan Chaucer, *well of English undefil'd,*
> On Fame's eternal bead-roll worthy to be fil'd;
> Old Dan Chaucer, in whose gentle spright,
> The pure well-head of poetry did dwell."

Chaucer inclined to the religious opinions of Wycliffe; and during the reign of Richard II., got into some political troubles, which compelled him for a time to fly the country. He was afterwards restored to favour, and died during the reign of Henry IV., at the advanced age of seventy-two. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and a Latin epitaph placed over the grave, of which the following lines are a translation:—

> " Of English bards who sang the sweetest strains,
> Old Geoffrey Chaucer now this tomb contains;
> For his death's date, if reader thou should'st call,
> Look but beneath, and it will tell thee all.
> 25th October, 1400."

During the reign of Edward III. a new means of destruction began to be used in warfare: this was gunpowder. Cannons, said to have been introduced in 1338, are supposed to have been first used by English soldiers at the battle of Crecy; though, if they were (which is doubtful), they were not prominently employed, and did not contribute much towards obtaining that remarkable victory. They were used at the siege of Calais, A.D. 1347. The original cannons were clumsy and uncouth; some of them being made of iron rods soldered together, and bound round with iron rings; while others were composed of thin sheets of iron, rolled up and held firmly together in the same manner. Instead of lead or iron shot, stone balls were discharged from them, and a very small quantity of powder was used, for fear that the guns might burst. They did burst sometimes, and killed those around them; so, as yet, the English preferred, for some time, saluting their enemies with a flight of barbed and feathered arrows, instead of the more murderous discharge of cannon. Muskets are reported to have been first used at the siege of Arras, in 1414. The Spanish historians say that their government first put these weapons into the soldiers' hands. It was not till the reign of Henry VIII., A.D. 1521, that they were generally introduced into the English army. At first the muskets were lighted by a match, and were so heavy that they could not be used without a rest. There have been many kinds of guns, to which have been given the names of harquebus, hague-but or hagbut, hand-gun, matchlock, musket, firelock, carabine, &c.

The invention of gunpowder, like that of guns, is lost in obscurity. Some writers have supposed it to have been first known about the year 1320, by a German monk and alchemist, named Barthold or Michael Schwartz; but it was known to our famous English scholar, Roger Bacon, and he described it in his writings in 1270, or fifty years before its supposed discovery by Schwartz. The fact is, that neither of them was the first inventor; for it was known to the Chinese at an earlier time than we have any record of, and was used in the East three centuries and a-half before the time of our Saviour. But its fatally destructive properties in connection with gunnery were a secret; these became slowly understood, and for ages

gunpowder was only used for the harmless purposes of making fireworks and signals.

The noble old royal castle at Windsor was built by Edward III.; it was there he instituted the Order of the Garter; and it has, from that time, been a favourite residence of the English sovereigns.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE SECOND; CALLED RICHARD OF BORDEAUX.—A.D. 1377—1385.



RICHARD II., the son of the famous Black Prince, and the grandson of Edward III., was, at the time of his coronation, scarcely eleven years old. He was called Richard of Bordeaux, because he had been born at that town during the time his father lived in France. His mother was so beautiful a woman, that, before her marriage, people had named her "the Fair Maid of Kent." She was of the royal family, being a daughter of that Earl of Kent whom the treacherous Mortimer had deceived into an act of treason, and then procured his execution. She had been twice married before she became the wife of the Black Prince. From her first husband she was divorced; the second died; and though she survived the third she was still beautiful.

The coronation of the young king took place on the 16th of July, 1377, in Westminster Abbey. The ceremony was exceedingly magnificent, but it must also have been very tedious; for, before it was over, Richard fainted from fatigue and excitement. The young king's entry into the city had been through triumphal arches; and he rode under a canopy of blue silk, borne over him on spears of silver by the barons of the Cinque Ports. Many gorgeous pageants were performed in the streets for his amusement; and in Cheapside a castle was erected, from which ran streams of wine for the refreshment of the people. This castle had four turrets, and upon each of them stood a little girl, dressed in white, and of the same age as the king. When he approached them, they blew towards him small shreds of gold-leaf, and then, descending from their lofty position, handed to him and his attendants golden goblets filled with wine. After this, some one arrayed to represent an angel, came from the top of the castle, and offered him a golden crown. Great feasting and rejoicing followed the coronation; and the royal boy was so flattered and idolised, that it is a wonder his brain was not turned. All the affection the people had felt for his father they transferred to him, and the loftiest hopes were entertained of his future wisdom and glory. The gay crowd of courtiers and parasites who surrounded Richard, seem never to have guessed that they were weakening the mind, and corrupting the character, of their youthful sovereign. His father was educated in a stern school, amid war, hardships, and endurance, and he became a hero; the son was brought up in a dazzling whirl of flattery and luxury, and he soon sank to the level of the effeminate parasites and court butterflies by whom he was surrounded. Difficulties chasten the mind and give it strength; but ceaseless pleasure is a furnace from which very few, if any, escape unscathed.

The Duke of Lancaster (who will in future be called John of Gaunt in this history, because he is so much better known by that name), though a man of great talents and wisdom, was yet very unpopular with the nation, as it was believed he had sinister views upon the crown. When parliament met, the duke and the other uncles of the king were passed over, and the Lords and Commons appointed a regency of three prelates, two earls, and four knights, limiting their powers to a year. John of Gaunt was offended at his exclusion from this council, and, leaving the court, retired to his beautiful castle of Kenilworth.

The reign of Richard seemed destined to be a troubled one. He had not been seated on the throne a month before a French and Spanish fleet attacked the English coast, ravished the Isle of Wight, and burnt Hastings. They also attacked Winchelsea and Southampton, but were driven away from the latter place with great loss. The truce made between the late king and the French had expired; and as the terrible Edward was dead, and a mere boy wore the English crown, our enemies thought they could avenge the many sad injuries that had been inflicted upon them, and displayed evident signs of hostility. An English parliament met to consider what was best to be done; and a fleet was soon equipped for the defence of the coasts, and placed under the command of the king's uncle, the Earl of Buckingham. In this parliament, the House of Commons first began to assume some authority, and to exhibit a spirit of independence. Its members, for the first time, chose one of their number, Peter de la Mare, as speaker; whose office was to preserve order in their debates, and maintain that courtesy which is requisite in all bodies

of men met for discussion. After exhibiting some freedom of speech, they sentenced Alice Pierce, the mistress of the late king, who robbed him on his death-bed, to banishment, and confiscated all her property. They also insisted that two aldermen, John Philpot and William Walworth, both of whom afterwards obtained a considerable distinction, should be appointed to receive the money voted for the defence of the country, to prevent its being wastefully expended.

The following year, John of Gaunt took the command of the fleet; but the war between England and France was conducted in a feeble and spiritless manner. After having captured a fleet of Spanish merchantmen, which, of course, was unable to resist his armed ships, he sailed to Brittany, and laid siege to St. Malo; but was compelled to retire from that place by a French force, under the command of the famous soldier, Du Guesclin. The chief result of his exertions was, to obtain possession of the towns and ports of Cherbourg and Brest—the first of which was ceded to him by the King of Navarre, and the second by the Duke of Brittany, the son of the brave Countess de Montfort, who fought so heroically at Hennebon during the early part of the reign of Edward III. These towns were surrendered to the English in exchange for their assistance against the French, and not obtained by force of arms: so that when John of Gaunt returned home again, people complained, and said that although great expense had been incurred, he had achieved nothing.

Edward had bequeathed many quarrels to his grandson; and the Scots, who were in alliance with France, renewed the war. A bold Scottish adventurer, named John Mercer, having contrived to collect a fleet, sailed with it to Scarborough, and captured every ship he found there. The indignation of the English people was very great against the perpetrators of this outrage, and also against their own rulers, who, they thought, had encouraged it by apathy and negligence. John Philpot, one of the aldermen above mentioned, was a man of great courage and decision. Without applying for the sanction of the government, he fitted out a little fleet from his own purse, and sailed in pursuit of the Scotch plunderer, Mercer. The heroic alderman soon came up with his foe, and a fierce battle was fought, in which the Scot and fifteen of the ships were captured, and all the vessels taken from Scarborough recovered. The English people received the alderman with triumphant joy and gratitude; but they cursed the Duke of Lancaster, who was commander of the fleet, and should therefore have protected their coasts. The council of government censured Philpot for his presumption in having acted without their orders; but he replied that he had incurred their anger because, by teaching them their duty, he had snatched from their brows the proudest laurels of nobility. This answer was not very palatable to them; but Philpot was so popular that they dared not interfere with him. In 1378, a party of Scotch adventurers, led by Alexander Ramsay, surprised and captured the castle of Berwick; whilst a Scotch army crossed the borders, and devastated the northern counties. The Earl of Northumberland, with a force of 10,000 men, recaptured the castle of Berwick with some difficulty: he then entered the southern counties of Scotland, inflicting similar injuries there to those committed by the Scotch in England. This warfare, inglorious to both parties, was continued through 1379. In 1380, John of Gaunt marched at the head of a powerful army to Scotland; and after a few unimportant passages at arms, a truce for three years was concluded.

The little wars in which the English government engaged, though they brought no renown, and very little advantage, still caused great expense. The affairs of the kingdom seemed to have been ill-managed; the royal treasury was soon empty; and the people had been so oppressed by heavy taxes during the last and present reigns, that they were in no humour to re-fill it. In this state of things, the parliament (1378) levied a tax which was considered extremely oppressive. It was called the capitation, or poll-tax; and by it every male and female above the age of fifteen, was to pay the sum of three groats; but to make it fall lighter upon the poor, it was also arranged that they should be assisted in paying it by the rich, in such a manner that no person should pay less than one groat or more than sixty.

The imposition of this tax produced a startling and terrible insurrection, and threw the whole country, and especially the metropolis, into fear and confusion. But the poll-tax was not the only cause of the great commotions which followed it. A change was going on in several countries in Europe; the minds of the people were awakening. They began to see the state of passive degradation in which they had so long lived, and to crave for a change. They had been serfs and villeins, and they desired to become free men: the oppression of the nobles and gentry had been more than they could bear, and they resolved to make an effort to be recognised as fellow-men. A revolution had taken place in Flanders; France had been torn by commotions; and England was ready to follow the same example. In the latter country, the lower order of people were, at that time, little regarded, and were frequently treated with great discourtesy by their superiors. They were, no doubt, very ignorant and rude, and not very likely to attract much kindness from those above them; but their masters and rulers should have taught them better, and some of them suffered severely for not having done so.

The peasantry of England were in this irritable state of mind when the poll-tax was imposed; and their ill-temper was increased by the severity with which it was collected. Many fierce disputes arose between the collectors and the people about the ages of young folks; the former declaring that they were of the age of fifteen, and therefore liable to pay the tax; the latter often contending that their children were beneath that age, and consequently exempt from it. In many parts of Kent and Essex the collectors behaved with so much rudeness and violence, that they were attacked and driven away by the people, and some of them even killed. In consequence of this, royal commissioners were sent into the disturbed districts, that their authority might produce the necessary submission and payment; but the people of Fobbing, in Essex, treated the commissioner and his officers with no more ceremony than they had shown to the collectors. Upon this, the chief justice of the Common Pleas was sent from London to try the offenders, but he was compelled to fly for his life; and the jurors and clerks of the commission fell victims to the fury of the people, who cut off their heads, carried them on poles through the neighbouring country, and called upon all poor men to rise and join them in opposing the oppressors.

Their summons was numerously responded to; and in a little time, not only the whole peasantry of Essex had risen in revolt, but those of Kent, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lincoln were rapidly following the example. They soon found a leader in a turbulent priest, who assumed the name of Jack Straw, and the insurrection was becoming every hour more formidable.

Even at this period, had the tax-gatherers been withdrawn, the tax repealed or modified, and the people treated with more consideration, the riot would probably have ceased, and the peasantry have returned to their homes and labour. But the government persevered in its obnoxious course, and an outrage committed by one of the collectors extended and strengthened the rebellion. He entered the shop of a blacksmith at Dartford, in Kent, and demanded the tax for his daughter, a young maiden, whose mother declared she was not yet fifteen, and therefore exempt from the payment of it. This tax-gatherer was a coarse, vulgar ruffian; and he not only declared that the poor girl was of the age set down by act of parliament, but he offered a very shameful insult to her in order to prove it. Shrinking from the fellow, she uttered a loud cry of terror; and her swarthy-faced, brawny-armed father, who was at work in the neighbourhood, rushed in to know the cause of his daughter's fear. Learning the violence that had been offered to his child, the blacksmith snatched a heavy hammer from his anvil, and with one blow laid the intruder dead at his feet. The news spread through the neighbouring villages, and Wat Tyler—for such was the blacksmith's name—was soon surrounded and congratulated by hundreds of peasants and working-men, who regarded him as a hero and deliverer.

About the same time, a gentleman named Sir Simon Burley, went to Gravesend, attended by an armed force, and seizing a respectable working-man, carried him off to prison as his escaped serf. This added fuel to the fire of insurrection; a cry of indignation and a shout for vengeance arose from the suffering people, and the peasantry and artisans of all the surrounding counties rose in arms. The determined Wat Tyler was chosen as their leader; and a priest, named John Ball, who had been imprisoned for heresy, was liberated from confinement and made their preacher. Jack Straw and his followers also joined them; and so did other leaders, who assumed the names of Hob Carter and Tom Miller. This was done as a boast of their mean condition, and to show their contempt of the nobles and gentry. The latter had long subjected them to serfdom and tyranny; and now these ignorant men retaliated by plundering their homes, and sometimes murdering the occupants.

These events took place in the year 1381; and in the month of June, Wat Tyler, and an immense host of people marched into the city of Canterbury. Wild and fierce-looking groups they were, but still with something grotesque about them. Some few were armed with axes, bows, swords, or hammers; but the greater number with nothing more than stout-knotted sticks. Some were decently dressed; many were arrayed in rich but ill-fitting garments, that they had stolen from the houses of the gentry; but multitudes tramped on in rags, and with bare heads and feet, their eager eyes, dark, sunburnt faces, and tangled hair giving them a wild, gipsy look. Men of all ages were there, from the grey-haired grandfather to the mere lad who scarcely understood the cause of all the tumult, and many haggard, anxious-looking women, who left their now deserted homes to follow their husbands in this strange, ill-judged pursuit of liberty.

Tyler's object in Canterbury was to put the archbishop to death, for the people regarded him as their enemy: that prelate, however, had already fled from the city. Disappointed in their intention, the insurgents seized three rich men, and beheaded them; then compelling the mayor and inhabitants to swear to be true to King Richard and the Commons of England, they marched away in triumph to London, followed by some hundreds of the poor people of Canterbury.

When Tyler and his followers reached Blackheath, they halted, and their numbers are said to have







amounted to as many as 100,000 men. Here the king's mother, who, with a few attendants, was returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, was stopped by them; but on learning who she was, the vast mob treated her with respect, with the exception that a few rough swarthy men insisted on kissing the still attractive woman, who was once known as the Fair Maid of Kent. They then escorted her in safety through the host, for they loved the memory of the Black Prince too well to offer any insult to his widow; and their kisses, though somewhat unsavoury, were still but rude expressions of an admiring attachment. Other people who fell into their hands were not so fortunate, for all the judges and lawyers they could seize they instantly put to death.

While they remained encamped at Blackheath and in its neighbourhood, John Ball, the priest, occupied their attention with sermons, or rather speeches. His text was generally this quaint, proverbial rhyme—

> "When Adam delved, and Eve span,
> Who was then a gentleman?"

He said that, in the Scripture, they were told that all mankind came from one common origin, and were all equal in the sight of God: that the beasts of the field and the birds of the air were not for the rich alone, but were intended by their beneficent Author to be equally shared by rich and poor together. Consequently, he recommended a general equality of rank and property, and a leveling of all men to the same condition. With some truth there is more falsehood in this reasoning. In one sense all men are equal in the eyes of their Creator; and all who will labour to produce the fruits of the earth have a right to a share of them. But God has not been pleased to make all men equal in personal gifts; some possess intellect, learning, and industry, while others are weak-minded, ignorant, and idle; and it is therefore impossible to keep them on an equality, even for a single day. The strong will rise above the level, and the weak sink below it; the wise will lead, and the ignorant follow; industry will accumulate property, while idleness will want bread. This is not an artificial state of society, but the result of the natural laws of the world, and all attempts at defeating it only end in failure and confusion. But the poor ignorant men that John Ball preached to did not understand these things; and as he was possessed of a certain uncultivated eloquence, his harangues excited them to a state of enthusiasm.

From Blackheath the rioters went to London, and halted at Mile End, which was then a wide open ground, used for sports and military exercises. The young king had taken shelter in the Tower, and they sent a message to him, demanding a conference. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who also had fled there for safety, advised him by no means to go; but Richard courageously determined to face the rebels, and try to soothe them into tranquillity, and persuade them to return to their homes. Entering his barge, he sailed down the river as far as Rotherhithe, where multitudes of Tyler's followers were collected. On seeing the king approach, they set up such a shout, that it frightened his attendants, who turned the boat round, and rowed back to the Tower for protection.

Marching along the banks of the river, the insurgents demolished the Marshalsea and King's Bench prisons; and, proceeding to Lambeth, burnt the furniture and records of the primate. Afterwards they entered the city, and were joined by a number of the common people there. At first they behaved very orderly, stealing nothing, and paying for all they wanted. But they could not refrain from attacking the Savoy Palace, the residence of John of Gaunt, who was much hated by them, notwithstanding that he was an intelligent and liberal nobleman, and the patron and friend of both Wycliffe and Chaucer. They still supposed that he had a treasonous design of supplanting his nephew upon the throne, though he seems to have been quite innocent of any such intention, and they burnt his palace to the ground. Yet they would not plunder it further than by drinking all the duke's wine, as they wished it to be understood that their object was to punish their oppressors, and not to profit by general confusion. So far were they animated by this spirit, that having detected one of their number in stealing a silver cup, they threw him into the Thames, cup and all.

Excited by the work of destruction, and by the wine they had drunk, they next attacked and demolished Newgate, the Fleet, the Temple, and other public buildings. From one kind of outrage they easily proceeded to another, and resolved on the shocking idea of putting to death all who were opposed to them. Of every one whom they met in their progress through the city, they demanded—"For whom holdest thou?" This was a kind of pass-word; and the answer to it was—"With King Richard and the true Commons;" and all who were unfortunate enough not to know this response, were instantly beheaded. Against the Flemings, and other foreign merchants who lived in London, they were particularly furious, because they had a foolish notion that they lost all that the foreigners gained in their mutual transactions. Thirty of these unhappy men were dragged from the altar of a church, where they had taken refuge, and savagely butchered in the streets, amidst shouts of fiendish delight. All restraint was then removed; order and mercy were forgotten; and when night closed in, London was illuminated by the flames of burning houses, the dust of the city was laid

with streams of blood, and ghastly, headless corpses lay exposed in the open streets. That night was spent in one wild orgie of horror, worthy of the fiends themselves.

The next morning, the 14th of June, the mob assembled around the Tower, and with dreadful cries and shouts, demanded the heads of the king's ministers. The young king, who feared that the fortress could not long afford protection, sent the rebels word, that if they would retire to Mile End, he would meet them, and grant all their desires. To this the people consented, and the drawbridge being lowered, the youthful sovereign, attended by a slender retinue, all unarmed, rode forth and led the way. A great part of that vast mass followed, and in a short time Richard found himself at Mile End, in the presence of 60,000 armed and rebellious men. He had not yet reached his sixteenth year, but he displayed a courage and composure which even men seldom possess; and, indeed, his two half-brothers who started with him from the Tower, were so terrified that they abandoned him by the way, and rode back to the fortress for safety.

The great concourse of rebels was no doubt struck with a rude admiration of the young, handsome monarch, and of his courage, in thus placing his life in their hands. Their fierce swarthy faces softened into a milder expression, and, with an air of respect, they presented to him their demands. These were—first, the total abolition of slavery for themselves and their children for ever; second, the reduction of the rent of good land to fourpence the acre; third, the full liberty of buying and selling, like other men, in all fairs and markets; and, fourth, a general pardon for all offences. With a smiling face, Richard declared that all their desires were granted; but he had no intention of keeping his word. The people, who believed in his sincerity, were satisfied, and they separated, the greater part of them returning to their homes.

The men of Kent were the most determined of the rebels, and they, with many desperate rioters, did not follow the king to Mile End, but remained behind, for the purpose of attacking the Tower, and wreaking their vengeance upon the ministers. The attack upon the Tower was so easily successful, that it has been suspected the garrison within it, which consisted of 1,200 soldiers, was favourably disposed towards them. This seems the more likely, because we do not hear that the soldiers were slaughtered; but the rebels seized their old enemy, the Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer; together with the king's confessor, and several persons who had made themselves disliked by farming the taxes, and put them all to death. The king's mother again fell into their hands; but even in the madness of their wrath they spared her, merely, as before, insisting upon extorting a few kisses. Overcome with terror, she was carried away by her ladies in a state of insensibility.

The queen-mother was taken across the river, and lodged for safety in a house called the Royal Wardrobe, and there she was joined by Richard on his return from Mile End. From that place he sent to Wat Tyler and his followers the conditions which had been accepted by the rest of the insurgents, but they rejected them with contempt; and even much larger promises met with no better favour. The next day the young sovereign resolved on again trying the effect of a personal appeal to them. Mounting his horse, he rode away with a few attendants, amongst whom was the Mayor of London, and met Wat Tyler, and a great host of the rebels, in Smithfield. Richard's company did not exceed sixty persons; and when they arrived in front of the Abbey of St. Bartholomew, they found before them thousands upon thousands of fierce armed rustics, who swayed backwards and forwards like a living sea. "Ah!" exclaimed Tyler, when he beheld the royal party, "Here is the king! I will go and speak to him. Move neither hand nor foot until I give you a signal."

Tyler was a man of gigantic stature; and his muscular arms and broad chest betokened immense strength. His bronzed face was flushed with an air of insolent triumph; and his dark, shaggy hair gave him a wild brigand-like appearance. Yet there was something striking in the man; and his broad forehead, bold flashing eye, dilated nostrils, and erect bearing, bespoke him fit to lead and command a multitude of rude and ignorant men. He was armed with a sword and dagger, though he wore those weapons sheathed; and was mounted on a powerful and high-bred steed, no doubt once the property of some wealthy victim of the popular fury.

Riding up to his sovereign with an air of bravado, the bold blacksmith fixed his eyes on the boy-king, and exclaimed—"King! dost thou see all those men there?" As he asked this question, Tyler played carelessly with the hilt of his dagger; but the son of the Black Prince did not quail or shrink from the bold glance that was fixed upon him; and with a calm, self-possessed air, he replied—"I do; why dost thou ask?" "Because," was the answer, "they do all at my will; and have sworn by their faith and loyalty to do whatsoever I bid them." At this moment, some writers say that Tyler seized the bridle of the king's horse: this is not certain; but no doubt he committed some threatening or insolent act which created an alarm for the safety of the young monarch. John Walworth, the Lord Mayor, thinking that, perhaps, the blunt rebel intended to kill his sovereign, suddenly struck him so violent a blow with a sword or mace that he reeled in his saddle, and

then, with a heavy shock, fell to the earth. The eyes of Tyler glared like those of a wild beast, as he endeavoured to rise from the ground; but one of the king's esquires, drawing his sword, plunged it almost to the hilt in the body of the fallen man. Giving a heavy groan, he beat his hands convulsively together for a little while, and then expired.

A wild outcry of passion arose from the vast crowd. "We are betrayed!" they shouted; "they have killed our captain; they have murdered our leader!" A forest of clubs rose in the air, among them gleamed the bright heads of spears and axes; and many of the rebels who were armed with bows, had already fitted their arrows to the string. It was a moment of imminent peril to the young sovereign: to have hesitated, or to have shown the least sign of fear, would have been to bring down certain destruction upon himself and his whole party. Richard did neither; the intrepidity of his father animated him at that moment. Riding boldly up to the enraged mob, he shouted loudly to them "What are you doing, my people? Tyler was a traitor. I am your king; and I will be your guide and captain."

There is something in a generous courage, especially when shown in youth, and aided by personal attractions, which disarms opposition, and triumphs over brute force. It is said that the steady gaze of a fearless man will intimidate a lion. This instance was no exception: the rebels lowered their weapons, and gazed with a half-incredulous, half-believing look upon the handsome face of the young monarch. Taking advantage of this momentary impression in his favour, he induced them to follow him to the open fields about Islington. There he was joined by Sir Robert Knollys and a large body of soldiers, at whose appearance many of the rustics slunk away, and running through the neighbouring corn-fields, made for their homes; the rest the king dismissed with the charter which he had previously granted to the men of Essex. Sir Robert Knollys wanted very much to be permitted to attack the people with his troops, and kill as many of them as possible, but Richard very justly would not allow him.

It would have been a happy thing, both for himself and his subjects, if the young king had kept to this merciful and generous course; but soon afterwards, when he had collected a numerous army, he told the people that he did not intend to observe the charters which had been extorted from him: and that his promises of freedom from slavery, and pardon for past offences, meant nothing whatever. For this treachery he was punished severely in after-times, when the whole nation fell from his side, and abandoned him to the merciless hands of a usurper; but now he had everything his own way. The people were greatly exasperated by his duplicity; and the men of Kent collected together in order to defend their rights, and compel him to observe his promises; but undisciplined men cannot stand the attacks of regular troops. They were defeated, great numbers of them slain, and the rest dispersed in confusion. Then began the slower but more terrible slaughter by the law: officers and judges were sent throughout the disturbed districts to arrest and try the offenders. Hundreds were condemned to death; and the headsman was at work incessantly. But this was a slow process; and the victims accumulated so rapidly, that it was thought hanging would be a quicker means. Soon, a hideous row of gibbets was erected, and the dead bodies left hanging on them for days, to strike terror into the survivors, and produce in them a habit of submission. The peasantry were shocked at this sight; they regarded the victims as martyrs rather than criminals; and, taking the bodies down at night from the gibbets, buried them secretly; and no doubt these hidden graves were often hallowed by the sad tears and prayers of bereaved women and little fatherless children. To prevent this, the king, with a severity unsuited to his youth, ordered the rebels to be hanged in chains, so that they could not be removed; and thus a new and revolting ceremony arose in England, which was continued until very lately. One old chronicler tells us that no less than 1,500 executions took place after this wild insurrection. Thus ended this outbreak of the poor against oppression; and it finished so sadly because it was conducted by ignorant men, who employed violence instead of moderation, bloodshed and terror instead of reason and moral power. Had their demands been urged in a different spirit, it is hardly possible that, as they were in themselves so reasonable, they could have been long withheld. Alas, for the poor!—not in those remote days alone, but in this more prosperous and enlightened time—the grim gigantic cause of half their miseries was, and is, ignorance; still, ambitious and designing demagogues mislead and direct them to serve their own purposes.

All the events we have narrated took place in 1381; and they produced no results. Nothing more was said about the poll-tax, and it was suffered to fall into gradual forgetfulness. Some little inquiry was, indeed, at first made into the causes of the late rebellion, but nothing was done to remedy them; and things went on much as they had done before that event.

The following year, that of 1382, an event of a very different character took place. The young king, though little more than sixteen years of age, was married to Anne of Bohemia, the daughter of Charles IV., the Emperor of Germany. She was a kind-hearted and accomplished young lady, and so won the good opinions of the people, that they afterwards called her the "good

Queen Anne." A period of more than three years then rolled on, which was chiefly occupied by Richard's quarrels with his uncle, John of Gaunt, who was accused, by a friar, of being engaged in a conspiracy to dethrone his nephew. The accusation appears to have been groundless; but there was one suspicious circumstance attending the transaction. The duke having insisted that his accuser should be arrested, that he might prove his charge, or be punished for his falsehood, the monk was committed to the custody of one of the king's half-brothers, and one morning found dead in his bed. It was reported that he was murdered in a manner too shocking for description. Through a jealous fear of his uncles, Richard then began to surround himself with favourites—those inseparable companions of weak-minded sovereigns; and the great hopes which men had so lately entertained of his manliness and kingly qualities were fast melting away.

CHAPTER XXX.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE SECOND.—A.D. 1385—1399.

IN the year 1385, war re-commenced with Scotland. The truce with that country having expired, the Scots became the aggressors, and, in conjunction with a body of French cavalry, ravaged the English borders. Richard, assisted by his uncle, John of Gaunt, collected an army of 60,000 men, and marched into Scotland to chastise the invaders. But the Scots had deserted their dwellings, and driven their cattle into the woods; the English, therefore, found the country barren, and unable to support them: so, after burning Melrose, Drysdale, and even Edinburgh, they were compelled to return to their own country. As usual on these occasions, numbers of the common soldiers died on the way back, from want and sickness. While the English were thus devastating Scotland, the Scotch, taking care to avoid the enemy's troops, entered England by a different route, and ravaged and plundered the county of Cumberland. They attacked Carlisle, but were repulsed with great loss. Richard was advised by his uncle to wait for them on their return, and punish them for their depredations upon his subjects; but he was impatient to get back to his pleasures and his favourites, and therefore marched home again, having done no more mischief to Scotland than the people of that country had inflicted upon England.

The Scots had calculated a great deal upon the assistance of the French; and the English had cause to dread a close union between the people of those nations. But the French did not like the barren country and dull habits of their allies, and the Scots soon began to quarrel with the French. "What evil spirit brought you here?" said they; "cannot we maintain our war with England well enough without your help? Pack up your goods and begone! for no good will be done as long as you are here. We neither understand you, nor you us. We cannot converse together; and, in a short time, we shall be completely wasted and eaten up by such troops of locusts. Even the English never occasioned so much mischief as you do."

John of Gaunt was married to a daughter of Pedro the Cruel, the late King of Castille; and in consequence of this connection he had long laid claim to the throne of that country. This claim was, of course, opposed by the reigning Prince of Castille; so the English duke now collected an army of 10,000 men, among whom was the flower of the young English nobles, and sailed to Spain to maintain what he considered to be his right. Though unpopular with the people, and suspected by his nephew, he had still been the great support of the government; and the French, delighted at his absence, determined on an invasion of England. The disturbed state of this country, in consequence of the late insurrections, also gave them hopes of success. Charles VI., the King of France, made immense preparations, and collected a noble army of 100,000 men. A magnificent fleet lay at Sluys ready for the embarkation of the soldiers, and their conveyance to the scene of the expected conquest. The design of the French monarch was, however, crushed even in its birth. A terrible storm arose and dispersed his fleet: many of the vessels were wrecked and lost; others were captured by the English; and then Charles disbanded his army in despair, and found himself unable to wring money enough from his people with which to collect another.

Richard, who was now approaching his twentieth year, abandoned himself to pleasure, and to the society of his favourites. The chief of these was a young noble, named Robert de Vere; and the next, Michael de la Pole, the son of an eminent merchant, who had risen to the dignity of chancellor, and been

lately created Earl of Suffolk. These men, especially the former, exercised so great an influence over him, that it excited the jealousy of both nobles and people. This was not surprising, for the king had bestowed honours and gifts of the most unusual kind upon De Vere—first creating him Marquis of Dublin (a title before unknown in England), and then Duke of Ireland. Nor was this merely an empty honour, for the king bestowed with it the whole revenue of Ireland, upon condition of his receiving an annual tribute of 5,000 marks a year.

When the parliament met in the October of 1386, a message was sent to the king, desiring that De la Pole, the chancellor, might be dismissed from his court and favour. Richard at first refused, saying that he would not, on their account, remove the meanest scullion in his kitchen. The parliament insisted: it was supported by the king's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, who, since John of Gaunt had gone into Spain, had taken the lead in public affairs; and the young monarch was compelled to submit and abandon his favourite. The Duke of Gloucester, and the nobles who were of his party, having obtained their way on this point, proceeded to a measure far more extreme and violent; they required Richard to surrender the royal power into the hands of a council of prelates and barons, who, as in the reign of Henry III., should discharge all the duties of the state. Of course, this was an expression of a total want of confidence in him, or his ability to govern; and such a measure would leave him nothing but the name of a king. Richard felt insulted and enraged; and declared he would never consent to such a proceeding. But he had so belied the hopes entertained of him in his boyhood, that the nobles had learnt to despise their king; and one member of parliament desired that the record of the deposition of Edward II. might be produced; which was intended as a strong hint of the fate Richard might expect, unless he submitted to the degrading condition required of him.

The commission of government was appointed: it consisted of fourteen prelates and barons, with the stern Duke of Gloucester at their head. The sceptre was thus wrested by the aristocracy from the feeble grasp of their king; and though still a sovereign in name, Richard was in effect dethroned. It is true, the commission was only to last for a twelvemonth; but such a power once called into existence is generally very difficult to abolish.

Richard soon repented of the great concession he had made to his nobles; and, in 1387, calling a secret assembly of the judges at Nottingham, he requested their opinions as to whether the commission of government was legal. It was certainly so far legal that it had been appointed by the king himself; but either from conviction, or a desire to please their young sovereign, the judges answered in the way which they knew would be most agreeable to him. They declared that it was not only illegal, but derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the king; and that those who procured it, or advised the king to consent to it, were guilty of treason, and punishable with death. They added that "the king was above the laws;" but some of them gave this opinion out of fear; and one, after signing it, said, that "never did any action better deserve hanging than that he had just done." The Duke of Gloucester and his party soon heard of this secret meeting, and the conclusions at which it had arrived, and they became alarmed for their own safety. By it they were all declared to be traitors; but they determined to be beforehand with their young monarch. Collecting an army of about 40,000 men, they advanced upon London, and there Gloucester and his associates accused the advisers of Richard of treason, and demanded that they should be delivered up to them, and placed upon their trial. A few days afterwards they entered the royal presence, and accused by name the Archbishop of York; De Vere, the Duke of Ireland; the Earl of Suffolk; Sir Robert Tresilian, the chief justice; and Sir Nicholas Bember, the Lord Mayor of London. These men they declared were dangerous public enemies, whose liberty was inconsistent with the safety of the kingdom.

Three of the impeached councillors saved themselves by flight; but Tresilian, the chief justice, and Bember, the Lord Mayor, were arrested, tried before the parliament for high treason, condemned, and executed. The greatest crime seems to have been, that they had in all things supported the king's authority, and had advised him to summon the assembly of judges, who had declared the commission of government to be illegal. The three who fled were also found guilty of high treason, but they were beyond the reach of their enemies; the Archbishop of York had gone to Flanders, where he remained until his death, discharging the humble duties of a parish priest; De la Pole went to France, and died soon afterwards; while the other favourite, De Vere, the Duke of Ireland, retired to Wales, where he was authorised by the king to raise an army to oppose Gloucester and the confederated nobles. He did so, but was met and utterly defeated at Radcot Bridge, by Gloucester and Henry of Bolingbroke, the son of the absent John of Gaunt, and cousin to the king. De Vere escaped to Holland, and died there a few years afterwards.

Having thus punished the five advisers of the king, Gloucester and the council of government next proceeded against the judges who had met at Nottingham,

and declared their authority to be illegal. The parliament found them all guilty of treason, and pronounced sentence of death. As they pleaded they had acted through fear of Richard, they were not executed, but banished into Ireland. Four knights, who were tried for treason for advising the king to this course, were less fortunate than the judges, for they were all sent to the scaffold. Amongst them was Sir Simon Burley, who, at the beginning of the insurrection of Wat Tyler and the peasantry, had seized and imprisoned a man at Gravesend as his runaway slave. Such an act would, probably enough, be deemed infamous now, but it does not seem to have been considered so then, for Sir Simon was greatly respected. He had been a friend of the Black Prince, and the guardian of the king in his youth, and Richard did his best to save him. Gloucester would not spare the life of the knight, and then the young queen pleaded for him upon her knees; but still the fierce duke was inexorable. and Sir Simon was sent to the scaffold.

During the summer of the year 1388, a fierce little war took place between two border barons—Earl Douglas of Scotland, and Lord Harry Percy of England, the eldest son of the powerful Earl of Northumberland, and who, for his courage and impetuosity, was named Hotspur. In the course of it, the battle of Otterburne, celebrated in our ballad literature under the name of Chevy Chase, was fought. After a desperate conflict, the English were compelled to retire, leaving their chief, Hotspur, and his brother, prisoners; but the Scottish leader, the Black Douglas, as he was called, was killed. In his last moments he thanked God that he should die as his ancestors had done, not in a bed, but on a battlefield.

The commission of government, headed by the Duke of Gloucester, had exercised the royal power for upwards of twelve months, and would, no doubt, have held it much longer, but for a brief exhibition of spirit on the part of the king. Summoning a council of his nobles, he suddenly demanded of his uncle, Gloucester, what he supposed was his age? The duke replied, "Your highness is in your twenty-second year." "Then," continued Richard, resolutely, "I am surely of age to manage my own affairs. I have been longer under the control of guardians than any ward in my dominions. I thank you, my lords, for your past services; but I want them no longer." This announcement was so unexpected, that Gloucester and his confederates, being taken by surprise, resigned their power; and the king issued a proclamation, saying that he had resumed the regal authority.

The affairs of England went on quietly for several years; the king and his uncle, Gloucester, hated each other very bitterly; but there was no absolute quarrel between them; indeed, when John of Gaunt returned from Castille, he interfered as mediator, and a hollow reconciliation took place. Both uncle and nephew professed to be very delighted, and to have a great attachment for each other, but neither of them were sincere. In the year 1394, Richard lost his wife, the good Queen Anne, who died at Sheen, now called Richmond. She seems to have exercised an influence for good upon his weak and pleasure-loving nature; and after her death his troubles fell rapidly upon him. That year the Irish made an effort to throw off the English rule; but on Richard's appearance in that country, they instantly submitted. Seventy-five chiefs did homage to him; and the English king then regaled them with splendid banquets and parades, and even exhibited to them his crown jewels, which he had carried over for the purpose of astonishing these wild Irish princes. He was desirous of conferring the dignity of knighthood upon four of them; but they said it was an honour they did not wish for, and it required a great deal of persuasion to induce them to submit to it.

Late in the year 1396, Richard visited France, and concluded a truce for twenty-five years with Charles VI., the French king. To render this the more lasting he married the daughter of that monarch, the Princess Isabella, although the young lady was not more than seven years old. The Duke of Gloucester, who disliked everything the king did, of course complained about this, and called Richard a trifler, because he preferred peace with France instead of war, as his father and grandfather had done. Indeed, this turbulent duke never missed any occasion of holding up his nephew to the dislike of the nobles and people, and never appeared at court or in council except to disapprove of what was going on there. The English people could not overcome the dislike they bore to the French, and Gloucester encouraged all their prejudices and animosities. He forgot the reverses which attended the English arms during the later years of the great Edward III., and made slighting comparisons between the glorious exploits of that monarch and the inactivity of the present one. The ignorant people soon took up these views, and the scheming troublesome duke became very popular. This opposition seems to have proceeded from a dislike of his nephew, and from an unamiable temper; but one writer of that time accuses the duke of a design of dethroning Richard, and of bestowing the crown at once upon Roger Mortimer, the Earl of March, whom the king had named as his successor; and whom, in 1395, he had appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Richard at length resolved on putting a stop to the career of this troublesome uncle; and, having arrested his friends, the Earls of Warwick and Arundel, he went to Pleshy Castle, in Essex, and, when the duke came

out to meet him, caused him to be seized, put on board a ship, and carried away suddenly across the channel to the castle of Calais. The Earls of Arundel and Warwick were then tried before parliament, not for any recent treason, but for the part they had taken, years before, in the commission of government. If this were treason, many of the nobles who sat in judgment upon them had shared in it; still, such was the fear which the king's recent energy had excited, that the two earls were condemned. Arundel pleaded Richard's pardon for this old offence, but the plea was overruled, and he was condemned and executed. His brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was also arrested and accused of assisting in procuring the commission of government; and, as his ecclesiastical dignity preserved him from the hands of the headsman, he was condemned to banishment for life. The Earl of Warwick pleaded guilty, and acted with so much humility, that, instead of a sentence of death, he was consigned to perpetual imprisonment—a punishment scarcely more merciful. Having disposed of some of his opponents in this tyrannical manner, Richard then proceeded to wreak his vengeance on his uncle of Gloucester.

The duke had been arrested in July, 1397; and, in the following September, a warrant was sent to the governor of Calais, commanding him to produce his prisoner before the king and parliament, that he might answer the charges of treason brought against him. The governor replied that he could not produce the duke, because he had died suddenly of apoplexy. Some mystery hangs over the exact circumstances of Gloucester's death; but the general supposition was, that he was smothered in prison by his keepers, and that the murder was committed in consequence of the orders of his nephew, who feared to bring so powerful and popular a noble to trial. The sending to Calais for him to appear and take his trial was a piece of deception which failed of success, for all men believed the king to be guilty of the murder. This was the great crime of Richard's life; his other acts had proceeded chiefly from weakness of character, and that curse of kings in all states where the government is in an unsettled condition—a love of arbitrary power. This deliberate murder of his father's brother reveals a treacherous and cruel nature. The duke scarcely deserves our pity; he had been an unnatural relative, and a turbulent and dangerous subject: but, whatever are men's offences, they should always be punished for them by the laws of the land, and not by the secret violence of the assassin. The parliament had met to condemn him to death, and therefore they did not care much in what manner he perished; so they made no inquiry into the matter, but declared the murdered man a traitor, and confiscated his property.

Encouraged by this destruction of his enemies, Richard ruled in a very despotic manner. The parliament was intimidated, and passed any measures that he pleased, and he caused it to undo everything that the Duke of Gloucester and his faction had done. It voted him certain taxes, not for a year, as was usual, but for his whole life: and, before separating, confided the entire power of parliament to a commission of eighteen of the king's parasites and creatures, who advised him to do just as he pleased, and persuaded him that he could do nothing wrong.

Richard then fancied that he stood secure in his power, and abandoned himself to a gorgeous round of splendid dissipation. Never had so much expense and such magnificence been seen in the court of England. An army of archers guarded the person of the king, and his servants and attendants amounted to the enormous number of 10,000 persons; among whom were 300 cooks and kitchen-servants. This host of people were arrayed in costly liveries, and each day the royal tables creaked beneath the load of rich viands that were placed upon them. All was riot and profusion: but the king thought nothing of the toiling and beggared thousands from whom the means for this wanton luxury was wrung. So great was his power, and so arbitrary his conduct, that an historian, who for a time lived at his court, tells us, that "in those days there were none so great in England that durst speak against anything that the king did." Still, for all this, Richard resembled those thoughtless peasants who sleep in tranquillity in their little cots on the side of a volcanic mountain, while, unknown to them, a fierce red sea of liquid fire is gathering above, which will soon burst forth in irresistible fury, and sweep them to death or ruin.

Murmurs spread throughout the land; but they scarcely reached the ears of the prodigal monarch, who, when they did, turned from the repetition of them with anger. It was said that the late parliament was an illegal one, not fairly composed, but made up of Richard's friends and flatterers; that it had loaded the people with unjust and oppressive taxes; attacked the national liberties, and made no inquiry into the murder of the Duke of Gloucester. It was evident that a storm of retribution was rapidly gathering; but the heedless monarch turned away his eyes, feasted and revelled, relied upon his bands of guards and archers, and believed that all was secure.

About this time a quarrel arose between two distinguished nobles, Henry Bolingbroke, the son of John of Gaunt, and therefore cousin to the king, and Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. They had both belonged to the party of the Duke of Gloucester; and were, indeed, the only nobles of that party then left alive. In

a private conversation, Mowbray remarked to Bolingbroke that the king was of a revengeful and treacherous nature; and that he feared that, notwithstanding the pardon they had received, their lives were not safe, in consequence of the opposition they had offered to him. He added, that the favourites of the king were, at that moment, laying snares for the lives of many of the principal nobles of the land. Bolingbroke was so void of honour that he revealed this conversation to the king. Mowbray then denied that he had spoken what was attributed to him; called Bolingbroke a liar and traitor; and, challenging him to the field, offered to prove his own innocence by duel. The king consented to this mode of trial; and appointed that, on the 16th of September, 1398, the combat should take place at Coventry. When the day arrived, nearly all the nobles of England were assembled; for a great sensation had been excited; and they were divided into parties, one siding with Bolingbroke and the other with Mowbray. The combatants entered the lists, and were about to engage, when Richard threw down his warder as a signal to stop. To prevent the effusion of blood between men of such high rank, and the probable future consequences of the quarrel, he decreed that both the champions should be banished—Mowbray for ever, and Bolingbroke for a period of ten years. This sentence was unjust, because both could not be guilty of treason; nor was it proved against either; and unwise, because it created for the king two powerful enemies.

The Duke of Norfolk, who seems to have been the most honourable of the two, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and, on his return, died a solitary man in the gay city of Venice. Bolingbroke, whose sentence, before he left, was, on account of his submissive behaviour, reduced to six years of exile, retired to France. Our great national poet has thus touchingly made the banished noble allude to this graceless act of mercy:—

> "How long a time lies in one little word!
> Four lagging winters, and four wanton springs
> End in a word! Such is the breath of kings."

Richard had now got rid of all whom he feared or hated; and he revelled more recklessly than ever. His despotic temper knew no bounds; and he governed in the most wantonly tyrannical manner; extorting money from whoever he pleased, and intimidating the judges into passing such sentences as he desired. In a fit of insolent folly, he actually outlawed seventeen counties because, nearly twelve years ago, they had been favourable to Gloucester and Bolingbroke, when those noblemen defeated his favourite, De Vere, at Radcot Bridge. On the death of John of Gaunt, which took place a few months after the banishment of his son [A.D. 1399], Richard seized the immense estates of that aged statesman, to whose advice and assistance he owed so much; although he had promised Bolingbroke that he should inherit them in the same way as if he had remained in England. To banish a man unjustly, and then to seize his wealth, is tyranny and theft; but to these offences Richard added the crime of murder; for he arrested and hanged the lawyer who interfered on behalf of the absent noble. By acts of this character Richard increased the power of the crown, but he made himself detested by the whole of his people.

This was the time he chose to pay a second visit to Ireland. The chiefs of that country had again risen in arms; and in a skirmish with them, the Earl of March was slain. The king evinced a determination to avenge his death; and, gathering a magnificent fleet, he sailed over in the month of May, 1399. He took leave of his little queen at Windsor, and lifting her up in his arms, kissed her very affectionately, saying—"Adieu, adieu, till we meet again!" He did not then dream that he would never more behold her face. Before his departure, information was given him of the existence of conspiracies and insurrections against his crown; but he seems to have disregarded it. Of one person he had some suspicion—the Earl of Northumberland—whom he therefore summoned to join his standard, and follow him to Ireland. The earl made some excuse, and refused to obey, on which Richard proclaimed him a traitor, and sailed without him.

Henry Bolingbroke, or the Duke of Lancaster (for he had succeeded to that title on account of the death of his father, John of Gaunt), had been exceedingly popular in England before his exile. The people loved him; and he was much respected amongst his fellow nobles, many of the most powerful of whom were related to him. He well knew how much Richard was disliked by his subjects; and before that monarch had left England a fortnight, Bolingbroke returned to it. On the 4th of July he landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, bringing with him the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, and a retinue of not more than sixty persons. This looked like mere rashness; but he had taken his measures with prudence as well as boldness; and no sooner had he stepped on shore than he was joined by the powerful Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. He took a solemn oath that he had no purpose in returning from exile except to recover his father's estates, which King Richard had so unjustly kept from him; and he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of their country, to assist him in this reasonable object. He marched on towards London; and by the time he reached that city, his appeal was so numerously responded to that he was at the head of 60,000 men. The citizens received him with joy: they were glad to

see some one ready and powerful enough to humble their tyrannical sovereign; and they did not then imagine that Bolingbroke's designs went so far beyond the recovery of his patrimony as to aim at the crown.

The king's uncle, the Duke of York, had been left guardian of the kingdom during his nephew's absence; but he was a weak old man; and after some few feeble efforts on behalf of Richard, he also, though not very willingly, joined Bolingbroke, and assisted him to take Bristol Castle, in which several of the king's favourites had taken shelter. Three of them—the Earl of Wiltshire, Sir John Bussy, and Sir Henry Green—were ordered to be executed immediately, as misleaders of the king. Lancaster had no authority for the commission of this illegal act; but it delighted the people, and extended his popularity.

A tempestuous sea prevented this ill news from reaching Richard until Henry of Lancaster had been some weeks in England. The messenger found the king at Dublin, employed, as usual, in feasting and revelling. On learning what had occurred, he turned pale with anger, and said he was sorry he had not put Henry to death. He then called his council together to decide what was the best course to take; and it was agreed that it would be the wisest plan to return instantly to England, and meet the danger face to face. Whether from treachery or ignorance, the Earl of Albemarle assured him that affairs were not so bad as had been represented; and advised him to send a body of troops into Wales as a protection for his friends, and to remain in Ireland himself until he had collected ships enough to carry back his whole army to England. He adopted this advice; and the delay occasioned by it transformed the fugitive Henry of Lancaster into an irresistible enemy.

When Richard did land in Milford Haven, he brought with him an army of 20,000 men: but their hearts were not with their king, and the greater part almost immediately deserted him. The few who remained were useless, and only calculated to lead him into danger. Disguising himself, therefore, as a priest, he fled from them to Conway Castle, in Wales, where he expected to find the Earl of Salisbury and his forces. He did indeed find the earl, and about a hundred soldiers with him; but the rest, like his own, had deserted. The provisions of the fortress were almost consumed; and want and despair were now the companions of the once prodigal and wanton king.

In this forlorn condition he was captured by the Earl of Northumberland, who is said to have acted in a very treacherous manner towards him, and conducted him to Flint Castle. There he bitterly lamented that he had not put his opponent to death. "Fool that I was!" he said; "thrice did I save the life of this Henry of Lancaster. Once my dear uncle, his father—on whom the Lord have mercy!—would have put him to death for his treason and villany. God of Paradise! I rode all night to save him; and his father delivered him to me to do with him as I pleased. How true is the saying, that we have no greater enemy than the man whom we have preserved from the gallows! Another time he drew his sword on me, in the chamber of the queen, on whom God have mercy! He was also the accomplice of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Arundel: he consented to my murder, to that of my father, and of all my council. By St. John! I forgave him all: nor would I believe his father, who, more than once, pronounced him deserving of death." The next morning he ascended the tower, and beheld the approach of Bolingbroke and his army. At first he cursed the Earl of Northumberland: then, bursting into tears, he cried, "Good Lord God! I commend myself into Thy holy keeping, and cry Thee mercy, that Thou wouldst pardon all my sins. If they put me to death, I will take it patiently, as Thou didst for us all." When the triumphant Bolingbroke entered the castle, he hypocritically knelt to Richard as to his king. The fallen sovereign uncovered his head, and exclaimed, "Fair cousin of Lancaster, you are right welcome." The proud duke replied, "My lord, I am returned from banishment before my time; but I will tell you the reason. Your people complain that you have ruled them harshly for twenty-two years; but, if it please God, I will help you to rule them better." Richard was then mounted on a miserable horse, and led to Chester; and it is said by Froissart, that at this moment, even his dog, a beautiful greyhound, called Math, abandoned him, and fawned upon Bolingbroke. From Chester the king was taken to London, where he was cursed and insulted by the people; and after having been paraded through the streets in contempt, was committed as a prisoner to the Tower.

Bolingbroke, like Richard, was of royal blood, and the grandson of Edward III.; and although not the next in succession, he resolved on raising himself to the throne of England. To accomplish this, he sent a deputation of prelates, nobles, and lawyers to the imprisoned king, to induce him to resign his crown. The fallen monarch readily renounced his royalty, and sent his ring to the usurper, saying, that of all men, he should be his successor, if he had the power to name one. Of course he was not sincere in this remark, but made it from a fear that his life was in danger. Richard's resignation, signed on the 29th of September, 1399, was read in parliament the next day, and accepted with great joy. A charge of tyranny and misconduct, consisting of no less than thirty-three articles, was then presented against him. Amongst these acts of tyranny

were—the murder of the Duke of Gloucester; his conduct to the nobles, who, in the early part of his reign, had usurped his authority by procuring the commission of government; his violations of the laws and liberties of his people; his seizure of the estates of the Duke of Lancaster; and, among many other arbitrary acts, the granting to his favourites protection from law-suits. The charge was read and passed with only one dissenting voice—it was that of the Bishop of Carlisle, who spoke very courageously in favour of the captive king. He said that all the abuses of government which could be imputed to Richard did not amount to tyranny, but were rather the result of error, youth, or misguided counsel; and that they might be remedied much better than by changing the succession, and subverting the laws of the land. He urged, that a rebellious disposition in subjects was the principal cause of tyranny in kings; and that, if the sovereign was not safe, the people could never expect security. That the deposition of Edward II. by the parliament was only an example of successful violence, and therefore ought not to be regarded as a precedent: for it was sad enough that crimes were so often committed, without citing them as instances to justify others. That a descendant of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, the late Duke of Lancaster, had been declared successor to the crown; that he had left a son, who was, therefore, their true king on the death of Richard. That Henry of Bolingbroke, the present Duke of Lancaster, had no legal claim, and that he would give a bad instance of the moderation of his future government, if he added to the crime of his past rebellion the guilt of excluding the family which, both by right of blood and by declaration of parliament, would, in case of Richard's death, or voluntary resignation, have been received as the undoubted heirs of the monarchy.

The bishop's speech, instead of benefiting the king, only brought suspicion and trouble upon himself. Henry, and the nobles who surrounded him, listened to it with impatient anger; and when the prelate sat down, he was arrested and carried away as a prisoner. This was an act of shameful tyranny; but very little freedom of speech was permitted in those days, and Henry knew that his claim to the crown would not bear discussion. A sentence of deposition was then solemnly recorded against Richard; and Bolingbroke, advancing towards the empty throne, made the sign of the cross upon his forehead and his breast, and pronounced these words:—"In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England and the crown, with all the members and the appurtenances, because that I am descended by right line of the blood from the good King Henry III.; and through that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with the help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of government, and undoing of the good laws."

The Duke of Lancaster claimed the crown in consequence of his descent from Henry III., instead of from the great Edward III., on the following ground:—Henry III. left two sons, Edward, who succeeded him, and Edmond, who was created Earl of Lancaster. An unfounded story was in circulation among the common people, that Edmond was the elder brother of Edward I.; but that on account of some deformity in his person, he had been set aside, and his brother made king in his stead: therefore as the present Duke of Lancaster was descended from Edmond on his mother's side, this genealogy made him the true heir to the monarchy. No one of any rank or intelligence believed this improbable tale; but Bolingbroke thought it would convince many of the ignorant people.

After Henry's speech he knelt and prayed for a short time upon the steps of the throne; then rising, he was assisted to his seat on it by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. From that instant he assumed the power of a king; and, after directing that the old parliament should be summoned again in his name, departed in royal state, and invited the prelates and nobles to a banquet which had been prepared in Whitehall. On the 13th of the following month (October, 1399), he was crowned as Henry IV. at Westminster Abbey. By a singular circumstance, the ceremony took place on the anniversary of the very day on which he was banished. The Order of the Bath was instituted by Henry at his coronation. He conferred it upon forty-six esquires, who had watched and bathed the previous night.

A few days after Henry's coronation, he sent the Earl of Northumberland to the prelates and barons in parliament, to ask their advice as to what should be done with the deposed monarch. That nobleman added, that, under any circumstances, Henry intended to spare his life. They replied, that he should be imprisoned in some secret place, and guarded by faithful officers, who should prevent his having any communication with his friends or followers. In accordance with this decision, he was taken about from one castle to another at night, just as Edward II. had been, and finally lodged in the castle at Pontefract. In the month of January in the following year (1400), he died there, and his body was brought to London, and exhibited, for two hours, to the gaze of the people, the face being uncovered, and the head reclining on a black cushion. There is a story that he was murdered by a knight called Sir Piers Exton, and some other ruffians, several of whom he killed before he received

his death-blow. This is generally disbelieved, and is certainly inconsistent with the fact of the corpse being exposed to view in St. Paul's, for in that case the wounds would have been seen, and the murder discovered. Another account (and that appears to be the true one) is, that he was starved to death. Stowe says, that for "fifteen days and nights they vexed him with continual hunger, thirst, and cold, and finally bereft him of his life with such a kind of death as never before that time was known in England." Some of the old chroniclers say that he starved himself voluntarily, and died for want of food, and a broken heart. In either case his end was a shocking one, and should serve as a warning for profligate and imperious princes. The royal and dishonest trifler, who had wasted the means of thousands, and turned a deaf ear to the sufferings of his people, perished from want, and that, too, in a dungeon.

Richard was buried at his own favourite residence at Langley. He left no children; and the little French princess, to whom he had been married, was only ten years old at the time of his death. Of course she had never lived with him as his wife; she was too young for that, and also too young to feel his loss very bitterly. For some time she was kept in England, for Henry wished to marry her to his son; but the French king, who was so much shocked at the fate of Richard that he had a severe attack of illness in consequence, objected to that arrangement; and the little lady was at last sent back to the court of her father. Some years afterwards she was married to her cousin Charles, the Count of Angoulême, and, while still very young, died in her confinement. Richard's death took place in the 34th year of his age, and the 23rd of his reign.

In person Richard was tall and graceful; and his features were handsome, but feminine. He had a hesitation in his speech almost amounting to a lisp. Though possessed by nature of more than average ability, a bad education had made him a trifler. In early life he was spoilt by excessive indulgence; and afterwards, flatterers and parasites were his ruin. Some sparks of courage, and even heroism, are to be seen in his character, especially during his youth; but his temper was fitful and uncertain, and his mind became weakened from a long course of luxury and pleasure, to both of which he was extremely attached. Like most weak princes, he always had favourites around him, and was, therefore, deficient in that impartiality and dignity which is expected in a king. He was abrupt in his manner, and passionate in his temper; but the darkest points of his nature were slyness, treachery, and an eager love of revenge. He resembled the unfortunate Edward II., both in his character and fate; but his mind was stronger, and his temper less amiable. He aimed at assuming a despotic authority: but that arose rather from his evil education than from natural viciousness. He was unequal to the difficulties of his position, and unable to win the esteem, or command the obedience, of the troublesome barons of that unsettled time. Though he had many faults, and committed some crimes, yet they seem to have proceeded rather from weakness than wickedness; and his gloomy fate excites at once pity and regret.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FOURTH, CALLED BOLINGBROKE, OR HENRY OF LANCASTER.—A.D. 1399–1401



AS Richard II. had no children, the true heir to the throne was Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March, because he was a descendant of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of Henry's father, John of Gaunt. But this Edmund Mortimer was only nine years old, and would have been no match for the crafty and talented Henry, who was three-and-thirty. The young prince's friends thought it wisest to say nothing about his title, for fear it might lead him into danger; therefore Henry was crowned without opposition. Still he thought, that when the young earl became a man, perhaps he might attempt to recover his birthright; so the usurping sovereign sent him and his younger brother to Windsor Castle, where they were kept in an easy confinement.

The people generally were much attached to Henry; but many of the nobles entertained a jealous feeling towards him. This feeling he added to by making an inquiry in parliament into the circumstances of the death of his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, who was murdered in prison at Calais; and calling to account the nobles who had accused that factious man of treason. Most of the peers had been mixed up in the cabals that had taken place during the troubled reign of Richard, and had taken part with or against the duke. Charges

were made and retorted; a scene of confusion followed; noblemen loudly called each other liars and traitors, and forty steel gauntlets were thrown upon the ground as challenges to mortal combat. Henry had the talent to calm all this fury; the challenges were withdrawn; and those who had accused Gloucester of treason, escaped with the forfeiture of the estates and titles which they had received as rewards from Richard for their enmity to Gloucester.

This was immediately after the coronation of Henry, and, therefore, before the death of the unhappy Richard; so the nobles who had been bereft of some of their land and titles entered into a conspiracy to murder the new sovereign and restore the imprisoned one. The principal members of this plot were the Earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and Salisbury, the Lords Despencer and Lumley, together with the Bishop of Carlisle and the Abbot of Westminster. On the 3rd of January, 1400, they proclaimed a tournament, to be held at Oxford, and invited the attendance of the king. Henry promised to go; and it was arranged that they should rush suddenly upon him, and kill both him and his sons during the sport. It is very likely that they would have succeeded in their attempt, had not the Earl of Rutland treacherously betrayed the scheme to the king. The conspirators waited all day at Oxford for the arrival of Henry; but when evening was approaching, and they found he did not come, and that Rutland too was absent, they concluded that they had been betrayed. Collecting a troop of 500 horsemen, they rode at once to Windsor, intending to surprise the castle, where Henry was residing, and then put him to death. The king had left Windsor, and the conspirators were a second time disappointed. Scarcely knowing what to do, they trifled all that day about the town, and, on the next, Henry appeared at Kingston-on-Thames with an army of 20,000 men.

The rebellious nobles immediately fled to their several counties, to arm their retainers, proclaiming the imprisoned king, Richard, in all the towns they passed through. But the people were tired enough of Richard, and had no desire to see him placed on the throne again; their feelings, at present, were entirely in favour of Henry: so, instead of joining the insurgent nobles, they arrested them, and put them to death. The Earls of Kent and Salisbury were seized and beheaded by the people of Cirencester; the Lords Despencer and Lumley met a similar fate at Bristol; while the Earl of Huntingdon was cruelly murdered by the servants of the late Duke of Gloucester, whose enemy he had been. Two knights, Sir Thomas Blount and Sir Bennet Sely, were tried and executed as traitors at Oxford, with all the revolting ceremonies usually attendant on such occasions; and two monks also perished at London by the hand of the executioner. It was soon after this attempt on the life of Henry that King Richard died or was murdered at Pomfret Castle, and his untimely fate was, no doubt, hastened in consequence of the revolt.

Though he had thus triumphed over his enemies, Henry felt that it was necessary to strengthen himself in every way he could. For this purpose he tried to conciliate the clergy, by granting them a new law for the more severe punishment of heresy. The followers of the opinions of Wycliffe, or Lollards, as they were called, had become very numerous: Henry's father, John of Gaunt, had openly favoured them; and he himself had been suspected of leaning towards their principles. He knew that an opinion of this kind would injure him in the eyes of the clergy; and, upon their solicitation, he gave his consent to a law, by which it was enacted that, when any heretic refused to abjure his opinions, he should be delivered, by the bishop or his commissioners, to the civil magistrate, and burnt to death in the presence of the people. This wicked and infamous law was passed during the month of January, 1401; and it would have been better for England, and for Henry too, had he never been born, than that he had put his name to that fatal parchment. It is possible that when he gave it his sanction he supposed it would never be put into actual practice, but merely kept to terrify those whom the priests called heretics into submission: perhaps he thought that no disciples of the Divine and Gentle One could be so hardened by temporal power and superstitious frenzy as to devote a fellow-creature, however erring, to the awful end of being tortured to death by fire. If he did think so, he was fatally mistaken.

William Sawtre was the first victim of this statute. He had been rector of Lynn, in Norfolk, of which living he was deprived on a charge of heresy in 1399. He subsequently recanted his opinions, and had been appointed priest of St. Osyth's, in London. But he was not happy in his mind: he felt that, to avoid punishment, and secure the means of life, he had denied the truth; and he presented a petition to parliament, imploring that they would examine him upon the subject of religion. The object of this application was suspected by the bishops; and they summoned him to appear before them in convocation. Thomas Arundel, the Archbishop of Canterbury, then questioned him respecting his opinions. He had previously refused to worship the cross, saying that he would not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered on the cross; and affirmed, that, after pronouncing over the bread the sacramental words of the body of Christ, it remained of the same nature as before, and did not cease to be bread.

After much questioning as to whether he still retained

these opinions, the archbishop decided that he was a relapsed heretic; for Sawtre still maintained, that after the words of consecration were pronounced by the priest, the bread remained bread, exactly the same as it was before the words were spoken. Sentence was then given against him, and he was degraded and deposed from the priesthood. This was done step by step; first he was deprived of his office as a priest, then as a deacon, then as a sub-deacon, then as an acolyte, then as an exorcist, then as a reader, then as a sexton. His priestly gown and cap were taken from him, his ecclesiastical tonsure rased away, and he was delivered over to the high constable and marshal of England, to receive the hideous punishment to which his clerical judges had condemned him. In surrendering Sawtre to the secular authorities, the priests, who well knew what was to be done with him, hypocritically begged them to receive the victim favourably. The unhappy man was burned to death in Smithfield, in the month of March, 1401, to the horror and disgust of a great multitude of spectators. "Thus," says Foxe, in his famous *Book of Martyrs* (in which you will find an account of most of the unhappy victims of superstitious wickedness)—"Thus it may appear how kings and princes have been blinded and abused by the false prelates of the church, insomuch that they have been their slaves and butchers, to slay Christ's poor innocent members. As King Henry IV. was the first of all English kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ's saints for standing against the pope, so was this William Sawtre, the true and faithful martyr of Christ, the first of all them who I find to be burned in the reign of this king."

After the return of the Princess Isabella, the young widow of King Richard, to France, the French were desirous of declaring war, to avenge her wrongs and the death of her husband; but, though some attacks were made on the English dominions in that country, France was in such a state of internal weakness that they were soon abandoned; and as war had not been openly declared, Henry took but little notice of them.

To prevent his barons from plotting against him at home, Henry resolved to give them employment in Scotland. He knew that if he sat idly upon his throne, his subjects would busy themselves by inquiring about his title to it; and the English, notwithstanding their repeated failures, still longed for the conquest of Scotland. Besides this, a strong feeling existed in that country against Henry's usurpation; and the truce having expired immediately after his accession, the Scots began to plunder and harass the English people who lived near the borders. Collecting an army at York, in the summer of 1400, Henry summoned the King of Scotland to appear before him as his lord paramount. This summons was, as might be expected, treated with contempt; and Henry marched with his army directly to Edinburgh, took possession of the city, and laid siege to the castle. The wars of the English in that country had hitherto been disgraced by savage excesses; the course of their armies was too often to be traced by vestiges of murder and desolation; while the sword and the fire-brand were constantly in use; and the Scotch had been equally, if not more, rapacious when they made their raids into England. It must be recorded to the credit of Henry, that he would not permit these outrages; and in this expedition he showed as much mercy and forbearance as is consistent with the nature of war. When two of the canons of the abbey of Holyrood came to him, to intercede for the safety of their house, he answered, "I will never, as long as I live, injure any religious house; and the monastery of Holyrood, where my father found shelter when in exile, is especially entitled to the protection of his son." As the Scottish army would not risk a battle with Henry, and the castle of Edinburgh was too strong to be taken by assault, and the English soldiers were suffering from sickness and want of provisions, he was compelled to withdraw from Edinburgh and return into England.

Before he arrived there, he received intelligence of an insurrection in Wales, which had broken out in 1400, during his absence in Scotland. It was led by a remarkable man, named Owen Glendower. He was a Welsh gentleman, who was, or at least pretended to be, descended from the last of the native princes of his country. He had been a student at one of the English universities, and became, afterwards, familiar with the law in the inns of court. Learning was not a very common thing, even amongst gentlemen, in those days; and Glendower's knowledge was so considerable, that it gained for him the character of a magician with the poor ignorant peasants among whom he lived. His small estate lay near to the great one of a powerful noble—the Lord Grey de Ruthyn, who tyrannically seized a part of the property of his poorer neighbour. Owen Glendower was a man of high spirit and passionate temper, and by no means likely to submit to such a wrong. Still he proceeded quietly, and petitioned parliament to do him justice; but as he was famous for his attachment to the late King Richard, his petition was taken no notice of. Then his fiery nature was aroused; and, collecting a numerous band of his countrymen, he drove Grey de Ruthyn from his land by force. The English government supported the noble, and the Welsh people sided with Owen, who, upon being pronounced an outlaw, declared himself the lawful sovereign of Wales, and set Henry at defiance.

The Welsh people flocked to the standard of Glendower in immense numbers, and the insurrection soon

became formidable. King Henry, who was a man of great decision, led an army directly into Wales, and trusted that he should instantly crush the patriot and his followers. He was by no means so successful as he expected to be. Owen and his followers prudently concealed themselves among the unapproachable recesses of their native mountains, and the powerful English monarch was compelled to retire in consequence of a want of provisions. A second and a third expedition met with no better success; Owen still remained in arms, and committed devastations upon the estates of the English. In these skirmishes he took his old oppressor, Lord Grey de Ruthyn, prisoner; and even captured Sir Edward Mortimer, uncle to the young Earl of March, whom Henry had shut up in Windsor Castle.

Though Henry had abandoned Scotland, the border feuds between the people of that country and the English had never ceased. The Earl of Northumberland and his son, Henry Percy (who had been liberated from his imprisonment in Scotland for some years), ravaged the lands of the Earl of Douglas, and the latter retaliated by repeated excursions into the northern English counties. On one occasion, having collected a great quantity of spoil, Douglas was met on his return home by the Percys, and defeated at Nesbit Moor. He was enraged at this defeat; for, though a powerful and brave man, he was so unfortunate a leader as to have earned the surname of Tyne-man, that is, Lose-man, on account of his frequent failures in war. Being resolved to retrieve his reputation, he collected 10,000 of the best and bravest warriors of Scotland, and then burst into England, spreading ruin and terror as far as the wells of Newcastle.

The Earl of Northumberland and his brave son, Henry, who, on account of his impetuosity, was called Hotspur, permitted the Scots to go on in their destructive expedition, and again intercepted them suddenly on their return to their own country. The Scots, who supposed their enemies were struck with terror, and dared not meet them, had been thus deceived into a fatal security, and were taken by surprise. Arranging his men in a solid square, upon an eminence called Homildon Hill, Douglas waited for the attack. This would have been an excellent position if the English force had been all horsemen, or men-at-arms; but, unfortunately for the Scots, they were chiefly archers, who could shoot up the hill without ascending it. The English bowmen began the battle, and shot with such power and rapidity, that it is said many of the dead bodies of the Scots resembled hedgehogs, they were struck with so many arrows. Douglas and his men seemed paralysed; for a time they did nothing, and the slaughter among them was terrific. At length, a brave Scotch gentleman, Sir John Swinton, cried out, "Oh! my brave fellow-soldiers, what fascinates you to-day, that you stand like deers and fawn in a park to be shot, instead of showing your ancient valour, and meeting your foes hand to hand? Let those who will descend with me; and in the name of the Lord, we will break that host, and conquer; or, if not, at least die with honour, like soldiers!" This brave speech broke the spell which seemed to hang upon the Scots; and another knight, Sir Adam de Gordon, who had long been at enmity with Swinton, dismounted from his horse, exclaiming—"Let us be reconciled on this spot, that I may receive knighthood at thy hands, for I can never receive that honour from one more noble and brave." The knights embraced each other, re-mounted their horses, and then charged down hill, followed by the greater part of the Scottish army.

The English archers then slowly retired; but every now and then they turned and discharged a new flight of arrows at their foes, who soon fell into utter confusion. Laying aside their bows, the archers then rushed upon the enemy, and despatched immense numbers of them with their knives and short swords. The Scots were completely defeated; and the Earl of Douglas, together with several nobles, and eighty knights of the first families in Scotland, were taken prisoners. This engagement between the Percys and Douglas took place on the 14th of September, 1402; and is known as the battle of Homildon Hill. In itself it was not very important, being merely a border feud upon a large scale; but it led to one of the most striking incidents of Henry's reign—the rebellion of the powerful Northumberland family against him.

On hearing of this victory, King Henry sent an order to the Percys not to ransom or set at liberty the prisoners they had taken: he wished to keep them, that he might be able to dictate what terms he pleased to Scotland; but, by so doing, he gave great offence to the Earl of Northumberland and his son, who considered that he was interfering with their rights, in taking from them the power of ransoming their prisoners. He had given another cause of offence to this warlike and influential family, by refusing to allow them to ransom their relative, Sir Edward Mortimer, who had been taken prisoner by Glendower; and, as they had greatly assisted to place him on the throne (it was Northumberland who first joined him at Ravenspur), they now resolved on attempting to pull him down from it.

It is very likely there were other causes of suspicion and dislike between the king and the great earl. Henry would naturally be jealous of the power of the man who raised him to the throne; while, on the other hand, so great a subject would never think himself sufficiently repaid for so important a service. The result was, that

the two Percys entered into a conspiracy to dethrone Henry, and place the crown on the head of the young Earl of March, who was the rightful heir to it. In this they were encouraged by Scrope, the Archbishop of York; and the more to strengthen themselves, they set Earl Douglas at liberty without ransom, on condition that he would join them in a war against the king. Still feeling themselves scarcely strong enough for such a purpose, they also entered into an alliance with the Welsh chieftain, Glendower, who then released his prisoner, Mortimer, gave him his daughter in marriage, and promised to supply 12,000 Welsh soldiers towards the execution of the daring project.

When everything was ready, the Earl of Northumberland fell ill, and was unable to assume the command of the rebel army; but his son, Hotspur, taking his place, led it towards North Wales, in order to join Glendower and his Welsh. The resolute King Henry was soon on the alert, and, hurrying towards Wales, he endeavoured to prevent Hotspur from joining his Welsh allies. Thus the two armies came in sight of each other on the 22nd of July, 1403, near Shrewsbury. Douglas and his Scots joined the rebels; but Glendower and the Welsh never made their appearance. Still the spirited Percy resolved upon fighting; but, as the twilight was rapidly closing in, the battle was deferred until the morrow. That evening, he sent a defiance and manifesto to the king, to whom he would give no other title than Henry, Duke of Lancaster. In it, he upbraided him of being guilty of perjury, rebellion, and murder. Perjury, because, when he returned from exile, he swore upon the gospels that he came to claim nothing but the inheritance which Richard so unjustly held from him. Rebellion, because he had deposed and imprisoned his lawful sovereign; and murder, because he had caused that unhappy sovereign to be kept, for the space of fifteen days and nights, in the castle of Pomfret, without meat, or drink, or fire, whereof he perished of hunger, thirst, and cold. This document contained other charges against Henry; one of which was, usurpation of the rights of young Edward Mortimer, Earl of March, the true heir to the crown: it concluded by defying him and his followers as traitors, oppressors, and destroyers of the realm.

Early the next morning, the 23rd of July, the two armies, each consisting of about 12,000 men, confronted each other. Englishmen were opposed to Englishmen; and members of the same family might, perhaps, be arrayed on different sides. There was, doubtless, some feeling of this kind among the opposing soldiers. For a short time the two hosts stood and looked at each other in solemn silence. Henry seems to have wished to spare the lives of his subjects, even of those who had rebelled against him; for he sent a priest to Hotspur, to see if, even at that hour, they could not arrange their quarrel, and conclude a peace. That brave young noble doubted Henry's sincerity, and refused his terms; then the trumpets sounded, and the conflict began.

The battle-cry of the royal party was, "St. George for us!" that of the Percys, "Esperance!" The struggle was desperate in the extreme—many of the leaders fighting as if the victory depended alone upon their exertions. The king was ever in the thickest part of the battle; and his son, the Prince of Wales, distinguished himself for his intrepidity; and, though wounded in the face by an arrow, could not be persuaded to leave the field. Douglas and Percy both sustained the great reputation they had acquired for deeds of arms; and the former resolved, if possible, to kill the king with his own hand. Henry had many gentlemen dressed in the royal garb in order to deceive the enemy, and several of these were slain by the powerful Douglas; but he himself was enveloped in plain armour, and thus passed unobserved. Hotspur, after penetrating into the midst of the royal lines, was pierced to the brain with a chance arrow, and fell dead upon the spot. His death so disheartened his followers, that they fell into confusion and fled. The battle lasted for three hours, and 2,300 gentlemen are said to have perished, together with about 6,000 common soldiers. The Earl of Worcester, the Baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon, were taken prisoners by the king, and beheaded on the battle-field as rebels. Earl Douglas had received some injuries, and was also taken prisoner, but was regarded as a foreign foe, and treated with courtesy.

The old Earl of Northumberland, the father of Hotspur, had recovered from the illness which kept him from the battle, and was marching with a body of troops to join the rebel army, when the news reached him of his son's defeat and death. Almost paralysed by sorrow, he seems not to have known what to do; for, instead of providing for his safety by flight, he disbanded his soldiers, and shut himself up in his castle at Warkworth. Of course, he was soon obliged to surrender to the king; but he then pretended that his only object in arming was to mediate between the parties. The king did not believe this excuse; but he pretended to do so, and generously pardoned his enemy.

Henry led an active life, for his enemies would not long permit him to remain idle. Owen Glendower and his Welshmen did not make their appearance at the battle of Shrewsbury, but immediately afterwards they renewed their depredations, and the king's eldest son was despatched with some forces against them. The French, also, with whom Henry was nominally at peace, attacked Guienne, plundered the English ships at sea, and made descents upon the coast; in one of

which expeditions, they burnt the town of Plymouth, and ravaged the surrounding country. The French government apologised, and said that the violations of the peace had taken place without their sanction; but Henry well knew that they had secretly countenanced them, and he gave permission to English rovers to retaliate on the French ships and coasts. This was done to a great extent; many French vessels were captured, and some towns left mere smoking ruins, as memorials that the English would not permit wanton injuries to pass by unavenged. During the whole of this reign, there were constant bickerings and skirmishes with the French, but no open war.

CHAPTER XXXII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FOURTH.—A.D. 1404—1413.

IN the third year of Henry's reign, some of his enemies circulated a report that King Richard had not died at Pomfret Castle; but, having escaped from that fortress, the body of another man was exhibited and buried as his, and that he himself was then a fugitive in Scotland, and would shortly make his appearance to claim his crown. A wonderful and improbable story is almost sure to be believed; and this strange rumour obtained credit amongst great numbers of the people. Henry was exceedingly irritated, and he caused Sir Roger Clarendon (who was a natural son of the famous Black Prince), nine Franciscan friars, and some other persons, to be executed as traitors, for propagating this report. People then became silent upon the subject, for the most talkative folks did not like to run the risk of having their speech cut short by the rope of the hangman; but this severity caused the rumour to be the more firmly believed.

For a time nothing further was heard of Richard; but, in the year following the battle of Shrewsbury [A.D. 1404], it was again reported that he was alive, and had taken refuge in Scotland. A person of the name of Serle, who had been one of the attendants of King Richard, accordingly went to Scotland to behold his late master. Of course, he did not find the wretched king, who had been buried nearly four years previously; but he met his court-fool, one Ward, who bore some likeness to the deceased monarch. Serle persuaded this man to personate Richard; and the story that Richard was alive, and would soon enter England at the head of an army of Scots, spread in every direction. After doing considerable mischief by getting a number of people into trouble, Serle was arrested, and not only confessed the imposture, but added, that he had been an accomplice in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester. His confession did not save his life; he was drawn on a hurdle through every town from Pontefract to London, and then executed as a traitor. The fool seems to have been wise enough not to venture out of Scotland, and thus he escaped the anger of the English king.

Henry never forgot the double tenure by which he held the crown; and he was, therefore, careful not to oppress his people with taxes, lest they should be encouraged to depose him as he had deposed Richard. When, in this year, he applied to parliament for supplies, it proposed to him to seize a great part of the lands belonging to the church, and use the revenue arising from them as a fund for the support of royalty. This suggestion, no doubt, proceeded from the spread of the doctrines of Wycliffe, for that famous reformer had contended, that the wealth of the church was a great cause of its corruption. The clergy were instantly alarmed, and accused the Commons of impiety; and Henry, who it is supposed would have had no objection to robbing the church if it could have been done quietly, when he saw that he was likely to create a disturbance, assured them that he had no such idea; but, on the contrary, wished to leave the church better than he found it.

In the year 1405, Henry was again threatened by plots and rebellions; but, fortunately for him, his enemies acted without unity, and with little wisdom. The Earl of Northumberland, who knew that, though pardoned, he was still suspected, was at work, collecting followers and getting up another warlike demonstration against the king. Scrope, the Archbishop of York, the Earl of Nottingham, Sir John Falconberg, and other gentlemen of rank, immediately entered into his views, and took the field with an army of 8,000 men, at Shipton-on-the-Moor, near York. There they published a manifesto, in which they reproached Henry with his usurpation of the crown, and the murder of the late king, and required that the true heir should be restored, and all public grievances be

redressed. The chief conspirator, the old Earl of Northumberland, was, as usual, not ready, and, therefore, did not appear to support his confederates. The Earl of Westmoreland, and Prince John, the third son of the king, approached them with an inferior power; and, although no conflict took place, they succeeded in capturing the rebel leaders by a stratagem, which it is wonderful to think should even have deceived children. Westmoreland and the prince desired a conference with the earl and the archbishop between the two armies. They listened to the grievances of the insurgents, begged them to mention what remedies they desired, and then promised that the king should grant all their demands, and give them entire satisfaction. The earl and the archbishop were delighted, and had no suspicion of the insincerity of these sudden concessions. Westmoreland then proposed that, as peace was restored between them, it would be better for both sides to disband their forces, instead of oppressing the people by the maintenance of two armies. The rebel leaders fell into the snare, and dismissed their forces; and Westmoreland, who had secretly issued contrary orders to his army, immediately arrested them without resistance. This conduct was exceedingly treacherous; but the perfidy of one party was not greater than the simplicity of the other.

The prisoners were then tried as traitors, but the chief justice refused to pass sentence upon them, because the earl had a right to a trial by his peers, and the archbishop was not answerable except to an ecclesiastical tribunal. Besides, no bishop had yet perished in England by the hands of the executioner, and the judge did not like to be the first who should sentence one to that extreme punishment. But Henry had resolved that no one should rebel against him with impunity, and that the highest prelates in the land should be punished for their offences in the same manner as the laity. He appointed Sir William Fulthorp as a judge—a man who possessed so few scruples on the subject, that, without any indictment, trial, or defence, he pronounced sentence of death upon both the earl and the archbishop. The sentence was executed immediately; but Henry was not a revengeful man, and he extended his pardon to the other leaders of the insurrection.

The Pope, Clement VI., issued a sentence of excommunication against every one concerned in the death of the archbishop. Of course, this was aimed at Henry; but the pontiff did not like to excommunicate so powerful a king by name; and when Henry sent him a justification of his conduct, the prudent priest revoked his denunciation. This submission shows how much the power of the Roman church had declined within the last two centuries. Had a Christian king chosen, in former times, to send an archbishop to the scaffold, an interdict would have been pronounced upon his dominions, excommunication and dethronement hurled against himself, and all the princes of Europe stirred up to execute the latter sentence. For such a change the whole Christian world might well be thankful; but greater, very much greater, changes were gathering in the invisible and mysterious future.

When the Earl of Northumberland learnt the fate of his confederates, he and his friend, Lord Bardolph, fled to Scotland for protection; for the Scots were connected with his plot, and had agreed to support it by an invasion of England. Henry raised a considerable army, and after taking all the castles belonging to the earl, marched into Wales to assist his eldest son, who had been engaged in continual skirmishes there with Glendower ever since the battle of Shrewsbury. The prince had obtained several slight advantages over Glendower; but he was unable to conquer that brave man, who eluded his enemies so dexterously, and surprised them so suddenly, that nearly all the English soldiers believed in the common report that he was a great magician, and able to command the service of the devil. Hitherto he had been more troublesome to Henry than dangerous; but he had solicited the aid of the French, and they had sent an army of 12,000 men to his assistance. Owen and his allies drove back the prince and penetrated into England as far as Worcester, ravaging and plundering, after the fashion of the times. There they were met by King Henry, and deemed it prudent to retreat. He followed them into Wales, and an engagement took place among the mountains, Henry sustaining large losses. Our old historians are not very communicative upon this point; but it appears that Henry retired in confusion, and left many of his baggage-waggons behind him. The French did not remain in Wales to follow up this success; they were tired of the country and the people; it was dull compared to their own gay land, where people danced and amused themselves in spite of every calamity: what was worse, too, provisions were rather scanty, and they feared the return of King Henry with another army more numerous than the last; so they went home again, and left the Welsh to do the best they could for themselves.

Prince Henry did not follow his father; he remained in Wales; and his dexterity and courage were so great that, after much fighting, he at length, in the year 1405, subdued the whole of the south of that country. Glendower was finally defeated on the 11th of May, and forsaken. Very little is known of the remainder of his life, but that little is highly romantic. He travelled about in the disguise of a shepherd, seeking shelter occasionally at the houses of his friends; and it is a

pleasure to know that no one was base enough to betray him to his enemies. Though thus reduced, his spirit was unconquered and unconquerable; he rose again in arms to secure the independence of his native land, and eventually breathed his last [A.D. 1416], in freedom among the mountains of his country.

While Prince Henry was slowly acquiring renown in Wales, his father obtained a great advantage over the Scots. This was the capture, in 1405, of Prince James, the heir-apparent to the Scottish throne. The eldest son of Robert III. had been murdered, and the father, fearing for the life of the second, who was but a boy twelve years old, determined to send him to France for protection. A truce existed between England and Scotland, but it was continually broken through on both sides, and the vessel containing the young Scottish prince was captured by an English cruiser. This event broke the heart of his aged father, who pined away, and died on the 4th of April, 1406. The attendants of James, on being taken before Henry, requested to be permitted to continue their journey, as they were carrying him to France to complete his education. Henry had no intention of acting so generously; but, sending the lad to Windsor Castle, he replied, "In truth, I myself am no indifferent French scholar, and my brother of Scotland could not have sent his son to a better master." True to his word, Henry bestowed upon the young prince an excellent education. James loved poetry, and read with delight the tales of Chaucer. In after-times, he himself became famous for the elegance of his taste and extensiveness of his learning, and celebrated as a poet of great distinction. He remained in honourable imprisonment, in England, for nineteen years, when he was liberated, and ascended the Scottish throne; and, though he obtained the reputation of being one of the best and wisest of his country's monarchs, he perished by the hand of an assassin.

England was now tranquil at home; but, in 1406, the French invaded the dominions Henry possessed in their country, and took possession of no less than sixty castles in Guienne and Saintonge. They also resolved upon retaking Calais; but, after immense preparations, that important town remained untouched. Henry seems to have left these provinces to defend themselves, for he sent them no assistance. At that time the French king was suffering from a malady of the mind, which rendered him incompetent of attending to the affairs of state; and the country was distracted by the dissensions of two powerful nobles, the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans. Each of them had a numerous party; that of the first being called the Burgundians, and the latter the Armagnacs, and a savage warfare was carried on between them. Henry interfered in these disputes in a not very honourable manner. It was to his interest to increase the internal quarrels of the French, that they might have neither the leisure nor power to attack him. When the Duke of Burgundy solicited his assistance, he, therefore, readily sent him a small force, and afterwards just as readily listened to, and accepted, more advantageous terms from the other party, to whom he also sent military assistance. But the French, jealous of English interference, began to see their own folly; so, paying the English soldiers what they had agreed, they dismissed them and made up their quarrel.

The Earl of Northumberland could not live in peace in Scotland; he hated Henry so bitterly that, notwithstanding his former failures, he determined to try his hand at another rebellion. In the January of 1407, he and Lord Bardolph made their appearance with a small army in Northumberland, and took several castles there. Very few people joined them; and they were opposed and defeated, at Bramham Moor, by the sheriff of Yorkshire. The obstinate old noble and his friend both died upon the field of battle; but their bodies were dismembered, and the limbs hung up as those of traitors.

This was the last rebellion during Henry's reign: his iron resolution had crushed all opposition, and he was now firmly seated upon the throne. But his mind and body had both been over-tasked, and his health failed him. He became averse to company, suspicious in his habits, and gloomy in his devotion. He no longer possessed the attachment of the people, and became jealous of his son, the Prince of Wales, whom they dearly loved. The prince is reported to have been very wild and fond of low company; and many odd stories are told of him, some of which our great poet, Shakspeare, has introduced into his historical drama of *Henry the Fourth.* These stories are, no doubt, exaggerations, and few of them are mentioned by any writer of that time; but it appears the prince did give himself up to low company, and, for some time, took an interest in the affairs of state, in order to allay the jealous feeling entertained towards him by his father. A busy courtier having reported some idle and disrespectful observations of the prince to his royal parent, the king was seized with a fear that his son might proceed to violence against him. This made a deep impression on his mind; but the prince, on hearing it, behaved with an openness which at once removed those shocking doubts. Seeking his father's presence, he threw himself at his feet, and said—"Sir, I am told you have entertained a suspicion of me, injurious to my honour and to the reverence and veneration I have for your person. I freely confess that I have been guilty of some intemperate sallies which deserve your indignation; but I never had the least thought of any attempt upon your person or government. They that

dare to charge me with so monstrous a crime seek only to disturb your peace. To clear myself from this imputation I have taken the liberty to come and throw myself at your feet, humbly entreating you to cause all my actions to be as rigorously examined as those of your meanest subject." The king, from that time, abandoned his suspicions, and lived in peace and amity with his son.

In the year 1410, the House of Commons renewed the attack it had made upon the church in the early part of Henry's reign. A calculation of all the ecclesiastical revenues was made, and which amounted to 485,000 marks a year, and contained 18,400 ploughs of land. This great property it was proposed to divide among fifteen new earls, 1,500 knights, 6,000 esquires, and 100 hospitals; beyond which, there would be a considerable surplus left for the king's own use. The duties of the clergy, said the Commons, would be much better attended to by 15,000 parish priests, at a small yearly salary, than by the enormously wealthy church which then existed. At the same time, they begged the king to mitigate the severity of the laws against the Lollards. Henry was now giving himself up to a gloomy devotion; he received this application very sternly, and gave the Commons a severe reproof. To show his decision, he shortly afterwards signed the death-warrant of an unhappy man accused of heresy.

This martyr for the sake of his religious opinions was a working-man—a tailor or a smith—of the name of John Badby. He was charged before the Archbishop of Canterbury with holding several erroneous ideas on the subject of religion, the chief of which was a denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Archbishop Arundel was an unmerciful man; and, as Badby would not recant his opinions, he sentenced him to be burnt in Smithfield. The victim of priestly cruelty was put into an empty barrel, which was surrounded by dry wood. The Prince of Wales, who was present, being touched at the sight, advised him to retract his errors and accept of pardon. Badby resolutely refused, and the fire was applied to the heaps of stakes. As the flames spread upwards with a roaring sound, he was overcome with pain and terror, and called out for mercy. The prince, still anxious to save the wretched man, instantly ordered him to be taken out of the barrel, and exhorted him to save himself by recantation; but the spirits of the martyr were now reassured: he refused to give up his opinions, and being replaced in his former position, soon perished in the fire.

Henry was scarcely past the summer of life, but anxiety and excitement had made him old. He became subject to frequent epileptic fits; was afflicted with some disorder of the skin; and it was plain that his end was approaching. One ancient chronicler relates, that he had such a jealous fear of losing his crown, on account of the many attempts that had been made to wrest it from him, that he always kept it on a cushion by his pillow while he slept. On one occasion he had a severe fit, and lay motionless so long, that the Prince of Wales thought he was dead. Taking up the crown he removed it from the chamber. Shortly afterwards the king revived, and missing that type of royalty, asked what had become of it. He was told that the prince had taken it away. Sending for him, the grieved father sternly inquired if he desired to rob him of his throne before his death? The humbled prince replied, "That he never had any such thoughts; but believing him to be dead, he had taken the crown as his lawful heir, and the only person that had a right to it. Nevertheless, he thanked God he saw him again recovered, and heartily wished he might live long to wear it himself." The pacific monarch exclaimed, with a sigh, "Alas! fair son, what right have you to the crown, when you know your father had none?" "My liege," answered the prince proudly, "with the sword you won it, and with the sword I will keep it." The monarch paused for a time, as if he felt the injustice of his past career, and then answered, "Well, do as you think best; I leave the issue to God, and hope he will have mercy on my soul."

One day he was praying in Westminster Abbey, before the shrine of its founder, Edward the Confessor, when he was suddenly taken with his last paroxysm. There was an idle prophecy abroad that he should die in Jerusalem, for it had once been his intention of making a crusade to the Holy Land. On reviving a little he remembered this prophecy, and desired to be placed in a room in the apartments of the abbot, which was called the Jerusalem Chamber; there he breathed his last. His death took place on the 20th of March, 1413, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. He was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, by the side of his first queen. Henry had been twice married—first to the Lady Mary de Bohun, daughter of the Earl of Hereford; and next to Joan of Navarre, daughter of the king of that country, and widow of the Duke of Brittany. He left four sons: Henry, who succeeded him on the throne; Thomas, Duke of Clarence; John, Duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. Also two daughters, Blanche and Philippa.

There are many dark spots on the character of Henry; the chief of them being the perjury and usurpation by which he obtained his crown, and the murder of King Richard—of which cruel deed there is too much cause to consider him guilty. He will also ever be remembered with some feeling of horror, as the English monarch who yielded to the importunity of a cruel

priesthood, and passed the revolting statute for burning heretics. It is no light crime to have been the first to sanction such infamous atrocities; and his wickedness in this respect will remain as legible in the pages of history, as if written in letters of fire, tears, and blood. Still, it must be added, that, though not very particular about the means of increasing his power, he was not generally cruel or tyrannical. He showed great moderation to his rebellious subjects, and never oppressed his people with heavy taxes. He was active, firm, courageous, and self-possessed, had great powers of mind, and many kingly qualities. If he had not usurped the crown, and been in consequence harassed by frequent rebellions, he would, no doubt, have made a wise and beneficent sovereign; and, as a former historian remarks, "We can hardly conceive how any one could carry his ambition to the same height, and transmit a throne to posterity, with less violence to humanity."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FIFTH; CALLED HENRY OF MONMOUTH.—A.D. 1413—1415.



HENRY V. was crowned about three weeks after the death of his father, on the 9th of April. He ascended the throne amidst the rejoicings of the people, and no one said a word about his defective title, or the claim of Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March. It is difficult to account for the attachment the nation felt towards him, though it probably arose from his known bravery and generous amiability of character. The riots of his youth, and his love of low pleasures and companions, instead of exciting a feeling against him, seemed only to add to the general impression in his favour. A story is told, that he and his riotous associates, when heated with wine, would sally out into the streets and commit robberies upon belated passengers. That the depraved companions of the prince committed such disgraceful acts is not improbable; but it is not very likely that he himself took part in them. Next in infamy to the actual commission of crimes, is the protecting and encouragement of those who perpetrate them. This offence the prince was guilty of; for, on one occasion, when some abandoned companion of his was brought before the Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne, Henry appeared at the bar along with the criminal, and even proceeded so far as to strike the judge. Gascoigne, observing that the majesty of the law and the sovereign of the country were insulted in his person, immediately sent the prince to prison. Perceiving the error he had committed, and, doubtless, sorry for his vulgar rudeness, the latter submitted, without resistance, to the sentence of the upright judge. When the circumstance was related to his father, the king exclaimed, "Happy is the monarch who possesses a judge so resolute in the discharge of his duty, and a son so willing to yield to the authority of the law." When Henry became king, he retained Gascoigne in his dignified and important position, desiring him to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws.

Henry's wildness—if it were as great as the old chroniclers tell us it was—ceased when he assumed the sceptre; and he conducted himself with a sober dignity, which delighted the nation the more because it was unexpected. His first acts of power were exceedingly generous ones: he released Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March, from the confinement in which he had been so long kept by the jealousy of the late king, and restored to him the estates of his father. The son of the brave young Henry Percy, better known as Hotspur, was recalled from exile, and also restored to his family estates and honours. The remains of King Richard, which had been buried obscurely at the Friars' Church, at Langley, the new monarch caused to be taken up, and interred with great ceremony in Westminster Abbey, by the side of his first wife, the "good Queen Anne." This magnanimous conduct converted to friends those who might reasonably have looked upon him with feelings of enmity.

The first year of Henry's reign was, however, distinguished by a sort of insurrection of the Lollards, or followers of the opinions of the reformer Wycliffe. Notices were posted during the night upon the church doors, stating that, if the people were oppressed, there were 100,000 of them ready to rise and assert their rights by force of arms. Our information about this affair is by no means so full as might be wished; but it was supposed that the secret leader of this insurrection was Sir John Oldcastle, who became Lord Cobham in consequence of his marrying the heiress of that title, and who was commonly known as "the good Lord

Cobham." He had been one of the dissolute companions of the king, when the latter was Prince of Wales; but having attentively read the writings of Wycliffe, he became an altered man, and was soon regarded as the most distinguished leader of the reform party in religion.

To put down Lollardism, the clergy thought it desirable that a victim of rank should be sacrificed to strike terror into the nation, and to roll back the increasing tide of inquiry and distrust of the church. Taking advantage of the riots, they accused Lord Cobham to the king as a heretic and a leader of the disaffected people; and required permission to proceed against him. Henry, who was loth to think ill of his late friend, told the archbishop that he himself would talk to Cobham, and endeavour to persuade him to renounce his errors. Having sent for him, the king advised the noble reformer "to submit to his mother, the holy church; and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge his fault." That resolute man would not abandon his conviction of the truth to win the smiles of the prince, and he replied—"I am ever most anxious to yield prompt obedience to you, my lawful sovereign, knowing you to be a Christian king, and, as God's vicegerent on earth, carrying the sword of justice to punish evil-doers, and to protect those who are faithful to virtue. But suffer me to add that, touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe him neither suit nor service; and from the sacred Scriptures I know him to be the great antichrist, the beast of perdition, and the enemy of God. His commands are unlawful, are against the truth, and he himself is an abomination standing in the holy place."

Henry was angry at this intemperate language, and, perhaps, vexed that his arguments should produce no effect; therefore he gave the archbishop permission to proceed against Lord Cobham as a heretic; and that nobleman was committed to the Tower. When brought before the archbishops and prelates assembled in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, he defended himself for two days with great skill and eloquence. They asked if he would confess his errors, and receive absolution for them. In answer, he knelt devoutly on the pavement, and raising his hands towards heaven, said—"I confess myself here unto THEE, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended Thee, O Lord, most grievously, by pride, wrath, covetousness, pleasure, and intemperance. Many men have I injured in mine anger, and done other horrible sins; good Lord, I ask *Thee* mercy." Then standing erect, the tears filled his eyes, as he added, "Lo, good people, lo—for breaking of God's law, and his great commandments, these men never yet cursed me; but for their own laws and traditions, most cruelly do they handle me and other men. And, therefore, both they and their law, according to the promise of God, shall be utterly destroyed."

These bold and true remarks threw the court, for a time, into confusion, and the archbishop then examined Lord Cobham as to his belief. That brave man replied, "I believe fully and faithfully in the laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the sacred Scriptures of the Bible. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would that I should believe." This answer was not considered a satisfactory one; and, as he refused to worship the cross, and to admit the doctrine of transubstantiation, he was convicted of heresy, and sentenced to the flames. It is very likely that the king was shocked at this sentence against his old friend, for he granted him a respite for fifty days; and during that time Lord Cobham contrived to escape from the Tower, and fled to Wales. It is very likely that Henry secretly permitted him to do so.

Disappointed of their victim for the time, the priests resolved that, if possible, Lord Cobham should not finally escape them. They accused him, therefore, of having collected a great host of people, and of an attempt to seize the person of the king at Eltham. This is denied; and some writers have asserted, that he was quite innocent of the insurrection, and that his name was associated with it for the purpose of his ruin. It was reported that 25,000 rebels were to assemble at midnight, in St. Giles's Fields, and await the arrival of Lord Cobham. Henry caused the city gates to be closed to prevent any reinforcement of the Lollards from that quarter, and proceeded with a detachment of troops to the meadows. Instead of the vast assemblage that he expected, he found only eighty persons, about twenty of whom were killed, and the rest taken prisoners. Whether these men had met for any rebellious purpose it is difficult to say; and some have asserted that they were only inoffensive Lollards, who, not daring to meet openly for prayer and instruction, used to assemble at night for religious purposes in the fields round London. At the same time that these poor people were seized, a small party of Lollards were arrested, with arms in their hands, at Harengay Park. Among them was Sir Roger Acton, a friend of Lord Cobham's, and Beverley, one of their preachers. No mercy was shown to these suspected conspirators; and on the 13th of January, 1414, thirty of them were hanged in St. Giles's Fields as traitors, and then burnt, gibbets and all, as heretics.

Cobham himself was not found; and it seems most likely that he had nothing to do with this insurrection —if, indeed, it was one at all. Three years afterwards, when Henry was in France, Cobham left his hiding-place in Wales, and joining a party of Lollards, invited the assistance of the Scots. This was a treasonable act; and the Scots flying before the approach of the

regent with an army, Cobham was compelled again to seek refuge in Wales. This time he was not so fortunate, for he was betrayed and taken prisoner.

On being arraigned before the House of Lords, they condemned him to be hanged as a rebel, and burnt as a heretic. The sentence was executed [A.D. 1417] in a revolting manner: he was suspended horizontally from the gibbet by three chains, and in this attitude a lighted torch was applied to the pile of faggots beneath him. But his priestly torturers were disappointed in their desire to gloat over his dying agonies: such fiendish cruelty defeated itself, for the smoke ascended from the lighted faggots in so dense a cloud, that it is supposed he was suffocated before the fire reached him. Enthusiasm or misfortune seems to have affected his mind, for he is reported to have begged a bystander to bear witness that he should rise from the dead on the third day after his execution; and that when the king beheld that miracle, he trusted all persecution of the Lollards would cease.

Archbishop Arundel died in February, 1414: he was seized with some painful disease of the tongue, which deprived him of his speech, and in a short time terminated his life. He had lately condemned Lord Cobham to the flames as a heretic; and the followers of that unhappy nobleman declared that this was the visible judgment of heaven; that the Lord had caused the offending tongue, which had pronounced so cruel and unjust a sentence, to become mute for ever.

Arundel was succeeded in his office as primate by Chichely, the Bishop of St. David's. This prelate was even more severe and persecuting in his temper than his predecessor, and he caused the Lollards to be apprehended in such numbers, that there were not prisons enough to put them in. To obviate this, he built an addition to Lambeth Palace, which is still known as the Lollard's Tower. In the year 1415, he caused two tradesmen of London, named John Claydon and Richard Turmin, one a furrier and the other a baker, to be burnt to death in Smithfield for heresy. The crime of Claydon seems to have consisted only in his having some books on the reformed principles of religion in his possession; but, as he had been in prison before, on a charge of holding erroneous doctrines, he was instantly condemned as a relapsed heretic. It is painful to think that such cruel acts could be committed by a Christian priesthood, in the name of that divine religion which expressly forbids all ill-will and violence, even to our greatest enemies.

It was the dying advice of the late king to his son, not to let the English barons and people remain long at peace, because they were of so restless a nature, that, if they were not occupied by wars abroad, they would engage in insurrection at home. Henry had not forgotten this recommendation; and he had been little more than a year upon the throne, when he sent ambassadors to Paris, to demand the crown of France. He based his claim upon the unjust pretensions of Edward III., which have been already explained. Henry knew very well that he had no right to the crown of France; but he wished to go to war with the people of that country, and was glad of any excuse for doing so. For this reason he made a demand, which he knew would never be granted, and began collecting an army for the invasion of his continental neighbours.

Henry's ambitious designs were encouraged by the clergy, for a reason which is not greatly to their credit. When he demanded a supply of money from his parliament, that body renewed the offer they had formerly made to his father, and desired him to seize the lands of the church. The clergy, in alarm, wished to turn the mind of the king from this idea by filling it with other business; and Chichely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, persuaded him that his claim to the crown of France was a just one, and that God would assist him in obtaining it. He added, that the clergy would subscribe a larger sum for carrying on the war, than their predecessors had before given for any purpose whatever. Indeed, the archbishop made such a long and eloquent speech upon the subject, that it is said Henry was quite convinced that his claim was a religious and proper one.

Thus encouraged, the king resolved to push his demand, which the wretched condition of France at that time rendered as ungenerous as it was unjust. That unhappy country was afflicted by an insane king and a civil war. The Burgundians and Armagnacs kept the people in a state of uproar by their dissensions; and their excesses were backed by two rival bodies of workmen—the butchers and carpenters of Paris. The butchers, after committing many atrocities, and murdering numbers of people, for the good of France, as they said, were overcome and driven out of Paris by the carpenters. After a series of horrors which desolated the country, interrupted all trades and arts, and reduced the wretched people almost to a state of starvation, the rival nobles agreed to a reconciliation; and a peace was entered into by the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, that they might unite their powers to resist the invasion of the English.

The treachery and wickedness of the dauphin, the eldest son of the insane king, was so great, that he chose this moment for raising himself at the expense of his country, and actually conceived a plot for driving both the Burgundians and Armagnacs from Paris, and murdering all those who resisted. The plot, however, was discovered: this worthless prince fled from Paris, and the two great factions began their quarrels again.

The Armagnacs then triumphed; but the changes were singularly rapid, and the dauphin shortly afterwards returned, and made himself master of Paris. There he insulted the wretched people by a display of the most prodigal extravagance. While the streets were filled with gaunt, wolfish-looking men and women, and emaciated children, crying in vain for bread, the dauphin and his wanton companions kept up a succession of masked balls and luxurious festivities. Everywhere in France—except in this thoughtless wicked court—there existed violence, confusion, and horror. Such a state of things could not last; and the miserable people even looked towards the invasion of the English with a sort of wild hope. "They cannot treat us worse," said they, "than our own rulers do."

Such was the distracted state of France when Henry declared himself its lawful king, and demanded that the crown should be resigned to him. At first no answer was returned; but the French saw, from his warlike preparations, that he was in earnest. Soon after he sent a second message, saying that he would surrender his claim to the crown of France, and enter into a perpetual peace and alliance, on condition of his receiving Catharine, the French king's daughter, as his wife; with 2,000,000 crowns as her portion, together with 1,600,000 more as the ransom of King John, who had been taken prisoner by the Black Prince at Poictiers. Besides this, he demanded all the provinces which had been ceded to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny; and the sovereignty of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and some territories in Provence.

Henry knew that these exorbitant demands would not be complied with; and when the French offered him the hand of the Princess Catharine, with a dowry of only 600,000 crowns and the duchy of Aquitaine, he rejected their overture with contempt. He had made up his mind for war; and even a triumph over the French, unless attended by what is called the glory of military pomp, would not satisfy him.

Having appointed his brother John, the Duke of Bedford, regent during his absence from England, Henry [A.D. 1415] started with his army to Southampton, there to embark for France. At that famous seaport town his expedition and his life ran a risk of suddenly ending together. His own cousin, the Earl of Cambridge, with Lord Scrope and Sir Thomas Grey, conspired together to murder him. It is said that they were bribed to commit this wicked deed by the French princes, who, if it had succeeded, would thus have averted the storm that threatened them. The object of the conspirators was, after the death of Henry, to place Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March, upon the throne; but the young prince, shocked at their perfidy, and animated by feelings of honour that do him infinite credit, is supposed to have disclosed the plot to the king. Henry was extremely indignant, for he had treated all the three traitors as his intimate friends; and with one of them, Lord Scrope, he was on such terms of familiarity, that they frequently shared the same bed. The conspirators were brought to trial, condemned to death, and immediately afterwards beheaded.

The conspiracy put down, Henry sailed for France with an army of about 30,000 men, on the 11th of August, 1415, and landed near Harfleur. It took three days to disembark the troops and stores; and, on the 17th, he commenced the siege of the town and fortress of Harfleur, which surrendered to him on the 22nd of September. Having taken possession of the town, he drove out all the French inhabitants, intending to re-people it with English. But this victory, unimportant as it was, cost Henry an enormous amount of human life: the place and the season were so unhealthy that his soldiers died by hundreds; and, after having sent his sick and wounded back to England, his army of 30,000 men was reduced to about 9,000.

Such a force was too small for any important enterprise; and a French army, of more than 50,000 men, was advancing towards the English. Henry's officers recommended him to return to England; but his pride would not permit him to do that; and he feared the contempt of his people if he went back, after having accomplished so little. "No," said he, "no; we must first see, by God's help, a little more of this good land of France, which is all our own. Our mind is made up to endure every peril, rather than that they shall be able to reproach us of being afraid of them. We will go on, and it please God, without harm or danger; but if they disturb our journey, why then we must fight them, and victory and glory will be ours."

Henry began his march from Harfleur in October, intending to pass through Normandy, Picardy, and Artois to Calais. His progress must have been dreary enough; for the country was almost barren, and the people miserably poor, therefore his army found great difficulty in obtaining provisions. The peasants themselves were almost starving, and had scarcely anything to give or sell; and the English soldiers soon became ill and feeble for want of proper food. Besides this, immense bodies of French soldiers followed them at a distance, and killed every one who strayed from the main army. At length, Henry reached the river Somme, by the Blanche-Taque or White Spot, where Edward III. had crossed shortly before the battle of Crecy. He also hoped to be able to cross the river at this point; but he found the bridges broken down, the fords fortified, and columns of French soldiers watching him from the opposite banks.

Affairs began to look desperate; and King Henry had good cause to fear that his small force would be hemmed round, and utterly destroyed by the enemy. Proceeding up the river, he made several attempts to cross it, but was each time driven back: at length, discovering a ford near St. Quentin, into the bottom of which stakes had not been driven, he dashed into the river, and got his army and waggons safely across.

Having surmounted this difficulty, Henry commenced his march to Calais on the 5th of October, ordering, "that no one, under pain of death, should burn, lay waste, or take anything on the way, except necessaries." Notwithstanding his danger, he preserved his coolness, and kept excellent order in his army; for disorder or flight would have brought certain destruction upon it. His patience and self-possession must have been sadly tried, for numbers of his soldiers dropped upon the roads, and died there from want and sickness. On the 24th of October he crossed the river of Ternois at Blangi, and beheld the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Azincourt; which place has since that time been called, in England, Agincourt. A battle was unavoidable; but the chances of success were fearfully against the English, for the French army was six times more numerous than theirs. In the course of the day, Henry sent a gallant Welsh officer, named Davy Gam, to ascertain the strength of the enemy. On his return, this brave man said, "There are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away." This quaint answer pleased the king; for it showed a hopeful, fearless mind; and he thought, from it, that his poor soldiers were resolved to do their best.

When night came on, it rained and was very cold; but the English kept up their spirits by playing military airs, though some of them made their wills, confessed to their priests, and took the sacrament. If sad at heart, they showed no signs of fear; they were too proud to do that: if they must die, they would die as became Englishmen, with arms in their hands, and faces to the foe; but they still remembered what their forefathers had done at Crecy and at Poictiers, and they had hopes that they might live, and live to conquer. The French, on their part, were certain of the victory, and they passed the night in carousing, and calculating the ransom of the prisoners they expected to take the next day.

Henry was up at sunrise on the 25th of October, and heard matins and mass with his soldiers; and then, placing his army between two woods, he patiently awaited the attack. As usual, the archers were ranged in the front; and each man, besides his customary arms, carried a long stake sharpened at both ends and tipped with iron; these they struck in a slanting position into the ground, with the points towards the foe, and thus formed a defence against the attacks of the French cavalry. When all was ready, Henry rode from rank to rank, encouraging his troops. On his surcoat the arms of England and France were gorgeously embroidered; and round his bright steel helmet he wore a golden coronet radiant with gems; but his bright grey eye, gleaming with hope, and the cheerful confidence expressed in his manly face, attracted the notice of his troops far more than the brilliancy of his accoutrements. He told his soldiers that he had resolved either to conquer or perish, and assured the archers that the French had sworn to cut off the three fingers of the right hands of all they took prisoners, so that they should never be able to use a bow again. He said they had not come into France like enemies, burning towns and villages, and plundering the people; and that they were not like their adversaries, who were full of sin, and fearless of God.

An officer, named Walter Hungerford, said that he wished some of the brave knights and archers, who were then living idly in England, were present to help them. Henry overheard this remark, and instantly exclaimed, "No! I would not have a single man more. If God gives us the victory, the fewer we are, the more honour; and if we lose, the less will be the loss to our country. But fight with your usual courage, and God and the justice of our cause will protect us. Before night, the pride of our enemies shall be humbled in the dust; and the greater part of that multitude shall be stretched on the field, or captives in our power." Such heroic conduct on the part of the king spread a fearless confidence throughout the English ranks.

Notwithstanding their superiority of numbers, the French hesitated, and would not begin the attack; Henry therefore distributed some food and wine among his men, to give them strength and heart. It was strange that the French should have felt any misgivings as to the result; but they seem to have done so; and they even sent a messenger to Henry, offering to permit him to pass freely on to Calais, if he would restore Harfleur, set all his prisoners at liberty, and abandon his claim to the crown of France. The resolute king refused these offers, and still awaited the attack. Again the French paused; and then Henry himself resolved to begin the battle. He secretly sent two bodies of archers to lie in ambush, one in the rear of the French army, and the other on its left flank or side. As soon as the battle began, these concealed troops were to set fire to some buildings that were near them, and thus endeavour to create an alarm among their enemies.

"Banners advance!" cried Henry; and in an instant the whole English army was in motion, marching on over the wet miry ground to within bow-shot of the French army. Striking their pointed stakes into the

earth, the English archers set up a loud cheerful shout, which was answered by their comrades in ambush, and the next instant the air was darkened, both before and behind the French, by the thick flights of winged arrows that clove their way through it. For a moment they were astonished; but quickly recovering their self-possession, the French shouted "Mountjoye! St. Denis!" and pointing their lances, spurred their horses on to the attack of the archers. These men, who were gentlemen, thought that they must, by a desperate charge, be able to break the ranks of the archers, who were mostly peasants. But the latter shot their long arrows with so much force and rapidity, right into the faces of the approaching horsemen, that many fell dead from their steeds; some turned and rode back; and the horses of others, being wounded, plunged about, half mad with the pain, and became unmanageable. Only three knights broke through the ranks of those sturdy bowmen, and they were instantly dragged from their horses, and put to death with the knives and hatchets of the English.

An utter want of order prevailed throughout the French army; it contained so many nobles and leaders, that contradictory orders were given; and soon after this first repulse, the over-crowded troops fell into confusion. Tearing up their stakes, the English archers advanced with confident huzzas; and the French cavalry falling back, got into some newly-ploughed fields, which had been so softened by the heavy rain that they sunk deep into the mire, and were scarcely able to extricate themselves. Then the English archers, slinging their bows behind them, rushed forward with their bill-hooks and hatchets, slaying all they met.

One division of the French army was defeated; but a second remained, far more numerous than the whole of the English; and Henry, calling back his archers who had done such good service, advanced to the attack with his men-at-arms. The French then fought with more vigour; and Henry, whose glittering coronet was seen everywhere in the thickest of the battle, was several times in danger of losing his life. Eighteen knights had bound themselves together by an oath, that they would either kill him or take him prisoner. Riding up in a body, one of them struck Henry upon the helmet with his battle-axe; and the king, reeling beneath the blow, staggered and fell upon his knees. At that moment he would have lost his life, but for the fidelity and bravery of his troops, who closed round him like a living wall, and killed all his assailants.

The Duke of Alençon then fought his way towards the English sovereign, and cleaving down the Duke of York, aimed a blow at Henry's head; but the broad axe glanced aside, and only clove away part of the diadem which encircled his helmet. The next moment the French noble was attacked by such a host of English, that, foreseeing the certainty of his fate if he resisted, he shouted to the king, "I surrender to you. I am the Duke d'Alençon." Henry would have saved him; but before he could speak, the duke was struck dead at his feet. His death caused a general panic; and the French army, yet far more numerous than the English, turned and fled.

Then the English had leisure to make prisoners; and a great number, both gentlemen and common soldiers, were soon taken. While they were thus occupied, they saw the remains of the French rear-guard at some distance, and heard a loud noise and cry from their own camp. Fearing that the enemy had rallied, and commenced another attack, Henry commanded that all his prisoners should be put to death. A fearful slaughter of these unhappy men followed; but it was soon discovered that the alarm from the camp was occasioned by a body of peasants and vagabonds who had attacked it in the hope of plunder, and killed many of the boys and women who remained with it. On learning this, Henry stopped the carnage, and saved the lives of those prisoners who remained.

Calling around him the French and English heralds, the victor exclaimed, "We have not made this slaughter, but the Almighty, as we believe, for the sins of France." This was a convenient sort of morality, and quite in accordance with the ideas of the people of those times; but it seems a miserable, if not blasphemous, excuse for such wholesale murder. Henry had no right to invade France; if he did so, he knew that its people would resist him, and therefore his ambition was the cause of all the horrors that ensued. But, having quieted his conscience by laying the murders of that day to the charge of the Merciful One, he asked the heralds to whom the victory was due? Mountjoye, the French king-at-arms, replied humbly—"To the King of England; to him must the victory be given." "What," said Henry, "is the name of yonder castle?" He was told it was called Azincourt. "Then," continued the king, "since all battles ought to be named after the nearest castle, let this battle bear, henceforward and lastingly, the name of the battle of Azincourt."

Scarcely ever was there a conflict which proved more fatal to the nobles and chivalry of France. Seven princes of the royal family of that nation had perished, together with a long list of the bearers of illustrious titles. Besides these, 8,000 French gentlemen lay dead upon that blood-sodden field, and 2,000 common soldiers. Henry's prisoners are said to have amounted to the number of 14,000. The English lost only about 1,600 men: many will have it that their loss was much smaller; and some old chroniclers have said that it did not amount to more than forty; but that is a vain and

idle boast. Henry had many noble prisoners; and amongst them was the Duke d'Orleans, who, besides being severely wounded, was seized with a deep melancholy at the disgrace of his country. Henry strove to console him. "If," said he, "God has given me the grace to win this victory, I acknowledge that it is through no merits of mine own. I believe that God has willed that the French should be punished; and if what I have heard be true, no wonder at it; for they tell me that never were seen such disorders, such a license of wickedness, and such vices as now reign in France. It is pitiful and horrible to hear it all, and certainly the wrath of the Lord must have been awakened!"

The next day, the 26th of October, Henry and his army continued their march towards Calais. His troops were too few, and too much enfeebled by want and sickness, to follow up their success; and therefore, having concluded a truce for two years, he determined, at once, to proceed to England. There he was received with expressions of the wildest delight: he entered London in triumph, and the citizens held a great festival in his honour. At the foot of London-bridge two turrets had been erected for the occasion, and in front of them stood a tremendous fellow dressed up as a giant, who recited some verses written to welcome the monarch. Upon one of the turrets was placed a representation of a lion and an antelope, and, on the other, a number of pretty little girls, dressed in white, and decorated with little crowns of flowers, to make them look like angels: they greeted the king by singing, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." When he had proceeded through the crowded streets (the houses of which were hung with rich silks and tapestries), as far as Cornhill, he beheld a tower filled with patriarchs, who chanted, "Sing unto the Lord a new song; praise His name in the holy church." As the king passed, they threw down a shower of living birds. In Cheapside there were fountains, which spouted jets of wine, and more singing patriarchs, and people dressed as kings, who welcomed the monarch on their knees. Other pageants were presented; and when Henry entered St. Paul's, amidst the joyful pealing of church-bells and the deafening shouts of dense crowds of his delighted people, the *Te Deum* was sung by a great chorus of priests, and then the king went home to his palace at Westminster.

For some days, nobles, priests, and people all strove which should express most affection for him, and joyous shouts of "Long live our brave king!" "Long live Harry the Fifth!" rang through the towns and villages of England. Thus it always is, in England and elsewhere: no gifted man, be he statesman, prelate, poet, or philosopher, whether he has saved life by his discoveries, or added to its dignities and comforts by his inventions, is ever regarded by his countrymen with that enthusiaatic love and admiration which they lavish on the CONQUEROR! The power of the sword still seems greater than that of the pen, and might yet triumphs over mind; as it frequently does over right. Notwithstanding the dreams of philanthropists, there appears to be no prospect of this state of things being reversed.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FIFTH.—A.D. 1415—1422.



ENRY'S parliament voted him liberal supplies of money; for they were in a temper to give him anything: still two years passed away before he again led an army to France to press his unjust claim on the crown of that country. The French learnt no wisdom from the terrible misfortune they had so lately experienced, and were still engaged in fighting with and murdering each other at home. In the year after the battle of Agincourt, they did make a vain attempt to recover Harfleur from the hands of the English. The governor of that town sent to Henry for assistance; and the king despatched his brother, the Duke of Bedford, with a fleet to rescue the place from the French, who had besieged it both by land and sea. The French fleet was superior in numbers to the English; for it had the assistance of some vessels from Spain and Genoa; but, after a savage fight, the English were the victors, and again were the French compelled to acknowledge their inferiority. Having driven them away from Harflour, the duke put that town into a state of defence, and then returned to England.

Henry began to prepare for another invasion of France before the truce had expired; and, in 1417, he carried over an army of 35,000 men, 16,000 of whom were archers. This army left Southampton on the 23rd of July, and landed, on the 1st of August, at Tonque, in Normandy, without any opposition. Having stormed

and taken many towns and castles, he established himself in winter quarters. The French court, knowing the misery of its own people and the power of its opponent, sent messengers to beg for a peace. Henry would grant none except on his own conditions; which were, that the Princess Catharine should become his queen, and that he should be declared regent of France, and successor to the throne upon the death of the monarch who then occupied it. Though the French had suffered severely, they were not inclined to submit to such terms as these; and, in the spring of 1418, Henry renewed his military exploits.

His army was soon strengthened by additional thousands from England; and he speedily took town after town until he had subdued the whole of Lower Normandy. Then, crossing the river Seine, he laid siege to the important and strongly fortified city of Rouen. It was bravely defended; and Henry, unable to take it by storm, resolved to blockade and reduce it by famine. As the citizens were well supplied with provisions, he was detained for many months before its walls; and during that time he was visited by the Cardinal Ursini, who came with a meritorious desire of inducing him to put an end to the war. Henry had a great respect for the church; and, according to the notions then generally entertained upon the subject, he was a religious man; but he would not forego his ambitious schemes. So far from doing so, he made religion an excuse for continuing his cruel conflict. In answer to the cardinal, he said, "It is the will of Heaven; God has led me hither by the hand to punish the sins of the land, and to reign in it like a true king. There is no sovereign, no law, in France. No one thinks of resisting me. I have just rights, and I shall go on and put the crown of France upon my head. It is the will of God." At length the people of Rouen were starved into submission, and surrendered, after having eaten every horse and dog in the town. Henry was not an ungenerous conqueror: he spared the lives of the soldiers and the property of the citizens, merely making the latter pay a heavy fine.

The French were alarmed, and the two factions into which their government was divided, entered into treaty with the English sovereign. These factions then consisted of the queen and the Duke of Burgundy on the one hand (who had, as they held possession of the insane king, carried the appearance of legal authority), and the dauphin on the other, who was looked up to by a very large party as being the true heir to the monarchy. Henry listened to both, and then offered to make peace with the queen and the Duke of Burgundy. He said he would abandon his claim to the throne of France, on condition of his receiving the Princess Catharine in marriage, the possession of Normandy and his other conquests, and all the territories ceded to the English by the treaty of Bretigny. These conditions were agreed to by the queen and the duke, and there only remained some little formalities to conclude the business. But the French were not sincere in their conduct; and having trifled with Henry for some time, the queen and the Duke of Burgundy suddenly broke off the negotiations, and entered into an alliance with the dauphin and his party against the English.

Henry was not the man to let treachery and insult pass unpunished. Resuming the war, he led his army almost to the walls of Paris, and took the populous town of Pontoise, where he found a considerable treasure. Though the two French factions were reconciled to each other, yet they could not agree, and the depraved nobles contrived to bring more misery upon their country than the English did. The dauphin and his associates having invited the Duke of Burgundy to a conference at Montereau, on the 18th of August, 1419, to consult on the best means of promoting the welfare of France, murdered him in a brutal and perfidious manner. All his countrymen were disgusted with this act of savage treachery; and the people of Paris, swearing that they would avenge the murder of the duke, desired a truce with the English, whom they began to consider less their enemies than the son of their own king.

Philip, the son of the murdered duke, and the French queen, then entered in earnest into a treaty with Henry, at Troyes. It was arranged that he should marry the Princess Catharine, and succeed to the crown of France, after the death of the king then wearing it. The two countries were to be united under one sovereign: but both of them were to retain their peculiar laws, customs, and liberties; and, until the death of the French monarch, Henry was to be declared regent of France, and be invested with the power of government. It has been observed by an elegant writer of history, that "it is hard to say whether the consequences of this treaty, had it taken effect, would have proved more pernicious to England or to France. It must have reduced the former kingdom to the rank of a province; it would have entirely disjointed the succession of the latter, and have brought on the destruction of every descendant of the royal family; as the houses of Orleans, Anjou, Alençon, Brittany, Bourbon, and of Burgundy itself, whose titles were preferable to that of the English princes, would, on that account, have been exposed to perpetual jealousy and persecution from the sovereign."

These considerations were, however, either not thought of, or not regarded; for the treaty was concluded on the 24th of May, 1420, and accepted, without opposition, by the parliament and people of France. Indeed, it seemed as if Henry would become as popular

in France as he was in England; and the prelates and barons of the former country were anxious to outdo each other in their readiness to acknowledge him as regent, and to take oaths of fealty to him. He was at once affianced to the Princess Catharine, who was exceedingly graceful and beautiful, and who seems to have been very amiable also. On the 2nd of the following June, the royal marriage took place in the church of St. John, at Troyes. The next day Henry gave a splendid banquet; but when some of the French nobles wished to celebrate the event by a series of tournaments and festivals, he resolutely prohibited it. France was now his country, and he wished to tranquillise it by driving out the dauphin and putting an end to civil war. "I pray," he said, "my lord the king to permit, and I command his servants and mine to be all ready to-morrow morning, to go and lay siege to Sens, wherein are our enemies. There every man may have jousting and tourneying enough; and may give proof of his prowess; for there is no finer prowess than that of doing justice on the wicked, in order that the poor people may breathe and live."

Henry soon reduced the town of Sens; and, after that, those also of Montereau and Melun, though he passed four months before the walls of the latter; but he failed in securing the dauphin, for that young prince fled into Languedoc, where he also assumed the title of Regent of France, and appealed to God and to his sword to maintain it. Shortly afterwards, Henry and his crazy old father-in-law, the French king, entered Paris together in triumph, amidst the shouts of the people; the procession also was made more imposing by the priests chanting, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" This hymn of welcome was not a very appropriate one; but the French people began to regard Henry rather as a deliverer than as an enemy; such had been the wretched anarchy to which they were subjected under their native rulers.

In the January of 1421, Henry took his young wife to England, where he was again received with enthusiastic affection by his people. Catharine was crowned queen at Westminster Abbey with great magnificence, and the king and queen made a royal progress together through many of the great towns.

Henry's career of success was not entirely unchequered; he had left his brother Thomas, the Duke of Clarence, governor of Normandy. The duke having invaded Anjou, which supported the dauphin, he was opposed by that prince and a body of 7,000 Scots, under the command of the Earl of Buchan. The two armies met at the village of Bangé; and, after a fierce conflict, the Duke of Clarence was slain, and the English defeated. The battle was not a disgraceful one; for, although 1,200 English were killed, and 300 more taken prisoners, they left not less than 1,000 of their enemies dead upon the field. This incident raised the spirits of the dauphin and his party, for it was the first action that turned the tide of success against the English. Thus encouraged, the dauphin collected more forces, and began to approach gradually towards Paris, where the people, finding their sufferings not greatly relieved, had begun to murmur against the English.

Henry was alarmed for the safety of his conquest. Having obtained a grant of money from his parliament, he collected a new army, consisting of 4,000 men-at-arms, and 24,000 archers. Amongst his ranks was James Stuart, the King of Scotland, whom Henry released from his long captivity. Leaving his queen at Windsor Castle, the warlike king embarked with his army at Dover; and, on the 12th of June, 1421, landed at Calais. His presence and decision of character soon restored the English supremacy; and, having taken several towns, he entered Paris, amidst the acclamations of the people. The dauphin was then besieging the town of Chartres; but he fled from its walls on the approach of Henry. About thirty miles from Paris was the town and strong fortress of Meaux, commanded by a savage officer, called the Bastard of Vaurus, an ally of the dauphin's. This man was notorious for his revolting cruelties; and whenever an Englishman or a follower of the Duke of Burgundy had the misfortune to fall into his hands, they were instantly slaughtered. Sometimes he plundered the surrounding country, and carried off the inhabitants as prisoners. If their friends could raise a sum of money for their ransom, he set them again at liberty; but if they could not afford to do so, he caused them to be hanged on an elm-tree outside the walls of Meaux. This man, as you may suppose, was the terror of the country for many miles round; but Henry had resolved upon putting a stop to his extortions and murders. For some months the town resisted, and then it was carried by storm. Its ruffianly commander fought desperately; but he was captured, and hanged on the very elm-tree which had been the unconscious instrument of so many of his cruelties. Three of his officers were also executed with him. This just retribution gave great satisfaction to the people.

While Henry was encamped before the walls of Meaux, he received intelligence that his queen, Catharine, had presented him with a son, at Windsor Castle. The little prince was born on the 6th of December, 1421; and his birth was celebrated by great rejoicings, both in France and England, for he was regarded as the future sovereign of both countries. In the following May, the queen arrived in Paris, where she was received with as much affectionate admiration as if she had been something more than human. The air rang with shouts, and the people implored blessings upon her beautiful

and cheerful face? Everything seemed to smile upon Henry; and when, on the festival of Whitsuntide, he sat side by side with his queen in the palace of the Louvre, both of them arrayed in robes of state, and with the glittering symbols of royalty upon their brows, he might be said to have reached the pinnacle of his ambition. He was the actual ruler of two great nations—a king loved by his people, a hero admired by all Europe. The flower-girded cup of prosperity was filled for him to the brim; but a dim, shadowy form presented it: his prospect seemed one of beauty, hope, and glory; but a cloud was gathering in the distance. In the midst of his grandeur he was seized with a painful disease, of a kind that baffled the skill of the most eminent surgeons of the age.

Hearing that the dauphin had collected an army in the south of France, and that he was assisted by a body of Scottish troops, Henry left Paris, and marched against him. But the brave and ambitious king was supported by a false strength, arising from excitement; and, having proceeded about twenty miles, he was obliged to stop at Corbeil. Feeling himself seriously ill, he surrendered the command of the army to his brother, the Duke of Bedford, and was carried back, in a litter, to the neighbourhood of Paris.

The progress of his disease was rapid; and in a little time he became aware that he was dying. His young queen was kept in ignorance of his condition, and did not see him in his last moments. With that resolute calmness which always distinguished him, he sent for the Duke of Bedford and his brother, Humphrey, together with some of the great barons of his court, to receive his dying commands. He explained to them many things about the business of the state, and entreated them to behave towards his infant son with the same faithfulness they had always shown to him. He said he did not fear to die, but he should like to have lived until France had been utterly subdued; he was sorry that he must leave unfinished a work he had carried on so successfully; but he expressed his confidence that their courage and prudence would be able to complete what he had left undone. He felt no remorse for the misery he had inflicted on France, and the blood he had caused to be shed; he thought his quarrel a just one, and that it was God's will that he should punish the people of that country for their sins. The regency of that kingdom he left to his younger brother, the Duke of Bedford; that of England to his youngest, the Duke of Gloucester; and to the Earl of Warwick he bequeathed the care of his son. He exhorted them to keep peace and friendship among themselves during the long minority; and desired them never to make peace with the dauphin unless he surrendered all claim to the crown of France. Even if their arms were not so successful as he expected, they were never to make peace with France unless Normandy and Aquitaine were given up to them; and he then warned them not to release the Duke d'Orleans and the other French princes who were taken prisoners at Agincourt.

His listeners wept, and vowed a religious obedience to his commands; and, also, that they would protect his queen and infant son. Desiring the presence of his physicians, he asked how long they thought he had to live? One of them, with tears in his eyes, replied, that without a miracle he could not live above two hours. Then, calling for his confessor and his chaplains, the dying monarch directed them to chant the seven penitential psalms. As the solemn service proceeded, he lay almost motionless, and it was evident that the rigidity of death was fast settling over his face. When they came to the verse, "Thou shalt build up the walls of Jerusalem," he made a sign for them to stop, and then said that he had always intended, after he had subdued the whole realm of France, and restored it to peace and order, to conquer the Holy City from the Saracens. Having thus spoken, he expressed a wish for the priests to proceed, and in a few minutes he had ceased to breathe: he who had so often braved death in its most violent aspects, sank into that long, mysterious slumber as calmly as an infant. Henry died on the 31st of August, 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign.

No English sovereign was ever before buried with so much magnificence. The body, after being embalmed and enclosed in a leaden coffin, was placed on a magnificent car, divided into several compartments. The first bore a representation of the arms of St. George; the second, of the arms of Normandy; the third, of those of King Arthur; the fourth, of St. Edward; the fifth, of France; and the sixth, of England and France united. Upon the car was a bed of crimson and gold, on which reclined a statue of the late king in his robes, crowned, and holding a sceptre in his right hand, and a globe and cross in his left. Five hundred knights and esquires in coal-black armour, and with their spears reversed, rode in attendance upon it. After them came 300 persons arrayed in long white robes, and carrying torches; with them were mingled heralds bearing achievements, banners, and pennons. These were followed by the royal household, and James, the late captive King of Scotland, who attended as chief mourner. Some distance behind them came the widowed queen, with a numerous array of attendants. The body was carried from the noble cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris, in slow and solemn procession to Calais, where a fleet was waiting to bear it to England. The enthusiastic joy which had been shown by the people when Henry had last landed there, was turned into universal sorrow.

Throughout the country his loss was regarded as a national calamity.

When the sad train approached London, it was met by a procession of churchmen, consisting of fifteen bishops in their pontifical attire, followed by a great body of abbots and monks. The people also came out in great multitudes, and reverently uncovered their heads as the gorgeous car containing the body of their late sovereign passed. Then the concourse of priests began chanting the impressive service for the dead; and in this manner the body was taken to St. Paul's, and the funeral obsequies performed in the presence of the chief nobles and parliament of England. Henry was afterwards buried in Westminster Abbey, near the shrine of Edward the Confessor.

His young and beautiful widow, Catharine, was left desolate in a land of strangers. Her grief was, no doubt, very sincere; but she soon suffered herself to be consoled. Not long after Henry's death, she married Sir Owen Tudor, a Welsh gentleman. He was a private man, and his father is said to have been a brewer; so people were rather scandalised at what was considered an unbecoming alliance. But Sir Owen was the handsomest man of the day; and if the queen did not please the nobles, she pleased herself. To put as good a face as possible upon the matter, it was reported that the Welshman was descended from the ancient princes of his country; but the report was not credited. Catharine brought him two sons, Edmund and Jasper; the first was created Earl of Richmond, and the second Earl of Pembroke. She died in 1437, and was buried by the side of her first husband in Westminster Abbey. Sixty-three years after the death of Henry, a descendant of Sir Owen mounted the English throne, and founded the House of Tudor.

A great deal has been written about the personal qualities and character of Henry V.; and few princes have been so extravagantly praised. Though not quite so great a hero as some of his admirers would represent him, he certainly was a prince of remarkable talents. He was cheerful in his temper, and affable in his manners, though latterly he grew rather proud and imperious; and is said to have committed a French officer to prison for looking in his face while he addressed him. Probably the look conveyed some defiant or offensive expression; for no other instance of such arbitrary conduct is related of Henry. On the contrary, he was usually distinguished by a noble magnanimity. His ambition was great; and it induced him to engage in an aggressive and unjustifiable war. His bravery was as great as his ambition, and his victories were seldom disgraced by cruelties. Though a devout man, according to the notions then held of devotion, and desirous of gaining the good opinion of the priesthood, yet he was greatly averse to the burning of heretics. In the beginning of his reign, he rather shocked Archbishop Chicheley, by telling him that he did not like persecution for opinion's sake, and that he wished more liberty in such matters. His friends loved him for his affability, and his enemies were often won to him by his mercy. Though we have not so many opportunities of judging of him in that capacity, yet he is said to have been as great a statesman as he was a warrior. He certainly understood the truest art of government—that of winning the affections of his people. He was a rigid preserver of justice, and his readiness in forming decisions was equal to his firmness in executing them. Some writers have praised him for generosity; but others, and especially the French (who have generally judged him with great fairness), have accused him of avarice. Perhaps he was occasionally slow in rewarding the brave soldiers and wise counsellors who served him; but his means were very limited, and his war expenses enormous.

His personal appearance was striking: he was tall and thin, with a graceful, well-knit figure, and a remarkably handsome countenance. His deportment was princely, his limbs powerful, and he was very active and expert in all warlike exercises. To this day his memory has been preserved with something like an affectionate fondness by the English people, who, notwithstanding the injustice of his wars, look back with pride to his brilliant victories.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH; CALLED HENRY OF WINDSOR.—A.D. 1422—1431.



A WISE Roman pontiff once exclaimed, "Woe to that land whose king is a child!" It may be added—and double woe to that land whose king, in spite of manly years, remains a child in character and mind. For years this was to be the position of England. Its new sovereign was an infant only nine months old; and, before he arrived at maturity, he was discovered to be, not only of too feeble and gentle a character to rule a fierce and turbulent people, but, at times, subject to that terrible calamity—*mental derangement!* The malady of his unhappy grandfather, the insane Charles VI. of France, descended to the infant King of England;—a fatal inheritance, which, together with the weakness of his character, encouraged the turbulence of his nobles, and led to that long series of savage and convulsive struggles between the Houses of York and Lancaster known as the Wars of the White and Red Roses.

The baby king, Henry VI., was considered too young for the performance of the ceremony of coronation. An infant who could not talk, of course could not take the customary oath to defend his people, and administer justice with impartiality; the coronation was, therefore, deferred, and did not take place until 1430, when the young sovereign was in his ninth year.

Soon after the death of the late king, the parliament assembled to provide for the future government of the country. That body objected to the Duke of Gloucester assuming the title of regent; they said that title could not be bestowed upon any one without their consent; and as that had not been asked, they would not sanction the appointment of their late sovereign. They gave the Duke of Bedford the title of Protector of the Church and Realm of England, a title which was supposed to confer less authority than the more sounding one of regent, and one which, they said, would constantly serve to remind him of his duty. A council of government was then named, consisting of sixteen members; and as the Duke of Bedford was absent in France, his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, was to act as his representative. The latter nobleman did not much like this prudent conduct of the parliament; but he was an honourable man, and yielded to it without opposition. The education of the little king was entrusted to his great uncle, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, a natural son of John of Gaunt. This prelate, whose character has been painted in such dark and terrible colours by our great poet Shakspeare, was proud and ambitious; but in other respects he seems to have been rather an amiable than a wicked man. The taint upon his birth excluded him from any hope of ever occupying the throne of England; and this was one reason why he was chosen as the guardian and teacher of the baby monarch: but his ambition lay in another direction; and the wealthy bishop, who afterwards became a cardinal, aimed at obtaining the triple crown of Rome and becoming supreme sovereign of the Christian church.

The parliament did not object to the Duke of Bedford assuming the title of Regent of France That nobleman was a brave soldier and skilful general, and the English knew that their interests in that country could not be placed in better hands. He was surrounded by a number of daring and resolute officers, whose names have become as familiar as household words to the readers of history. There were the famous Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, with those of Somerset, Suffolk, and Arundel; the brave Sir John Talbot, with whose name French mothers used to frighten their children into silence, and whom Frenchmen thought was a devil in arms; and Sir John Fastolfe, who was as brave and noble as the humorous fiction—whose name so much resembles his—of our great poet was cowardly and worthless. If the English lost the country which Henry V. had so recently obtained, it was not for lack of stout hearts and strong arms—they had them in abundance; but because they had attempted a feat beyond their resources and power, and because it required a greater effort to retain France than to conquer it.

The death of Henry V. was followed by that of his father-in-law, the French king. He expired on the 22nd of October; and the fugitive dauphin, who was miserably poor, was proclaimed King of France by his followers. Shortly after, he was crowned and anointed at the city of Poictiers as Charles VII.; and although the English treated both him and the ceremony with contempt, yet he was supported by many patriotic Frenchmen, who wished to see the throne occupied by a native prince, and not by an English intruder. In the meantime, the Duke of Bedford had proclaimed the infant King Henry as sovereign of France, and the prelates, parliament, universities, and the principal citizens had sworn fealty to him.

Charles, after his coronation, collected an army of Scots and Frenchmen; and towards the close of 1423,

laid siege to an important town called Crevant. This place belonged to the Duke of Burgundy—that powerful duke whose friendship the dying Henry had advised his successors always to court and retain. The regent Bedford, therefore, sent an English force, under the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, to raise the siege. On their way, the English were joined by a body of the followers of the Duke of Burgundy; but still their numbers were very much inferior to those of their opponents. Inferiority of numbers has, however, seldom dismayed the hearts of Englishmen, nor did it on this occasion; but, in consequence of it, an order was given to spare none, and to take no prisoners until the battle was won. The conflict took place on the banks of the river Yonne, the English being opposed to the Scots, and the followers of the Duke of Burgundy to their own countrymen, the French. This was an excellent plan; for the French soldiers dreaded the strength and prowess of the Scots, and feared to encounter them, and the English were a better match for the hardy warriors of the land of mists and mountains. A fierce battle ensued, and the English were victorious; the Frenchmen fled, and great numbers of Scots were slaughtered or taken prisoners. The battle of Crevant was, at that time, regarded as one of the military glories of England.

Though defeated, Charles was not subdued, and a number of trifling insurrections and sieges followed, which it is by no means necessary to detail. One was more important. The town of Ivry, in Normandy, held out for Charles; and as it was a strong and important place, the Duke of Bedford besieged it in person. After a resistance of three months' duration, the governor consented to surrender the town within a certain period, if no relief arrived. The fugitive king resolved to make an effort in its favour, and he sent all the military power he could collect to drive away Bedford and the English. His army consisted of about 7,000 Scots, and as many French: among the leaders of it were the famous Earls of Douglas and Buchan, and the Counts of Alençon, Aumale, and Narbonne. When these warriors arrived near Ivry, they were so struck by the good order and formidable appearance of the English army, that, although it was scarcely so numerous as their own, they hesitated to attack it. Leaving Ivry to its fate, they marched away to the town of Verneuil, into which they were admitted by the inhabitants.

Ivry, being thus abandoned, immediately submitted to the English, and Bedford then marched after the enemy, and in a very short time encamped his army before the walls of Verneuil, where the French and Scots took shelter. On the approach of the English, the leaders of the allies held a council of war, to determine the course they should pursue. All agreed that they could not long remain in Verneuil; because, if they did, they would consume all the provisions there, and be in danger of starving. Some of the Scots advised a retreat; they said that the past misfortunes of the French arose from their rashness in giving battle when there was no necessity for it; that this army was the last resource of the French king; that it was therefore necessary to be very cautious, for that in time the people might adopt his cause, and discord arise amongst his enemies. The rest, however, did not like the idea of turning their backs upon the enemy, and a battle was resolved upon.

The struggle was bravely contested; but, as usual, the impatience and impetuosity of the French led to their ruin. The Duke of Bedford placed a great body of archers in front, where they thrust their sharp stakes into the ground, in the same way as they had done at Agincourt. The brave, but prudent, Earl of Douglas wished to wait for the attack; but the Count of Narbonne, raising the national shout of France, "Mountjoye St. Denis!" rushed with his troops upon the English bowmen. The charge was a desperate one; many English perished; and a body of archers was thrown into confusion, and driven back to the rear. As it turned out, this was a fortunate circumstance; for the French had charged in that direction also, and these archers, instantly recovering their order, assisting in driving them back with great loss. The battle raged furiously for nearly three hours: many brave deeds were performed on both sides; but the French were losing ground; and when the archers returned from the rear, and shot their flight of death-winged arrows incessantly into the faces of their foes, the French and Scots turned and fled, leaving about 4,000 of their companions dead upon the blood-soaked earth. Among them was the Earl of Buchan and the Earl of Douglas, together with the son of the latter, and many other brave Scottish gentlemen. A number of French nobles and knights also lay among that grim host of silent warriors. Mingled with them were the bodies of about 1,600 Englishmen, all lying together peaceful and motionless enough then, for the hurricane and roar of battle were succeeded by the dread hush of death.

This battle was fought on the 27th of August, 1424, and the next day Verneuil surrendered to the Duke of Bedford. Thus the arms of England were again triumphant, and the cause of the fugitive Charles, and of French independence, seemed utterly destroyed. But the brightest prospects are often but treacherous ones; and this is peculiarly the case in war. In spite of their victories and power, circumstances were at work which were to destroy the dominion of the English in France. The Duke of Gloucester had married a princess, called Jacqueline of Hainault and Holland. The lady had previously been married to the young Duke of Brabant,

a relation of the powerful French Duke of Burgundy; but as she much disliked her husband, she declared that their marriage was illegal, because they were cousins-german. After this declaration she left him, and married the English Duke of Gloucester. That nobleman considered that the states of Hainault and Holland now belonged to him, in consequence of the right of his wife to them; and raising a small army, they both went over and took possession of Mons, the capital of Hainault. The Duke of Burgundy was highly incensed at this conduct; he considered that Gloucester had insulted his relation, the young Duke of Brabant, by marrying his wife before she had been actually divorced; and he was jealous of the extension of the English power by their possessing Hainault and Holland. He sent an angry message to Gloucester, and these noblemen then quarrelled, and challenged each other to single combat. The duel did not take place; but the quarrel was kept up; and for about a year and a-half Gloucester defied all the power of Burgundy.

This dispute was a serious blow to the English supremacy in France. The troops which Bedford had expected from England were employed by Gloucester to support his cause against Burgundy in Hainault and Holland; and from that time Burgundy himself was an indifferent, if not treacherous, ally of the English. The Duke of Bedford thus found himself prevented from following up his victory at Verneuil.

Unable to accomplish his purpose of obtaining possession of the states of his wife Jacqueline, whose marriage with him had been annulled by the pope, Gloucester returned to England. He seems to have been of a passionate temper, for there he quarrelled violently with the rich and ambitious Bishop Beaufort, the tutor of the young King Henry. The retainers of the duke and the bishop fought in the streets of London; and so much disturbance was created, that it was feared a civil war might be the result of their dissensions. To reconcile them the Duke of Bedford came to England, and compelled them to shake hands. Beaufort was supposed to be not very sincere in his forgiveness, and soon afterwards he left the country.

Brittany had supported the cause of the English in France; but, during the absence of Bedford, the duke of that country had broken his alliance, and taken up the cause of the wandering French monarch, Charles. This greatly strengthened the latter, and another incident occurred which tended to raise the spirits of his followers. The Earl of Warwick having undertaken the siege of Montargis with a small army of not more than 3,000 men, that place was relieved by the Count of Dunois, who attacked Warwick with so much valour and skill, that the latter was compelled to raise the siege and retreat.

The Duke of Bedford was a brave soldier, and, in that respect, a worthy brother of Henry V. On his return to France he soon revived the great military reputation of the English. His first act was to punish the treachery of the Duke of Brittany, who but two years before had entered into a most solemn alliance with him. Collecting a great army, he fell upon Brittany before the people were prepared to resist him, and having defeated them, utterly devastated their country, and compelled the duke to submit to the conditions he imposed upon him. These were—immediately to abandon the cause of the French king, Charles; to observe the treaty of Troyes; to acknowledge the Duke of Bedford as regent of France, and to do homage for his duchy to the English sovereign. Bedford then determined on an exploit which, he thought, would utterly destroy the pretensions of Charles, and complete the subjugation of France. This was the taking of the rich and powerful city of Orleans.

Since the English had been in possession of Paris, many Frenchmen had regarded Orleans as the capital of their country. It is situated almost in the centre of France, and was considered a sort of key, or entrance, to the south of that kingdom. Past its walls flowed the Loire, a noble river, which nearly divides the land; and beyond that broad stream were most of the towns which still adhered to their native sovereign, Charles. Even the great conqueror, Henry V., had never crossed the Loire; and the conquest of France, on the south side of its banks, would be the fulfilment of his uncompleted scheme of ambition. But to accomplish that, Orleans must first be subdued; and Bedford resolved to reduce it either by siege or blockade. Having received a reinforcement of 6,000 soldiers from England, he entrusted the command of the expedition to the brave Earl of Salisbury, who had distinguished himself for his military skill in the wars of the late king. That general took several small places in the neighbourhood of Orleans, and then proceeded to encircle the city with his troops. By pausing to take these trifling advantages, instead of proceeding at once to the reduction of the city, his intention became known, and the French determined to use every exertion to prevent it.

The inhabitants of Orleans laid in a great stock of provisions and warlike stores, burnt the suburbs of their city, and desolated all the vineyards, fields, and gardens around it, that they might yield no supplies to their enemies. Neighbouring towns sent them provisions, money, and soldiers; and Charles and his courtiers, sensible of the great importance of the place, strained every nerve for its assistance. The Sire de Gaucourt was appointed the governor of Orleans, and many other brave and experienced leaders and their forces entered it before the arrival of the English. The

coming struggle excited immense interest, even beyond the domains of France; for it was generally understood that it would be the last great effort of the people of that fertile land for their national independence.

Salisbury commenced the siege on the 12th of September, 1428. There was a bridge which led from the left bank of the river to the town; it was defended by a fortress called the Tournelles; and across this bridge he was desirous of leading his troops. The fortress was bravely defended; and even women mounted the battlements, and threw down stones and boiling oil upon the heads of the besiegers; but, after a severe conflict, it was taken. Some days afterwards, Salisbury ascended the tower of the Tournelles to overlook the town, and see where he could best attack it, when he was struck by a cannon-ball, which shot away part of his face, and instantly killed a gentleman who stood behind him. The brave English general languished for a week, and then died, to the great regret of the troops. The command was given to the Earl of Suffolk; and, as it was in the month of November, and the weather extremely cold, all thought of active warfare was postponed till the spring. The soldiers built wooden huts round the walls of the city, and protected them from the shots and arrows of the enemy by banks of earth. The people of Orleans had no notion of being quietly starved, and they contrived to obtain many supplies of provisions. To get them past the English lines into the city was the difficulty; and to effect that, a number of skirmishes took place, and many bold deeds were done.

Before the spring came the English besiegers were also in want of provisions, for bodies of French soldiers desolated the surrounding country, that it might not yield sustenance to the enemy; and no food was to be had, except from a distance. In consequence of this, in the February of 1429, the Duke of Bedford sent 500 waggon-loads of stores from Paris for the use of the English soldiers before Orleans. It being the season of Lent, a large part of this supply consisted of salted herrings. The convoy was guarded by 1,600 soldiers, led by Sir John Fastolfe; and the rumbling waggons, with their desired contents, arrived slowly, but safely, as far as a little village near Orleans, called Rouvrai.

While resting at this village, a body of French and Scotch soldiers, amounting to 4,000 men, marched suddenly into the road through which Sir John Fastolfe and his convoy must pass. They were led by the Counts of Clermont and Dunois, and their object was, to make a prize of the provisions intended for the English besieging Orleans, and give them to the French besieged within it. Fastolfe immediately prepared for a contest which he saw was inevitable. Having arranged his waggons in such a manner that they formed a protection to the archers, those stout-armed men placed their arrows on the string, and waited for the attack. The Scots were so confident of victory, on account of their superior numbers, that they rushed on with furious impetuosity. The English archers received them with their usual intrepidity, and shot so quickly, and with such fatal aim, that the Scots fell like ripe corn before the sickle. Terrified at the heaps of their dead comrades, the Scots drew back in confusion: the French hardly fought at all; but, thinking that discretion was the better part of valour, turned their horses' heads and fled from the field. The victory was complete; and Sir John Fastolfe, having rested his soldiers, led them and his convoy in triumph to the English camp round Orleans. On account of the kind of food contained in the waggons, this important conflict, fought on the 12th of February, 1429, was called the Battle of Herrings.

The English pressed the siege of Orleans with vigour: its inhabitants were beginning to feel the slow and terrible approach of famine; and the French king was so dispirited, that he began to despair. In this position the people of Orleans requested that their city might be delivered into the hands of the Duke of Burgundy, who, though a Frenchman, was an ally of England; and they promised to remain neutral. The Duke of Burgundy went to Paris, and himself delivered this message to the regent Bedford, who, with some coldness, replied, "That he was not of the humour to beat the bushes while others ran away with the game." By this he meant that those who had so nearly subdued Orleans ought to have the honour and profit of the conquest. The answer, though not very polite, was certainly such as might have been expected, especially as the Duke of Burgundy was but a slippery friend of the English interest: but that prince was greatly offended by it.

Famine then appeared openly in Orleans; the sick and feeble died from want, and strong men grew haggard, pale, and sullen. Wealthy citizens sat dejectedly on their thresholds, and hollow-eyed sentinels paced their rounds with sinking hearts. The English soldiers ate their herrings outside the walls of the city, and kept such good guard that no provisions could enter it. The French king, who was living with his followers at Chinon, despaired utterly, and would have fled into a remote province for safety, but for the persuasions of his more courageous wife.

At this time an extraordinary person appeared, who reversed the prospects of the war, raised the spirits of the French, struck a panic into the English, and finally compelled them to retire from the walls of Orleans. This strange being was not a mailed warrior or wise

statesman, but an uneducated country girl. Word was brought to King Charles, at Chinon, that the deliverer of France was at hand, and waiting at the town of Fierbois for his permission to approach. This promised deliverer was the then obscure Joan of Arc, who afterwards excited so great a sensation throughout France, and, finally, became universally illustrious by the glory of her actions, and universally pitied in consequence of her country's ingratitude, and her own gloomy fate.

Joan of Arc was born about the year 1412, in the village of Domremy, near the town of Vaucouleurs. Her father was a shepherd, or some kind of rustic labourer; and as she had been industriously brought up, she also assisted in the toils of the field, and tended flocks of sheep in the wild and beautiful district in which she dwelt. Some writers tell us that she was employed as a servant in a village inn; and that, from the practice of occasionally attending upon horses, she acquired that dexterity in the saddle which she afterwards exhibited. She was one of five children, and her parents were too poor to bestow upon her any scholastic education; but she was, notwithstanding, very religiously brought up. Her mind, also, was of a highly devotional and poetic character, and she pondered so long over the dreadful accounts she heard of the wretchedness of her country, as to fall into a wild, religious, and patriotic enthusiasm. At length she fancied that she saw visions and heard angelic voices, and imagined that St. Michael, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine appeared to her, commanding her to go to the assistance of her king, to raise the siege of Orleans, and to drive the English from her suffering country.

Joan's imagination was so excited, that she not only fancied she saw visions of saints and angels surrounded by a brilliant halo of light, and heard them speak, but that she also conversed with them. She told them that she was of very humble birth, altogether uneducated, and was therefore unable to obey their commands. St. Michael answered, that aid would be given to her from heaven. Her father and mother had no faith in Joan's visions; they were alarmed at the idea of her leaving them, for fear she would come to harm, and endeavoured to persuade her to forget her fancies. Their efforts were useless; upon one point Joan was fixed—she must go to Orleans and liberate her country from the English. The saints and angels continued their visits and repeated their injunctions; but they did not appear so frequently as formerly: instead of them, she generally heard angelic voices only, which conversed with her and gave her advice. Of course all this was delusion, proceeding from a heated fancy, and a mind a little disordered upon one point; but it was upon that point only; in all other things she was remarkable for her clear views and sound judgment.

The country-people had among themselves an old prophecy, which said that France, after having been ruined by a wicked woman, was to be restored to prosperity and glory by a spotless virgin. The angel speakers, or voices, as Joan called them, had told her that she was the virgin spoken of, and that she would be made the instrument of the salvation of her suffering country. They said she must go first to the Sire de Baudricourt, the governor of the neighbouring town of Vaucouleurs, and that he would provide means for her to travel to King Charles, or the dauphin, as she still called him, because he had not been lawfully crowned. For a long time her father refused to let her go; but at length, one of her uncles, a kind-hearted wheelwright, was so struck with her patriotic enthusiasm and earnest piety, that he became a believer in the truth of her visions, and consented to accompany and protect her. Arrived at Vaucouleurs, she obtained an interview with Baudricourt; and, saying that the Lord had sent her, implored him not to neglect the voice of God, who spoke through her—but to second those heavenly revelations which had driven her to her present glorious enterprise. The governor, thinking that she was either mad, or a vain, foolish girl, dismissed her with angry contempt. Joan and her uncle did not, however, return home; they remained at Vaucouleurs, and Joan spent her time in prayers before the pictures and images in the churches, and in entreaties to the governor to listen to her again, and send her to King Charles. The townspeople wondered at Joan's devotion, and soon began to believe in her delusions; and in a little while they were all talking of the wonderful maid who was to save France. While at Vaucouleurs, the Duke of Lorrain, who was suffering from an incurable disease, attracted by her spreading reputation, applied to her as to a person of miraculous power, and desired to know if she could heal him. She replied, she had no mission to him; he had never been mentioned to her by her voices. The governor, Baudricourt, half suspected her to be a witch or sorceress; but he admitted her again, and caused her to be exorcised by a priest, who adjured her, if she was an evil spirit, to depart from them. As Joan did not vanish at these words, or shrink from the holy water that was sprinkled on her, but knelt very reverently and kissed the cross, both the priest and the governor thought that she could not be influenced by the devil; and the latter furnished her with a horse, a sword, and a suit of man's clothes, and sent her, with two esquires and four attendants, to Charles at Chinon.

The way was a long and perilous one, and the roads beset by English, and by Frenchmen who adhered to the English cause; but Joan and her little escort

arrived there in safety. She sent messengers on before her to the ruined king, to tell him that the deliverer of France was come, and sought permission to approach him. On hearing who this deliverer was, Charles laughed; but after a few days he consented to see her. "Gentle dauphin," said she, on her introduction, "I am called Joan the Maid, and the King of Heaven hath sent me to your help. If it please you to grant me troops, by divine commission and force of arms I will raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct you to be crowned at Rheims, in spite of all your enemies. This is what the King of Heaven hath commanded me to tell you; and His will is, that the English shall return to their country, and leave you in peace in your own kingdom, as being its true and only heir." These words Joan spoke, not only without the bashful awkwardness which it is natural that an ignorant country-girl should feel in the presence of her sovereign and his court, but in a tone of firmness and earnest solemnity, which produced a great effect upon her listeners. It is added, that, taking Charles on one side, she told him, that, to prove the divine nature of her mission, she would reveal to him a circumstance which he believed to be known only to himself and to his Maker, and which she could not have become acquainted with except miraculously. She said, "Does not your majesty recollect, that on the All-Saints' day when you were about to receive the communion, you asked of Jesus Christ, if you were not the legitimate heir to the throne, to deprive you of the power or will to defend yourself; and if He was still irritated against France, to let the chastisement which He reserved for your people fall upon you alone?" It is said that Charles acknowledged the truth of this disclosure, and no longer doubted that the maid had supernatural and divine qualities: but the story is, at least, a very suspicious one. Things that are improbable may take place, but the age of miracles and supernatural inspiration has ceased.

Amongst other wonderful things told of Joan, it is stated that she demanded a particular sword then hanging up in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, which, although she had never seen, she described minutely with the marks upon it, and the place where it had long lain neglected; that sword, she said, was to be the instrument of her future victories. This account may be true; for perhaps there was some old legend or tradition, which she may have heard, connected with the weapon.

Though Charles and his courtiers were convinced of the divine mission of Joan, or at least pretended to be so, yet it was thought prudent to subject her to a long examination by the bishops and doctors of the church. Their object was, to discover whether her supposed preternatural power was from heaven, or whether she was a sorceress, and received help from the eternal enemy of man. Joan did not like so much questioning; but her answers were clear, sensible, delivered without hesitation, and sometimes even witty. One of her interrogators, who had a gruff voice and unpleasant manner, enquired of her, "What language do your voices speak?" "A pleasanter one than yours," replied the irritated maiden.

Another learned doctor said to her, "If God wishes and intends to deliver France from her enemies, where is the use of fighting?" Joan, who had no notion of men praying to God for assistance unless they had also tried to help themselves, replied, "Let us fight; the help will come when we are fighting." She was then asked to give a sign of her miraculous mission. "No!" exclaimed she, "not here; this is not the place; but send me to Orleans with as small number of men as you will, and I will give you a sure sign; that sign shall be the raising of the siege of Orleans." Joan's answers appeared perfectly satisfactory; and those who came persuaded of her imposture, left convinced of her inspiration. When, at last, it was determined to believe in the pretensions of this wonderful girl, and to employ her against the English, every effort was adopted to add to her fame, and increase the then widely-spread superstition respecting her. A new suit of shining white armour was forged expressly for her; the antique sword marked with five crosses, which she had desired, was procured for her from the church of St. Catherine. She was mounted on a spirited white horse, and bore in her hand a white banner dotted with *fleurs-de-lis*, and bearing on one side a representation of the Almighty, and on the other the words JESUS MARIA. Two heralds, two pages, and an esquire attended upon her; a body of horse-soldiers was placed under her command; and a procession of priests followed her, bearing another banner, which was supposed also to possess a miraculous power. Joan had a graceful figure, and handsome, though masculine, features; her complexion had an olive tinge, and her hair and eyes were of a raven blackness. She rode well; and when she appeared in her striking martial costume, both soldiers and people were seized with ecstacies of delight and admiration. Her graceful look, her character for sanctity, and the now general belief that the hand of God would lead her and smite her enemies, awoke a military enthusiasm among the French, and they flocked in numbers to the standard of their almost beggared monarch.

A great convoy of provisions was collected at Blois for the relief of the starving soldiers and citizens within the walls of Orleans; Joan and the most famous of Charles's generals were to carry it through the English lines into the beleaguered city; and they left Blois on the 28th of April, 1429. Before this, she had sent a letter

to the besiegers, commanding them, in the name of the omnipotent Creator, by whom she was commissioned, immediately to raise the siege, and abandon France; and threatening them with the divine vengeance in case of their disobedience. In it she said—"I am chief of the war. In what place soever I find your men in France, I will make them depart whether they will or no. If they will submit, I will take them to mercy. The virgin comes from the King of Heaven to drive you out of France. If you will not obey, she will make such a havoc as has not been known in France this thousand years. And be assured the King of Heaven will send to her and her men-at-arms greater strength than you can have. Go, in God's name, into your own country." It concluded with the words—"Hear this advice from God and the virgin." The Earl of Suffolk and his officers pretended to ridicule this strange communication, and to treat Joan with contempt. They said the affair was a silly trick; and that the French must be mad to think, after the whole power and chivalry of their country had been in vain exerted against the English, that they could conquer by means of a cow-driving girl. But the soldiers had heard so much of the miraculous maiden, as she was called, that they were struck with superstitious awe, and their once bold hearts filled with a vague sense of terror. Compelled to acknowledge that there was something extraordinary in Joan, the English captains then said that her power was not derived from heaven, but from hell; and that she was a foul sorceress, who worked by charms and witchcraft. The soldiers believed this, but it did not improve their spirits; for they said they did not fear the power of men; they would fight any human force that might be brought against them; but they would not war with fiends.

In this state of mind, these brave men who had so often conquered the enemy upon the open field, and faced death almost with indifference, became as timid as children. If, at night, the sentinels heard the bleak spring wind moan through the boughs of the trees, or snap some dead branches, or if an owl screamed from the blackened ruins of some burnt farm-house, they trembled with fear and imagined that some evil spirit was near them. Some fancied that they saw grim gigantic figures by the pale starlight; and others even thought that they beheld armed horsemen galloping and fighting in the clouds.

When the convoy of provisions approached, on the 29th of April, headed by Joan and guarded by a body of soldiers, the English were so dispirited that they made no attempt at resistance, but merely looked on in silence. From within the walls of Orleans a loud triumphant shout was raised, of "The Maid! the holy Maid is come!" The gates were thrown open; the besieged rushed out and fell upon the English, and Joan and the succours entered. Great was the joy within the city; some shouted, some wept for gladness; and all looked upon Joan as a blessed messenger of mercy and deliverance. From this time the title of the Maid of Orleans was conferred upon her.

The besieged received other succours; bodies of troops constantly entered Orleans, and soon their number far exceeded that of the assailants. In this state of things matters were reversed, and the French became the attacking party. Shortly after her triumphant entry into Orleans, Joan suddenly called for her armour and weapons; her voices, she said, had just revealed to her that she must go out and fight the English. Riding to the gates, she discovered that the French had made an attack upon one of the English fortifications, and had been driven back. Calling upon the soldiers, she herself led them to a second attack; a new spirit instantly animated them, and they followed her with heroic ardour. A fierce fight followed, which lasted three hours; the fortification, which was called the Bastille of St. Loup, was taken, and every Englishman in it put to the sword. After this success, Joan desired to attack the main body of the English in their intrenchments; but the Count of Dunois prevailed upon her first to expel the enemy from their forts, and thus open a free communication between the city and the surrounding country. The next day she led the French against the famous fortress of the Tournelles, and assaulted it with great fury. Depressed and superstitious as the English were, they recovered their old courage in the heat of conflict, and drove back their numerous assailants. Again the French charged, and again they were beaten back, leaving the ditch of the fortress filled with their dead. Seizing a scaling-ladder, Joan placed it against the wall, and calling to the French to follow her, instantly ascended. The soldiers obeyed their heroic chieftainess; but at that moment an arrow, sped by the strong arm of an English archer, struck her in the neck, and she fell senseless from the ladder among a heap of dead. The soldiers carried her away, and it was soon found that her wound was not a fatal one; the arrow was withdrawn, the injury dressed, and, after spending a short time in prayer, she again appeared before the walls, and animated the troops by her presence. The English, who fancied that they had seen her dead, now believed she was immortal; and some said they were quite sure they saw the archangel St. Michael riding by her side, on a steed of dazzling whiteness, and fighting for their foes. After a terrible slaughter on both sides, the English were defeated, and the French regained the fortress.

The English army was so downcast and over-matched by superior numbers, that its leaders resolved to raise

the siege and abandon Orleans. On the 8th of May, 1429, they destroyed their fortifications, and marched away in good order. Though baffled, they were not conquered, and their failure arose rather from their own superstition than from the courage or military talents of their enemies. Joan had now established her character as a prophetess; she had given the sign she promised—Orleans was delivered, and the independence of France was saved.

The Earl of Suffolk placed his army in several castles, while he himself took shelter in the fortress of Jargeau. In the meantime, Joan went to pay her respects to King Charles, who, with more prudence than courage, had hitherto kept at a distance from danger. Now he took heart, and rode with Joan and a body of troops to besiege Suffolk in Jargeau, which they reached on the 11th of June. The place was obstinately defended, and the maid had another narrow escape, for she was struck on the head with a stone, which felled her senseless to the ground; but, after a bombardment of three days, the place surrendered. All was consternation among the English troops; and Lord Talbot, collecting them from the various castles where they had been stationed, led them away towards Paris. The French pursued him with an army which received many additions during its march; and the English general, having also been joined by 4,000 fresh men, halted at the village of Patay, and prepared for battle. Though the French had an army of very superior numbers to the English, yet, when they came in sight of them, they hesitated about fighting. "Ride on!" exclaimed the intrepid Joan, "ride on, in the name of the Lord, and conquer. The English are delivered into my hands—you have but to smite them." The French did ride on; and falling upon the English before they were prepared, gained a complete and almost instantaneous victory. The archers had not time to draw their bows before they were attacked by the French cavalry, and slaughtered in heaps. Sir John Fastolfe, seeing his troops so full of superstitious fears, turned from the field, and fled with them without striking a blow. Talbot and some other brave captains, who disdained to run, were taken prisoners; and 2,000 English were left dead upon the field. This conflict, which took place on the 18th of June, 1429, and was called the Battle of Patay, wonderfully revived the courage and loyal spirit of the French.

Joan had performed one part of her supposed miraculous mission—that of raising the siege of Orleans; she was now to fulfil the other, and conduct Charles to the ancient city of Rheims, to be crowned at the cathedral, where it was customary for the sovereigns of France to receive the insignia of their royalty. For this purpose she insisted that he should instantly set out for that distant city. The roads between were in the occupation of the English, and the towns along them also acknowledged the English rule. The enterprise was a dangerous one, and Charles and his court hesitated; Joan both reproved and encouraged them, and finally the timid king resolved to follow the heroic girl. He started with an army of 12,000 horsemen; and, after taking several towns in his way, reached Rheims in safety. That city was in the hands of the English; but on hearing that the Maid of Orleans had arrived, the inhabitants drove away all the officers of that nation, and welcomed Joan and Charles within their walls, where he was solemnly crowned in the cathedral, on the 17th of July, 1429. To add to the dignity of the ceremony, he was anointed with the sacred oil which the priests pretended to believe was brought from heaven by a pigeon, and given to King Clovis on the first establishment of the French monarchy.

During the coronation, Joan stood by the side of the king, arrayed in complete armour, and holding her sacred white banner aloft. It was a striking sight to behold the generous dark-eyed girl standing proudly erect by her worthless sovereign, whom she loved with a true patriotic feeling, because, to her mind, he represented the independence of France, and the freedom of its children. After the glittering circle of royalty had been placed upon his brow, the warrior maid knelt at his feet, and thus addressed him:—"Gentle king, now is accomplished the will of God, who would have you come hither to Rheims to receive your consecration, and show that you are the true king, to whom the kingdom of France rightly belongs."

The tide of fortune now turned with Charles. After his coronation he advanced into the Isle of France, and town after town submitted to him as he passed. He was accompanied by an enthusiastic monk, called Friar Richard, who preached so eloquently that many places yielded in consequence of his sermons, instead of forcing Charles to besiege them. A multitude of beautiful white butterflies also hovered round Joan's sacred banner; and these being considered as an emblem of heavenly favour, the towns more readily opened their gates to Charles, whom they thought to be divinely protected. When Joan saw the people coming in crowds to greet their sovereign, she burst into tears of joy, and exclaimed, "How happy should I be to end my days among such a people!" Some one enquired, "Joan, knowest thou when thou shalt die?" "No," she replied, "that is when it shall please God; but I greatly desire to return to my parents, and live with them, as I am weary of the footsteps of war." It seems she was really in earnest in uttering this wish; for many of the French generals grew jealous of her fame, and treated her in a very ungenerous manner. They did not like to hear every victory and triumph

attributed to her instead of to them, ungratefully forgetting, that, without her assistance, their cause would, in all probability, have been lost, and their king would have lived and died a fugitive. Joan also considered that she had fulfilled her mission, and she begged the king to permit her to return to her father and mother, and her former mode of life: this he had no desire to do, and he found means to persuade her to remain, urging that, with her help, he should be able utterly to expel the English from his country.

The Duke of Bedford had all this time acted with remarkable skill and prudence; but he was not supported by the English government. He did all that he could possibly do with the limited means at his command: he put all the English garrisons in a state of defence; he kept a watch over the French people, lest they should rise in insurrection against him: and he renewed his friendly alliance with the Duke of Burgundy. Still he could not collect an army of more than 10,000 men; and Charles's forces were marching up to the very walls of Paris. Bedford led out his troops; but the French king and his army retreated instantly. The regent then marched into Normandy, which was invaded by a partisan of Charles; and that monarch, in the meantime, returned to Paris, hoping to take it during Bedford's absence.

Charles endeavoured to persuade the Parisians to open their gates and declare for him; but they refused to do so, and he then commanded the assault to be made on the suburb of St. Honoré. It was made on the 12th of September, and the English soldiers repulsed the besiegers. Joan, who was one of the first among the assailants, was again wounded, and lay senseless for some time among the dead. On reviving, she endeavoured to cheer her men once more on to the assault; but they were again driven back in disorder, and Joan was forced along with them. Men are ever prone to ingratitude; and the moment good fortune seemed to be forsaking Joan, the thankless French reviled her as the cause of their repulse. "You are a false prophetess," said they; "you told us we should have slept this night in Paris." Joan replied with spirit, "And so you would if you had fought as I fought." Still it was plain that her influence and popularity were declining; and she resolved on leaving the army. She even hung up her suit of armour in the abbey church of St. Denis, and dedicated it to that saint; but she was prevailed upon to remain.

The town of Compiègne was besieged by the Duke of Burgundy, assisted by a body of English troops; and Joan was persuaded by King Charles to go to its assistance. Fighting her way through the besiegers, she entered the town with a considerable reinforcement; and the citizens, who received her with joy, immediately believed themselves to be invincible. But the prosperity of the warlike maid had reached its height, and a rapid and gloomy descent was before her. The very day she entered the town, she sallied out at the head of her soldiers, and attacked the enemy. She took them by surprise, and killed a great many; but they rallied, and came up in such numbers that Joan ordered a retreat. This order her troops obeyed readily enough; and, as Joan frequently turned round and fought with those who pursued her, she was at last left almost alone. A stout archer then dragged her from her horse; and her cowardly soldiers, flying into the city, shut the gates, and, without an effort to save her, left the heroine in the hands of the enemy. Leaping to her feet, she fought furiously to regain her liberty; but she was surrounded, overpowered, and carried away a prisoner.

There was great rejoicing among the English and the Burgundian faction of the French; and the *Te Deum* was solemnly sung at Paris in honour of the capture of a poor country girl. Princes are proverbially ungrateful; and Charles made no effort to save the noble woman who had saved his drooping cause. He had previously ennobled her family, and declared that her native village should be exempt from taxes for ever; but he left Joan herself in the hands of those who were resolved to shed her blood. The Duke of Bedford thought, that now the sorceress, as he called her, who had defeated his troops, was a captive, he should be able to restore the tottering authority of the English in France; and his ungenerous triumph knew no bounds. Joan was a prisoner of war, and had a right to be treated with that courtesy to which, according to military notions, her great bravery entitled her; but the malignity of her enemies had a different fate in store for her.

She was demanded by the Bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been captured, to be tried by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. The university of Paris had the ignorance, meanness, and cruelty to join in the request; and John of Luxembourg, in whose custody Joan was, sold her to the bishop for 10,000 francs. After remaining for more than six months in prison, during which time she was loaded with chains, the unhappy girl was put upon her trial. The Bishop of Beauvais and forty learned doctors of divinity presided on the occasion. Day by day, for sixteen days, those stern, heartless men perplexed her with subtle questions, that they might draw from her such answers as might be construed into heresy, or help to convict her of being a sorceress. Her clear and simple replies sometimes won upon the pity of her judges; but, when that was the case, the inhuman bishop savagely interrupted her, and frowned her into silence.

She was asked, how she knew that the voices she heard were not those of demons instead of angels? She replied, that neither the devil nor any of his ministers could possess any power over a maiden like herself. Some of the questions her reverend persecutors asked her were silly, and even profane. Amongst other nonsense, they inquired whether the saints she saw in her visions had hair on their heads, and whether they were dressed or naked? Her sensible answer was, "Do you suppose God has not wherewithal to clothe them!" Then they asked if she had ever seen any fairies, and what she thought of such beings? She said, "I never saw any, though I have heard of them; but I do not believe they exist." At one time, so many asked her questions together, that she modestly reproved those learned men by saying, "One at a time, good fathers, if you please."

Her judges considered that it was a heresy for her to wear the costume of a man, and demanded why she did so? She answered, that it was at the express command of her heavenly visitants, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and the archangel Michael. This answer was considered an aggravation of her offence. The doctors were quite sure that her beautiful white banner, with which she had so often led her soldiers to victory, must be a magical one, and the work of fiends or witches. She said there was nothing about it but the blessing of God, and that she placed no reliance upon any other power. They told her that she had insulted the French nobility by standing at the side of Charles during the time of his coronation at Rheims. Her just reply was, that those who had shared the danger had a right to enjoy the triumph. When accused of heresy, she said that her whole life was one long denial of the charge; that, whether while tending her sheep in her native village, or amidst the activity and horrors of war, she had always been attentive to her religious duties and to the ceremonies of the church. Hitherto her unaffected answers had defeated the subtlety of her judges; but at last they ensnared her by asking if she would submit to the decisions of the church if her voices ordered her otherwise? She answered, she would submit all things to God, the fountain of truth. This was considered a very shocking heresy, and, in the end, she was found guilty of all the crimes of which she had been accused; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people, and she was remanded to her prison.

Her judges consulted the university of Paris, and many of the bishops; and both these bodies agreed that Joan was a wicked heretic and impostor, and deserved to perish by fire. Some people, however, were averse to putting her to such a shocking death; and priests and confessors visited her in her cell, and persuaded her to submit in all things to the church, which they assured her was a merciful mother to its children, and could not err. If Joan was not convinced by their arguments, she was bewildered and overcome. Her spirit was broken by imprisonment, and her mind terrified by the threats of the priests. In this condition she consented to recant her statements, and sign a confession of imposture. She could not write, but she placed a cross against her name; and then, instead of being condemned to death at the stake, she was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed on bread and water. Such was the boasted mercy of the Roman church to one who, far from having sinned against its decrees, had ever been one of the humblest and most enthusiastic of its votaries.

Joan was once more conveyed to her cell, and compelled to wear her female attire. Then her spirits revived, her enthusiasm returned, and she fancied that she heard the sweet voices of angels, and beheld visions of the saints in glory. She was, no doubt, watched; for her persecutors, suspecting her feelings, and repenting of their forbearance in not taking her life, placed the dress of a soldier in her prison. The sight of it aroused all her martial feelings: she longed again to be riding at the head of her troops, and to be leading Frenchmen to victory; and she could not resist the temptation she felt to array herself in a garb similar to the one she had worn when she was the idol of the people, and the acknowledged saviour of her prince. She was detected by her gaolers wearing the forbidden dress: that alone was considered as a relapse into her errors, and she was condemned to death. On the 30th of May, 1431, she was driven in the hangman's cart from prison to the spot intended for her execution. This was the market-place of Rouen, around which were erected scaffoldings for the accommodation of the bishops, priests, and nobles, as if they had come to witness a tournament or festival, instead of so repulsive and horrible a sight. When Joan first saw the stake she wept and shuddered, but afterwards recovered herself and prayed fervently. A kind of pulpit was placed in the enclosure, and a monk, ascending it, delivered a short sermon. It ended with a piece of monstrous hypocrisy. "Go in peace," said this wolf in sheep's clothing—"go in peace, Joan; the church can no longer defend thee!"

It was the church which had persecuted her, and the Bishop of Beauvais who had hunted her to a dreadful fate; and now that right reverend priest sat foremost in the gallery, to glut his cold, stern eyes with the view of her last anguish. Gazing upon him with a bitter anger, Joan cried out, "You are the cause of my death; you promised to restore me to the church, and you have delivered me up to my enemies." The bishop sat un-

moved, though many of the spectators shed tears, and retired from a scene they had not fortitude and nerve enough to witness. Then the monks put the hideous dress of the Inquisition over the wretched girl, and fixed a black cap on her head, on which was written the words, "Heretic, Relapsed, Apostate, Idolator." All the monkish hypocrisies and mummeries being over, the maid was delivered to the executioner, who bound her to the stake, and applied a torch to the heap of faggots around the victim. A cloud of smoke and flame rose into the air, through which Joan could be seen embracing a crucifix. To the last she continued to utter the name of Jesus—sobs and groans of anguish alone interrupting her ejaculations. When both faggots and stake were reduced to a heap of smouldering embers, the remains of the heroine were collected and thrown into the river Seine. The vengeance of a usurping English government, and a malignant and ignorant French priesthood, was complete. Thus perished this noble, enthusiastic woman, "to whom," says an elegant writer, "the more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH.—A.D. 1430—1450.

SOON after the murder of the Maid of Orleans —for her execution deserves no milder name —the young English sovereign was taken over to France. He arrived at Calais on the 23rd of April, 1430. There he remained till after the capture of Joan of Arc, as the English army appeared powerless while she was in the field. On the 17th of December, his public entry into Paris took place, and he was crowned in the cathedral of Notre Dame as King of France. The object of this ceremony was to counterpoise the coronation of Charles at Rheims; but it had no effect in arresting the decline of the English power. King Henry was still a child, being but nine years old; and what was worse, he was a feeble, spiritless child, who gave no promise of ever possessing any lofty qualities. He was taken back to England in February, 1431.

Four years passed away: in England they were occupied by petty dissensions between the Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, and Bishop Beaufort, the king's guardian and tutor, who had been made a cardinal: in France they were spent by the factious nobles in intrigues, and by the ruined people in suffering. At the end of that period, the wavering Duke of Burgundy deserted the English cause, and formed an alliance with King Charles, the murderer of his father. The reconciliation took place at a congress of prelates and princes, held at Arras, in the year 1435. The object of the congress was also to settle the dispute between France and England, and restore peace and harmony between those two great nations. The demands of the English were, notwithstanding their late reverses, too great to be yielded by the French. The latter offered to give up the duchy of Normandy and the province of Guienne; but on the old vexatious condition that the English sovereign should do homage for them to the French crown. This offer Cardinal Beaufort, who represented the English interest, treated with contempt, and then disowned the authority of the congress, and retired in disgust.

Before the solemn reconciliation between King Charles and his powerful kinsman, Burgundy, was quite completed, the Duke of Bedford died. For thirteen years he had governed France as the English regent of that country. It was not through any error or negligence on his part that the conquests of Henry V. were slipping from the grasp of the English. Though his character was stained with some cruelties, he was a prince of great talents, both as a statesman and warrior; but the government at home sent him scarcely any reinforcements, and he could not maintain conquests without troops. It was some months before a successor was appointed; and during that time the citizens of Paris opened their gates to King Charles and the Duke of Burgundy, and the English garrison was compelled to retire from the capital of France.

Then the Duke of York was sent into France as regent, with a small body of fresh English troops, and the war was again renewed. Sir John Talbot, created Earl of Shrewsbury, sustained the military reputation of his countrymen by many brilliant successes. The Duke of Burgundy, also, after having resolved to retake the famous city of Calais, and collecting an army of 30,000 men for that purpose, fled before the Duke of Gloucester, who had come from England to meet him, without striking a blow. For five years a petty war was carried on between the English regent and the French king; then the Duke of York was called home

again, his vacant office being assigned to the Earl of Warwick. In two years Warwick died, and York was reappointed. France was rendered desolate by the protracted war, and England was heartily tired of it: it was no longer popular in the latter country; and the parliament grudgingly bestowed the small sums of money they granted for carrying it on. Under these circumstances peace was again proposed. Charles consented to resign Normandy, Guienne, and Calais; but the English, who could scarcely be brought to the surrender of their claim to the crown of that country, insisted on all the provinces ceded to the conqueror, Edward III., by the treaty of Bretigny. As the two nations could not agree, it was found impossible to arrange a permanent peace; but in the year 1444, a truce for twenty-two months was entered into.

The English sovereign was now three-and-twenty, and his advisers wished him to marry. His mind was feeble, and his manners exceedingly gentle and inoffensive. He was amiable, religious, and submissive, and willing to do what was best for the prosperity and happiness of his people; but he had not sufficient judgment to enable him to decide what was best, or the energy to enforce any decisions at which he might arrive. He was misplaced in life; and would no doubt have been more happy, and a thousand times more useful, as a village priest, than as a monarch of a great and turbulent people. His half-uncle, Cardinal Beaufort, imagined that his character would be strengthened by marrying him to a princess of talents and spirit; and for this reason he and his friends selected Margaret of Anjou, the daughter of Regnier, titular King of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem. That nobleman enjoyed those titles without the possessions that should have accompanied them, and was, therefore, exceedingly poor. In one respect the match was a very disadvantageous one; the lady had no provinces to bring with her as a dower, and no powerful connections which could strengthen England. But she was not only handsome and graceful in person, but one of the most accomplished and talented women of the age. She was of a masculine turn of mind, and possessed great courage and decision of character; mingled with which were also some unamiable qualities, such as pride, envy, passion, and an unforgiving bitterness; but these darker traits had not yet shown themselves.

The Earl of Suffolk negotiated the marriage; and, instead of requiring any portion with the lady, he agreed, on behalf of his sovereign, to give up the states of Anjou and Maine to her father—a concession which the English people considered very disgraceful. The Earl was suspected of entertaining an improper attachment for the princess: and this may have influenced him in the liberal arrangement he had made with her father. Henry and Margaret were married on the 22nd of April, 1445; and the queen and the Earl of Suffolk soon contrived to divide the royal power between them. As to the king himself, he spent most of his time in prayer and religious exercises; and paid so little attention to his queen, that she soon began to despise him. But while her husband was losing her affection, she was gradually becoming disliked by the English people. They had not been attached to her from the first; but her imperiousness of temper, and the despotic principles of government which she had learned in France, and attempted to practise in England, soon made her generally disliked.

The bitterness of feeling which existed between the Duke of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort has been already mentioned. A few years before the marriage of Henry (in 1441), the cardinal and his supporters contrived to inflict a disgrace upon the duke; which, though he bore it with silent grief, he could, in those times, scarcely be expected to forgive. The duke was a great patron of literary and scientific men; and he kept in his house a learned man, named Roger Bolingbroke, as his chaplain. This Roger was an astronomer; and, like most astronomers of that time, an astrologer also, and pretended to foretel what would come to pass by observing the disposition of the stars. As Henry was not married, and therefore had no children, the Duke of Gloucester would have been his successor in the event of his death. It seems that the duchess, who was a very ambitious woman, longed to know if her husband would ever ascend the throne, and consulted the astrologer as to how long the king would live. Probably spies had been placed near her; for after a quarrel, which took place between her husband and the cardinal, she was accused of treason and witchcraft. It was pretended, that she and her associates, consisting of Roger Bolingbroke and two other priests, named Southwell and John Hum, together with Margery Jourdayn, a sort of female conjuror, who was called the Witch of Eye, had leagued together to destroy the life of the king by enchantment, for the purpose of making a path for the duke to the throne. To accomplish this object, it was said they had made a wax figure resembling Henry, which they melted before a slow fire; and as the image wasted away, so the body of the king, by magical sympathy, would also dwindle and decay.

In that age of superstition this nonsense was readily believed, and the duchess and her confederates were placed upon their trial. They were all found guilty of a crime which it is not very probable they attempted, and which it is impossible they could have committed. On account of her high rank, the life of the duchess was spared; but she was sentenced to do penance by walking bare-footed through the city enveloped in a sheet,

and holding a lighted taper in her hand; after which, she was to suffer perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man. The fate of the poor wretches who had endeavoured to assist her in her enquiries into the mysteries of the future, was severe and terrible. Roger Bolingbroke was hanged and quartered at Tyburn; Southwell would have perished in the same manner, but he died in prison before the day appointed for his execution. Margery Jourdayn, the supposed witch, was burnt to death in Smithfield; and John Hum, who probably was a spy, was pardoned.

The duke was much respected by the people, who called him "the good Duke Humphrey;" and many of them believed that this strange accusation was got up by his enemies. Nearly six years had passed since the disgrace of his wife; but Gloucester still stood high in the affections of the people; and his enemies, who had so much cause to fear his resentment, determined upon his ruin and death. The principals in the dark cabal against him were the cardinal, the Earl of Suffolk, and the queen. The latter hated him, because he had been opposed to her marriage with the king, and because she was allied so closely with the earl and cardinal.

Early in the year 1447, a parliament was summoned to meet at Bury St. Edmund's, a place filled with the friends and followers of the Earl of Suffolk. Gloucester, who suspected no treachery, went with but few attendants to this parliament, and was arrested there on the 11th of February, charged with high treason, and sent to prison. He was not brought to trial; and in seventeen days after his arrest was found dead in bed. It was asserted that he died of apoplexy, or of a broken heart; but the whole nation believed that he had been murdered. There can scarcely be any doubt that this was the case; though how that secret murder was accomplished is one of the dark mysteries of the past, known only to God. The body of the duke was exposed to public view, that it might be seen there were no marks of violence upon it; but men remembered that the same thing had been done in the cases of Edward II. and Richard II. This shameful murder was followed by an act of still greater barbarity and wickedness. Five gentlemen of the duke's retinue were tried as accomplices of his imputed treasons, and condemned to death. It was said that they intended to release the duchess from imprisonment, murder the king, and proclaim the duke sovereign in his stead. They were sentenced to be hanged and quartered; but it is evident that even their judges believed them to be innocent; for when they were just turned off the scaffold, their pardons were produced, and the half-strangled men were restored to animation.

The murdered duke was a man of superior attainments; he was very liberal to learned men, and founded one of the first public libraries in England. He appears to have been very little influenced by the superstitious credulity which was almost universal in his time. A curious instance of the clearness of his judgment in this respect is related by Sir Thomas More. Passing through the town of St. Alban's, he beheld a number of people crowding round a man, and shouting, "A miracle! a miracle!" On stopping and inquiring the particulars, the duke was informed, that the man, who had been blind from his birth, had his sight suddenly restored on touching the shrine of the patron saint of the town. Suspecting that the fellow was an impostor, endeavouring to extort money from the sympathy of the spectators, the duke addressed him, and said he doubted even then that he could see well. "Quite well," answered the man. The duke then inquired the colours of several of the cloaks worn by his attendants, and received a correct answer to each of his interrogatories. Convinced that the man was an impostor, he exclaimed —"You are a knave; for had you been born blind, you could as easily have known our different names as have been able at once to distinguish colours;" and he ordered the deceiver to be set in the stocks.

Cardinal Beaufort, who was suspected of the murder of his nephew, the duke, was called to his account soon after that crime was committed, dying on the 11th of April. Though eighty years of age, he still clung to life, and cherished dreams of ambition to the last. The old chronicler, Hall, says of him—"His insatiable covetousness and hope of long life made him both to forget God, his prince, and himself, in his latter days; for Dr. John Baker, his privy councillor and chaplain, wrote that, lying on his death-bed, he said these words —'Why should I die, having so much riches? If the whole realm would save my life, I am able, either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it. Fye! will not death be hired, and will money do nothing? When my nephew of Bedford died, I thought myself half up the wheel; but when I saw mine other nephew of Gloucester deceased, then I thought myself able to be equal to kings—and so to increase my treasure, in hope to have worn a triple crown; but I see now the world faileth me, and I am deceived; praying you all to pray for me.'" Greatness and political contests harden the heart: the cardinal was a striking instance of this; for though he removed his opponents by wicked plots, and had consented to the assassination of the duke, he yet bequeathed the mass of his property to the noble cause of charity. He seems to have been a good, though weak man, corrupted and depraved by the temptations of public life. He was buried at Winchester cathedral.

The truce with France had now expired; and King

Charles, who was acquiring strength, wanted some excuse to renew the war with England. He knew the weakness of Henry, and the distraction of his council, and desired to take advantage of them to drive the English utterly from his kingdom. He could not have chosen a better time in which to accomplish his purpose; for, while France was rising from the miserable condition in which it had been struggling for so long, England was sinking into discord and weakness. The court was divided into contending parties; the people were discontented with the government; and French conquests were scarcely regarded amidst the turmoil of home troubles. In this state of things the English fortifications in Normandy were suffered to fall into ruin for want of repairs; and all the representations of the Duke of Somerset, who had succeeded to the command in France, were unable to induce the government at home to grant him the money necessary for that purpose.

When kings are resolved on war, they soon find or make a reason for justifying their resolve; and King Charles was not long in getting up a grievance. An adventurer, named Surienne, who commanded a body of 2,500 English soldiers, seized the town of Fougeres, in Brittany, and, dispossessing its inhabitants, lived by plundering the surrounding country. These ruffians were not in the service of the English, but constituted what was called a free company, and hired themselves out to fight to whoever would employ them. Their services had been declined by the Duke of Somerset, and that accounted for their violent conduct. The Duke of Brittany complained to the French king; and Charles insisted that the Duke of Somerset, as the representative of England, should make reparation to the sufferers for the losses they had sustained. Although that nobleman declared that he had no authority over Surienne and his followers, and that the wrongs they had committed had been done without his knowledge or sanction, yet he consented to pay a sum of money to settle the matter. The crafty Charles estimated the damages at the enormous sum of 1,600,000 crowns—a sum which he knew it was impossible for the duke to pay; and as the money was not forthcoming, he at once invaded the English possession of Normandy.

The people of Normandy, tired of the English rule, opened the gates of many of their towns, and admitted Charles as their king. Verneuil, Nugent, Château Geillaid, Ponteau de Mer, Gisors, Mante, Vernon, Argentau, Pont de l'Arche, and other towns almost instantly surrendered. The astonished Somerset, unable to relieve them, and almost without an army, took refuge in the strong city of Rouen, the capital of Normandy. He hoped, at least, to hold that important place until the arrival of succours from England; but, in a little while, the French king, with an army of 50,000 men, appeared before its walls. This was not the only difficulty; for the French had secret agents and friends within the city, and treachery was at work. The result was, that the citizens were induced to rise against the English, and open their gates to the besiegers. Somerset was obliged to surrender, and to deliver up several other fortresses, besides paying a large sum of money for permission to retreat with his soldiers to Caen.

The English government then sent over a paltry force of 4,000 men, under the command of Sir Thomas Kyriel. He was a brave officer, and had followed the late king, Henry V., in his career of conquest in France; but he was too late, and it was impossible for him to make a stand against the immense forces of the enemy. His little body of troops was attacked at Fourmigni by two French armies of far superior numbers, and completely defeated. The bulk of his men perished on the field; the rest fled; and the hope of relief from England vanished. The Earl of Suffolk, who managed the affairs of the incapable Henry, did no more to defend those dominions in France which had been acquired with so great a destruction of human life, and so much expenditure of treasure. Immediately after the defeat of Sir Thomas Kyriel, other towns surrendered to the French: the Duke of Somerset was compelled to capitulate and retire from Caen; and Cherbourg, the last place in Normandy which remained in the hands of the English, being assailed at once both by sea and land, was lost. Thus, in the August of 1450, the whole of Normandy was wrested from the grasp of England.

In Guienne the arms of France were equally victorious; though many towns and castles were surrendered to them without fighting. For three centuries Guienne had acknowledged the sway of the English; the red cross of the brave islanders had waved over its towns and seaports since the time of Henry II., and the people themselves had grown attached to their governors, and were almost as much English as French; but now the star of English supremacy was sinking beneath the deadening influence of an imbecile king and a factious council, and Guienne was swallowed up in the French monarchy. The ambitious dream of conquest was over, and the English expelled from the land they had so long afflicted by their aggressions. One solitary town upon the sea-coast remained to them: their banner still floated over the fortifications of Calais. All else was gone, and the pride of England was humbled.

No peace was concluded between the two nations, but the war was at an end. The English were too sick of the struggle, and too much occupied by troubles at home, to renew the contest; and the French wisely busied themselves in building up their shattered towns

and cultivating their desolated lands, instead of attempting to punish their enemies by an invasion of England. The people were furious at the disgrace they had experienced in France; and they attributed all their disasters to the late Earl (but then Duke) of Suffolk, whom they accused of betraying the English interests to the King of France. He was hated, also, because it was believed he was an accomplice in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, and because he was immensely rich, while the king was reduced to a state of extreme poverty. Henry was in debt to a fearful extent, and could only support his household by numerous acts of petty tyranny, which alienated the affections of his subjects. This, also, was attributed to Suffolk, and the nation clamoured for the punishment, and thirsted for the life, of that odious minister. When the parliament met, in January, 1450, Suffolk, suspecting that some attack would be made upon him, boldly rose in the House of Peers, and spoke of the clamours propagated against him. He complained, that after serving the crown in thirty-four campaigns; after living abroad seventeen years without once returning to his native country; after losing a father and three brothers in the war with France; after being himself a prisoner and purchasing his liberty by a great ransom, it should yet be suspected that he had been won from his allegiance by that enemy whom he had ever opposed with zeal and fortitude, and that he had betrayed his prince who had rewarded his services by the highest honours and greatest offices that it was in his power to bestow.

This speech had no effect in subduing the popular hatred against the duke; and two days afterwards the House of Commons impeached him of high treason. They accused him of persuading the French monarch to invade England, to depose the king and queen, and to place his own son on the throne in their stead; of liberating the Duke d'Orleans, in order to assist the French king in driving the English from France; of encouraging that monarch to make war upon Normandy and Guienne; of betraying to him the secrets of the English council; of obstructing the succours intended to be sent to France; and of having, without any authority, given up the provinces of Maine and Anjou to the father of the queen.

These charges, with the exception of the last, were unjust and ridiculous. The Commons seem to have been aware that they would not endure investigation, so some other accusations were added. They taxed him with wasting the public money; with diverting the supplies voted by parliament to other purposes than those for which they were granted; with giving evil advice to the king; with granting pardons to notorious criminals; and with other matters, of which he was probably guilty, but none of which amounted to treason. Of his great crime, the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, they said not a word. Probably they forbore to enter into an enquiry for fear of implicating the queen, who was also suspected of being concerned in that deed of horror; and Margaret had already shown so resolute and vindictive a disposition, that few cared to offend her.

Henry, or rather the queen, made an effort to save Suffolk; but the people clamoured so violently for the death of that corrupt minister, that the king dared not pardon him. He was brought before Henry at Westminster, on the 17th of March, many of his brother peers being present. He vehemently denied his guilt, and threw himself upon the will of his sovereign, who compromised the matter by pronouncing against him a sentence of banishment for a period of five years. The fallen minister, having narrowly escaped being murdered by an infuriated mob, embarked in a vessel for the continent. His enemies were far from being satisfied with this proceeding; and they believed that, on the first opportunity, the queen would obtain a reversal of his sentence, and restore him to favour. It was popularly supposed that an improper affection existed between Margaret and the duke, whom the people sneeringly called the "queen's darling;" and this circumstance added to the hatred with which he was already regarded. He remained in the county from which he took his title till the end of April, when he embarked at Ipswich for Calais. On the 2nd of May, the vessel in which he sailed was overtaken, when not far from Dover, by a great ship of war, called the *Nicholas of the Tower*. The captain, a rude stern man, ordered the duke on board his vessel, and then hailed him with the ominous words of "Welcome traitor!" Suffolk guessed the fate that hovered over him, and for two days he prayed with his confessor, and endeavoured to prepare himself to meet his Omnipotent Judge. The third day a boat rowed up to the side of the *Nicholas*, and in it stood a block and an executioner, armed with a rusty sword. The duke was compelled to descend into the boat; and there, on that vast expanse of waters, he was struck from the number of the living. It took no less than six blows, from the awkward and improper weapon used for the occasion, to sever the duke's head from his body. His corpse was conveyed to the shore, and left exposed upon the sands near Dover, where it was guarded by the sheriff of Kent until an order came from the king that it should be delivered to his widow. That unhappy lady received the body, and buried it in the collegiate church of Wingfield, in Suffolk. No inquiry was made into this atrocity, which would have been unjustifiable even had the duke been the greatest miscreant that ever lived; and there is no doubt it was done at the

command of those in power. Let us be thankful that we live in a time when, and in a country where, all men must be legally tried and found guilty of an offence before they can be punished for it.

The fate of Suffolk was soon forgotten in the excitement caused by a circumstance of a very different nature. An insurrection took place among the peasantry and labouring men of Kent, who rose in great numbers, headed by a fearless, desperate Irishman, called John, or, more popularly, Jack Cade. This man assumed the name of Mortimer, and passed himself off as an illegitimate relation of the Duke of York, who, in the previous year (1449), had been appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland. That prince was of royal blood, and had a claim upon the English crown; and he was suspected of having been the secret instigator of Cade's insurrection, for the purpose of overturning the government of the weak Henry, and clearing a path to the throne for himself. This treasonous act has not been proved against him; but he was a turbulent and intriguing man, and quite likely to have adopted that, or any other means, which he thought would advance his personal interests.

Popular insurrections are usually the result of bad government: a thriving people seldom engage in dangerous tumults. They are cheerful and industrious, and have no wish to cast aside their prosperity to embrace a shadow. Want and ignorance are the parents of discord: a wise government will fear these as much as the invasion of a foreign enemy, and make as great efforts to subdue and banish them. But Henry was a royal cipher; and his ministers had neglected the happiness of the people, humbled their pride by foreign defeats, and oppressed them by taxes and an excessive use of the royal privilege of purveyance. Cade, therefore, no sooner raised the banner of rebellion, than 20,000 discontented brawny Kentish men flocked around it. This was in the month of June, 1450; and Cade and his following proceeded to Blackheath, where they encamped. From there they sent a paper to the court, which bore the title of "The Complaint of the Commons of Kent." It stated there was a rumour that Kent was to be devastated, and turned into a royal hunting forest, to punish its inhabitants for the share they were supposed to have taken in the death of the Duke of Suffolk; that the king permitted his favourites to fatten on the revenues and lands of the crown, while he himself was obliged to extort a living from the substance of his people, who were not paid for purveyance or provisions forcibly taken from them for the use of the sovereign; that princes of the royal blood were excluded from offices of trust and honour, which were bestowed instead on mean and corrupt persons, who plundered and oppressed the people; that the men of Kent had been especially ill-treated and over-taxed; that their sheriffs and collectors had been guilty of shameful extortion; and that free election had been improperly interfered with.

No immediate answer was returned to this list of grievances, which was no doubt true enough in the main, although the mode of presenting it was a wrong one. Cade then sent another memorial to the government, called "The Requests by the Captain of the Great Assembly in Kent." In it the king was desired to resume all the grants of the crown which had been bestowed upon unworthy persons, so that he might reign like an independent sovereign; to dismiss the relations of the late Duke of Suffolk, and take for his counsellors the true lords of the royal blood—namely, that high and mighty prince the Duke of York, and the Dukes of Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk; and, finally, that he should punish the great extortioners who oppressed the people, and the traitors who were concerned in the death of the good Duke of Gloucester, and who had caused the loss of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and the other possessions which, until lately, the English had held in France.

The court regarded these requests as mere vulgar insolence, and collected an army to chastise those who presented them. The counsellors of the king never reflected, that if the people were rebellious, their rulers were tyrannical—that, in fact, they were the original aggressors, and that a little lenity, and consideration for the wants of the nation, would have dispersed the rebels far more readily than an armed force could do.

Cade retired with his undisciplined followers as far as Sevenoaks, where he chose an admirable position, and very prudently awaited the approach of the king's troops. He was attacked, on the 25th of June, by a detachment of the royal army, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford. The rebels defended themselves bravely; and the soldiers, who had a secret sympathy with their opponents, fought without heart. They did not like to slay their own countrymen for insisting on measures for the general good of the nation. The result was, that they were defeated, and their commander killed. A spirit of disaffection then arose in the main body of the army; the government found it would be necessary to make the concessions called for; and thus, after much blood was shed, began to do ungracefully that which before might have obtained thanks and credit. Cade and his Kentish followers were still moderate in their demands, only insisting on the redress of the grievances they had formerly mentioned, and on the punishment of Lord Say, a minister who was much disliked; and his son-in-law, Sir J. Cromer, the sheriff of Kent. Lord Say was placed for security in the Tower; and the custody of that place, which was both a

fortress and a royal palace, committed to Lord Scales. The king himself, fully aroused to a sense of danger, took refuge in Kenilworth Castle, and the army was disbanded, in the hope that this pacific measure would appease the insurgents, and induce them to return to their homes.

Cade was not disposed to lay down his arms so readily, and he led his thousands into London, where the citizens regarded his proceedings with a favourable eye. He had previously requested and obtained the permission of the Lord Mayor to enter the city. At first he preserved a remarkable degree of order and discipline amongst his rude followers; published severe edicts against theft and violence; and led his men at night out of the city into the neighbouring fields, where, as it was warm summer weather, they slept in the open air. This good order lasted for a few days; but, during that time, they had contrived to get Lord Say out of the Tower; and, after forcing the mayor and judges to pass sentence upon him in Guildhall, they cut off the head of that unfortunate nobleman. Cromer shared the same fate.

There were many turbulent spirits among Cade's followers, who disliked the good order which had been hitherto kept; and these men, encouraged by the murder of Lord Say and his son-in-law, broke into the house of a rich citizen, and plundered it. Some say that Cade himself, forgetting the edicts against theft which he had issued so lately, set the example of violence by robbing the owner of the house where he had dined. The alarmed citizens determined that the next day they would draw up the end of London Bridge, which resembled a modern drawbridge, and not permit the rebels to re-enter the metropolis. During the night of Sunday, the 5th of July, Cade became acquainted with this intention, and, arousing his followers, made an attack upon the bridge before it could be raised, for some of the works were injured. The citizens, who had obtained a body of soldiers from the Tower, fought with great bravery; and, after a conflict which was carried on for six hours by the light of the stars, the rebels were driven back into the fields of Southwark, and the Londoners remained the victors.

The Bishop of Winchester then went to them with promises of a redress of grievances and a general pardon. Many of the rebels were so discouraged by the check they had received, that they accepted the pardon, and returned to their homes. Cade, and a large body of them, however, distrusted the promises of the government, and said it would be absurd to lay down their arms till they had obtained some security for their performance. They were quite right; their rulers were merely deceiving them; and they proved this by afterwards annulling the pardons they had granted. Fearing the Londoners, who had armed themselves, the insurgents abandoned the suburbs, and marched to Rochester; but Cade could no longer preserve his authority over them; and they quarrelled so bitterly amongst themselves, that he feared he should be betrayed by them. He had reason for this fear, for he was proclaimed a traitor, and 1,000 marks were offered for him, alive or dead. This was a great temptation to many of the most dissolute and worthless among his followers, especially as they no longer experienced that attachment for him which they had at first shown. Having procured a horse, he fled from them secretly, and rode towards the Sussex coast, no doubt with the intention of escaping into France, which country he had previously visited as a soldier or an outlaw. He was not so fortunate as to accomplish his purpose; for he was discovered in a garden at Nolkfield, Sussex, by a gentleman of that county, named Alexander Eden, and killed by him after a desperate fight. Cade was a man of great size and strength, and fell a victim as much to want and fatigue as to the sword of his adversary. Eden cut off the head of the defeated rebel, and rode with it to the king, who commanded it to be placed on a pole on London Bridge, with the glazed sightless eyes turned in the direction of the Kentish hills. The reward of 1,000 marks was given to Eden. Many of Cade's followers were then taken and executed as traitors; and thus ended this ill-conducted effort to correct the abuses of a corrupt government, and to extend the liberties of a people.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH.—A.D. 1451—1461.



ENEALOGIES are the least interesting parts of history, and cannot be clearly comprehended without considerable attention. That attention it is necessary to give to the descent of the Duke of York, in order to understand the origin of those fierce dissensions, celebrated as the Wars of the White and Red Roses.

When Henry IV., the grandfather of Henry VI., usurped the throne, the true heir to it was Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March; who, as already explained, was the grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, an elder brother of John of Gaunt, the father of Henry IV. The earl died in the year 1424, after having lived all his life a faithful subject to the House of Lancaster, and never troubling himself about a right which was nearly forgotten, or which, at least, no one cared to revive. In doing so he acted wisely; but his claim was yet to be the means of sending, according to one calculation, as many as 90,000 Englishmen to premature and blood-stained graves. As he left no children, his sister Anne succeeded to his right; and that sister was married to the Earl of Cambridge, who was beheaded, during the early part of the reign of Henry V., for a vile attempt to assassinate that monarch. The traitor left a son, Richard, the Duke of York, who, his followers contended, had, on account of this descent from an elder branch of Edward III., a better right to occupy the throne than the present sovereign; which, as the Salic law is not in force in England, he certainly had: for the right of the Earl of March, on his dying without issue, went to his sister, and, on her death, passed to her son. Probably, however, as the House of Lancaster was established on the throne, the claim of the House of York would never have been put forward—especially after the treasonable conduct of Richard's father—but for the miserable weakness and incapacity of Henry. The disgust which the nation felt for his feebleness of character made it look with favour upon the claims of any one who had a reasonable pretence to occupy the throne: it also aroused the ambition of the duke, and encouraged him to aspire to the honours of royalty.

The duke was a man of considerable talents, of enormous wealth, and connected by marriage with the great family of the Nevilles. That family was the most powerful and wealthy in England, and included the Earls of Westmoreland, Salisbury, and Warwick, and Lords Latimer, Falconberg, and Abergavenny. Their united influence was sufficient to shake the throne, especially when it was filled by an irresolute and feeble monarch. The wealth and magnificence of the Earl of Warwick alone resembled that of a king. His retainers were so numerous, and his hospitality so great, that no less than 30,000 persons are said to have lived at his expense at his different manors and castles. He was distinguished for his spirit and bravery in the field, and for his frankness and generosity towards his friends. An elegant writer observes, "That he was the greatest, as well as the last, of those mighty barons who formerly overawed the crown, and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government."

The insurrection of Cade and the Kentish men was no sooner quelled, than the Duke of York left his command in Ireland, and hurried over to his own country. His name had been connected with that popular outbreak, as the supposed secret author of it, and he might have been anxious to appear and disclaim any connection with a plot which had so thoroughly failed of its object. The court suspected that his motives were not so innocent, and feared that he intended to bring an army of Irishmen with him, to assist in wresting the sceptre from the grasp of the feeble king, and orders were sent forbidding him to land in England. He disarmed these suspicions, and disobeyed the order sent him, by arriving with only his ordinary personal retinue; then, after paying a visit of respect to Henry at London, he went to his own castle at Fotheringay. The court and the duke both regarded each other with distrust; the partisans of the latter talked everywhere of his claim to the crown; and in this way all was gloom and uncertainty.

The country now became divided into two great parties—that of York, which chose a white rose as its emblem, and that of Lancaster, which chose a red one. The Lancastrians supported the reigning king, and said that, although the elevation of his ancestor, Henry IV., to the crown was rather irregular, still it had taken place by the general consent of the nation, which gratefully gave the sceptre into the hands of a prince who had effected a liberation from the tyranny of the preceding government. They urged, also, that the Duke of York himself had often done homage to the king as his lawful sovereign, and had therefore made an indirect renunciation of the claim he now put forward. That a

free people could not be transferred from one sovereign to another like a troop of slaves, merely to support the niceties of the law of succession; and that, although that law had to some extent been violated, it was now too late to remedy the mischief. They added, that the father of the present sovereign was a hero, who had rendered the name of England illustrious; and his grandfather was a wise and prudent monarch; and that though, unfortunately, Henry VI. did not possess their great talents, he might have a son similarly gifted. That he himself was not only unstained by vice, but of a simple, kindly nature; and that if active princes were dethroned for tyranny, and indolent ones for incapacity, there would be no order or tranquillity remaining in the state.

These strong reasons were fiercely opposed by the Yorkists. They said it was never too late to correct any error, or abolish a mischievous precedent; and that, unless the rule of succession was strictly observed, it would lead to endless confusion. That the liberty of the nation was not injured, but supported, by the rigid observance of the laws. That although the lapse of time would eventually strengthen a government whose foundation was questionable, yet that a long period must elapse ere this would be accomplished, or the claims of the aspirants to the throne extinguished. They said, also, that the deposition of Richard II. was not a deliberate national act, but the result of popular violence; and that, although Earl Mortimer, as well as the Duke of York, had sworn homage to the reigning sovereigns, that act implied no renunciation of their claims, because it was wrung from them by the necessity of their position. Finally, they urged, that if it was justifiable, on the score of convenience, to place an able monarch like Henry IV. upon the throne, instead of a weak one like Richard II., the same principle should hold good now, as there could be no comparison between the capabilities of the present king and those of the Duke of York, the former being a prince utterly unequal to the duties of government, and blindly led by corrupt ministers and an imperious queen; the latter a prince of wisdom, valour, and activity, in addition to being the lineal heir to the throne.

During this state of affairs, the House of Commons presented a petition to the king, begging him to dismiss his new minister, the Duke of Somerset, together with the Duchess of Suffolk, the Bishop of Chester, and several other persons of inferior rank. The weak monarch was annoyed at this request; and although he did not refuse it, he sent an equivocating answer. To another demand, that he should attaint the late Duke of Suffolk as a traitor, and thus confiscate his property, he very honourably gave a direct refusal.

The Duke of York, encouraged by these dissensions between the king and his parliament, publicly declared that his life was not safe; and that members of the court were plotting his arrest and assassination; which they very probably were. He made this state of things a plea for raising an army of 10,000 men, at the head of which, in February, 1452, he marched towards London, demanding a re-formation of the government, and the removal of Somerset from the councils of the king. The Londoners closed their gates against him; and York then marched into Kent, hoping that he should be joined by large numbers of the discontented peasants who had been concerned in the late insurrection with Cade. But these poor people remembered the fatal termination of that outbreak; the bodies of many of their friends had not long been removed from the gibbets, and they preferred therefore to remain quietly at home. At Dartford, York was overtaken by the king, at the head of a superior army. Henry, who always entertained a horror of war and slaughter, sent two bishops to the duke to enquire why he was in arms. York replied, it was in consequence of the attempts that had been made to ruin him, and because he was desirous of ensuring his own safety. Henry admitted that he had been regarded with a jealous eye, on account of the treasonable pretensions of his partizans; but, he added, he acquitted him of all participation in them, and regarded him as a loyal subject and his well-beloved cousin.

The duke, however, was very haughty in his behaviour, and insisted that Somerset should be arrested, and tried for giving treasonable advice to the king. This was promised, an order was given for the confinement of that minister, and Duke Richard disbanded his army, and trusted himself in the tent of his sovereign. There he found that he had acted unadvisedly in trusting to the good faith of the court. He was faced by Somerset, who called him a traitor and felon, and told him that he was the king's prisoner. The royal party sent the duke to London, where they kept him in confinement; but they liberated him on hearing that his son was advancing with a considerable army. Before releasing him, however, they compelled him to take an oath to be a true, faithful, and obedient subject to King Henry. York took the oath, and then went to his castle of Wigmore, with no more intention of keeping it, probably, than Henry and his ministers had of keeping faith with him when they induced him to disband his army.

The same year [1452], the people of Guienne revolted against the dominion of the French, and sent ambassadors to England to beg the assistance of a small army, and to say how glad they should be to return to the English rule. Their request was granted, and 5,000 soldiers were sent to them, under the command of the

venerable Earl of Shrewsbury, once the famous Sir John Talbot; who, though nearly eighty years of age, was still willing to go and fight his old enemies, the French. The brave old man led his troops to Bordeaux, made the French garrison there prisoners of war, and planted the flag of England on the walls of the city. The King of France, surprised at this renewal of hostilities on the part of the English, marched into Gûienne with an army of 22,000 men, and besieged the town of Castillon. This was a very important place, and Shrewsbury determined to relieve it. He attacked the French with success, and had nearly retaken the town, when another army came up and assailed him. Overpowered by numbers, the English broke and fled, leaving their brave old commander, the last hero of Agincourt, dead upon the field. Bordeaux was shortly after taken, and Guienne obliged again to submit to the sovereignty of the French.—This incident, by heaping another disgrace on the English, served still further to weaken King Henry in their respect, and made them turn their eyes to the more capable Richard, Duke of York.

Soon after the death of the brave Shrewsbury—on the 14th of October, 1453—Queen Margaret was delivered of a son, who was christened Edward, and made Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester. The birth of the royal infant, Henry's first and only child, was hailed with no joy: on the contrary, a gloom spread over a great part of the nation, who regarded it only as an obstacle to the peaceable succession of the Duke of York. Thus the prospects of this unhappy young prince were clouded even in his cradle.

The king was now carefully concealed from his subjects; he never appeared in public, and access could not be obtained to him by his nobility. There was a terrible reason for this seclusion; his weakness of intellect had assumed a more serious form; he was suffering from mental derangement; the period of the birth of his son coinciding with that of his incapacity to take any part in the duties of a sovereign. Profiting by the consequent weakness of the court party, the Yorkists, at the end of the year, contrived to get the Duke of Somerset, whom they bitterly hated, committed a prisoner to the Tower. When the parliament assembled in February, 1454, it sent a deputation of twelve noblemen to Windsor Castle, to demand an interview with the sovereign, on pretence of asking his advice about appointing a successor to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had just died; but, in reality, to ascertain what was the nature of his malady. As they would take no denial, they were admitted to his presence, and they found Henry in a state resembling idiotcy. He took no notice of their greetings, gave no answer to their repeated questions, and, indeed, seemed insensible of their presence. His dull, spiritless eyes and vacant countenance proclaimed, but too plainly, that the delicate and mysterious machinery of the mind had for a time stopped, and that the spirit-flame of intellect was almost extinguished.

In these days, the insanity or idiotcy of a king, though it would grieve the people, would not, in this country, interfere with the proper discharge of the duties of government. A long experience of the errors of the past has enabled our statesmen to form a science of government, which, though far from perfect, makes the happiness of the people independent of the personal character or deficiencies of the monarch. It was otherwise in the fifteenth century; then the welfare or misery of a nation depended largely upon the personal qualities of its sovereign. The parliament, therefore—which met on the 14th of February, 1454—to obviate the inconveniences which might result from the malady of the king, elected Richard, Duke of York, to be PROTECTOR and DEFENDER of the realm of England.

This ambitious noble might now have grasped the golden sceptre and globe of royalty. Had he proceeded carefully, it is probable that but little opposition would have been offered him. Instead of pressing his claim and extending his power, he became diffident and timid. He made no mention of his hereditary rights; and even desired that it might be recorded, in the archives of parliament, that he had only accepted the authority conferred upon him at the desire and command of his fellow nobles. At that time he evidently doubted the justice of his claim, or wanted the courage to enforce it. The peers agreed that he should retain his position as protector until the recovery of the king; or, if Henry's derangement was found to be incurable, until the Prince of Wales should be of age.

The queen and her party profited by this irresolution on the part of the duke; and nine months after his appointment as protector, they declared that Henry was restored to consciousness and the perfect use of his reason, and claimed for him a restitution of the sovereign power. York resigned his lofty title and authority, but he did not do so very willingly; and, as the first act of the king was to release the Duke of Somerset from the Tower, he went to Ludlow, and calling his followers to arms, was immediately joined by several noblemen; amongst whom were the famous Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, and the Duke of Norfolk.

The king and his court led a royal army to oppose York and his confederate peers, and the two forces met at St. Alban's. Neither of them were very numerous; but York had a slight advantage in this respect. Before commencing the horrors of civil war, the duke sent a herald to the king, with a message professing a great respect and loyalty for his person; but demand-

ing that his minister, the Duke of Somerset, should be surrendered to him. This demand was refused; Henry saying that he would rather die than abandon his faithful servants. The Yorkists then attacked the king's army in the streets, and an irregular battle was fought, in which the latter was soon thrown into confusion and fled. The Duke of Somerset, who had been the cause of so much jealousy, was killed, and the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Stafford, and Lord Clifford shared his fate. The unfortunate Henry, wounded in the neck by an arrow, was found hiding in the house of a tanner, and taken prisoner. Thus, on the 22nd of May, 1455, ended the first of that fatal series of wars, the Battles of the Roses. Very different estimates have been made of the number that perished on this occasion: it is commonly reckoned at more than 5,000; but other writers deny that even a fifth of that number fell.

This action, though unimportant in itself, is memorable as being the first of a series of sixteen battles, extending over a period of more than thirty years of civil war—a war which cost the lives of eighty princes of the royal blood, and almost annihilated the ancient barons of England.

The Duke of York treated the captive king with great respect; and the parliament, which met in July, again appointed him protector, deciding that he should exercise that authority until it pleased the parliament to release him from it, or until the Prince of Wales should come of age: at the same time the legislators renewed their allegiance to the king and his son, and by that act indirectly condemned the claim of the duke to the crown as illegal. York, though now possessed of sovereign power, acted with moderation; his natural irresolution induced him to do that; but he bestowed the great places of honour and profit in the state upon his partisans. Amongst other appointments he made the Earl of Salisbury chancellor; and to the brave and generous Warwick he committed the command of the strong town of Calais, which afterwards served as a refuge to the Yorkists in the time of their reverses.

Queen Margaret was a woman of great activity and decision, and she soon devised a plan for recovering the authority of the king. When parliament again met, in February, 1456, she induced her husband to attend and demand a restoration of his royal power. He obeyed her instructions, and took the parliament by surprise: it thought him plunged in imbecility, but found him for the moment acting with vigour. Unprepared with any opposition, the house consented to his demand; not a word was spoken about the state of his mind, and his disappointed rival resigned the protectorate on the 25th of February.

The Yorkists were immediately removed by the queen from the offices to which they had been appointed, and the duke and the great nobles who adhered to his cause retired to their castles, and began quietly collecting their retainers. At this point the Archbishop of Canterbury, like a true Christian priest, interposed and endeavoured to bring about a general reconciliation. He thought it was not too late to prevent the confusion and horror with which the nation was threatened; and it was at length agreed that all the great leaders of both parties should meet in London, enter into a bond of friendship, forget past injuries, and resolve on future peace. The meeting took place in 1458. The Yorkists, with a great body of retainers, lodged within the city, and the Lancastrians were accommodated outside its walls; while the mayor, with a body of 5,000 armed men, was on the alert to prevent any collision between them. Though the king was one of the principals in the quarrel, yet he became a sort of umpire, and proposed that York, with his friends, Salisbury and Warwick, should build a chapel for the good of the souls of those they had caused to be slain at St. Alban's; that all who were killed there, and those who killed them, should be considered as guiltless and loyal subjects; that Duke Richard should present a large sum of money to the widow and children of the late Duke of Somerset, and that the Earl of Warwick should perform some similar obligations. These terms were acquiesced in, and a hollow reconciliation took place. The king, queen, and courtiers of the royal party entered the city, and walked in procession hand-in-hand with the Duke of York and his party towards St. Paul's cathedral.

In spite of all these peaceful appearances the cause of the quarrel remained untouched, and angry feelings were ready to break forth at the least provocation. That provocation soon occurred. In November, 1458, the Earl of Warwick was summoned to Westminster to explain some illegal act which he had committed, as governor of Calais, on a foreign fleet. He attended; but as he was leaving the court, one of his followers was struck at by a servant of the king's. A violent commotion followed; and the earl, who was alarmed for his life, fled to Calais, and declared that a malicious attempt had been made by the royal party to murder him. This led to the issue of a writ of privy seal, superseding him, as governor of Calais, by the young Duke of Somerset. He refused to resign; alleging that the appointment was vested in the parliament, not in the privy council.

The Yorkists were incensed at this treatment of Warwick. They began to collect troops; the Lancastrians did the same; and it was certain that more blood would be shed. In the month of September, 1459, the Earl of Salisbury led his forces from Middleham Castle, in Yorkshire, to unite them with those of the Duke of

York. It was important to the Lancastrians to prevent this junction of their enemies, and they sent Lord Audley with 10,000 soldiers in pursuit of the earl. The two armies met at a place called Blore Heath, on the borders of Staffordshire, on the 23rd of September; and Salisbury, whose force was inferior in numbers to that of his opponent, gained the victory by a stratagem. He feigned a retreat, and thus induced his antagonist to follow hurriedly, whereby Audley's army fell into confusion. While it was divided by crossing a rivulet in the neighbourhood, Salisbury suddenly turned round, and, by a severe and unexpected attack, killed upwards of 2,000 royalists, and put the rest to flight. Lord Audley himself was one of the victims of his imprudence.—Thus ended the second of the Wars of the Roses.

After this victory, Salisbury and his forces marched to Ludlow Castle, and joined those of the Duke of York; Warwick also arrived there with a body of veteran troops from Calais—old soldiers who had been inured to war by fighting against the French. The presence of this force caused the hopes of the York faction to stand high.

The Lancastrians were now thoroughly aroused to the danger. Their preparations had hitherto been comparatively small, and their efforts trifling; they now collected an army at Winchester of 60,000 men, and placed the king at the head of it. With this imposing force, nearly double in number to that with which the warlike father of Henry had subdued France, they advanced upon their foes. The two armies met on the 13th of October; and the Yorkists stood firm, notwithstanding the immense superiority of their antagonists. It was late in the day when the armies came in sight of each other, and the battle was postponed until the following morning; but, in the course of the night, Sir Andrew Trollope deserted from the side of the Duke of York, and led a great number of the soldiers who had come from Calais over to the king. The duke was distracted: to fight under such circumstances was to court defeat: a hurried council was held; and it was agreed to break up the camp and take to flight. Had Henry followed them instantly he might have destroyed the York faction utterly, and sat upon his throne without a rival claimant; but he was incapable of any decisive measure, and his enemies were permitted to escape, and again concentrate their forces for another struggle. York fled to Ireland; while Warwick and Salisbury went over to Calais, and took refuge within the strong fortifications of that town.—On the 20th of November a parliament met at Coventry, by which all the Yorkist lords who refused to surrender to the king's officers were declared traitors, and their possessions forfeited.

Warwick was very popular at Calais; and a royal fleet, sent to dispossess him from that strong place, deserted and joined him. With the naval force thus acquired, he was able to obtain some other maritime successes, and in the month of June, 1460, he ventured to cross the sea and land on the coast of Kent. He brought but a very small force with him; but he was welcomed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and joined by so many knights and their retainers, that, by the time he reached London, he was followed by an army of 30,000 men. He had brought with him York's eldest son, Edward, a young man of a remarkably handsome and graceful appearance; and both he and the earl were received with loud welcomes by the citizens.

The king had collected an army in the midland counties, and there Warwick marched without further delay. The opposing forces met at Northampton on the 10th of July, and a battle was fought, in which Warwick was victorious. It was somewhat remarkable, that as he had lately been for a time ruined by the treachery of one of his own leaders, so he now triumphed in consequence of the treachery of one of Henry's officers, Lord Grey de Ruthyn, who deserted to the enemy during the battle. The number of the slain, on the part of the vanquished sovereign, was little more than 1,000; but most of them were knights and gentlemen; for Warwick gave a merciful order to spare the common soldiers as much as possible, and kill those only of higher rank. The former were influenced by no angry feeling against him; but the nobles and gentry chose their party, and were his enemies on principle. King Henry was again taken prisoner; but he was regarded with pity, and treated with respect. Margaret and her son escaped and fled to Scotland.

A parliament assembled at Westminster on the 7th of October; at which, on the 16th, the Duke of York, who had been summoned from Ireland, made his appearance. Entering the House of Lords, he advanced towards the throne, and laid his hand upon the golden-worked drapery that covered it. All eyes were fixed upon him, and an impressive silence prevailed. No voice was raised in approval, and the ambitious noble hesitated. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury asked him if he would pay his respects to the king, who was in the neighbouring palace? Duke Richard answered, that he owed the title of king to none but God, and that it was rather Henry's duty to wait upon him.

Then, still standing by the throne, he traced his descent from Edmund Mortimer, the Earl of March, and insisted on the justice of his title to the royalty of England. He alluded to the cruelties by which the House of Lancaster had won its way to sovereign power; spoke of the misery which had resulted from the reign of the incapable Henry; and urged the peers to do him justice, as the lineal successor of their ancient line of monarchs. He evidently expected that

they would have at once requested him to seat himself on the throne, and assume the sovereign power; but in this he was mistaken: they shrank from so great a responsibility, and returned no answer. Mortified by their silence, the duke left the building, and retired to the royal palace.

A few days afterwards, York sent a written document demanding the crown, and a message requiring an immediate answer. The lords were perplexed, and they resolved to wait on the king, and receive his commands. When the object of their visit was made known to Henry, he said—"My father was king; his father was also king. I have worn the crown nearly forty years, from my cradle; you have all sworn fealty to me as your sovereign, and your fathers did the like to my fathers. How, then, can my right be disputed?" A change of feeling had taken place; not only did many nobles pity the now helpless king, but numbers of them trembled for the estates which they had received as gifts from the Lancastrian sovereigns. They would willingly have decided against the claim of the duke; but his friend, the Earl of Warwick, was near at hand, with a numerous and victorious army, and they dared not act with freedom. Still they would not altogether stifle their convictions; and, after some discussion, they presented to the duke a paper containing their objections to his title. The chief of these were the oaths of fealty, which both he and they had taken to Henry; the many acts of parliament passed since the accession of the House of Lancaster; that entails had been made of the crown on the male line only, whereas he claimed through a female; that he had always borne the arms of York, not those of Clarence, and that, therefore, he could not claim as successor to the latter family; and, finally, that Henry IV. had declared that he had ascended the throne as the true heir of Henry III. The duke replied to these objections; and, in the end, the peers proposed a compromise of the question, which he thought it prudent to accept. They admitted that Duke Richard's title was a just one; but urged, that as Henry had worn the crown for nearly forty years, it was better to permit him to continue to wear it during his life, after which it should descend to Richard and his heirs for ever.

The news that her young son was excluded from inheriting his father's crown, soon reached Queen Margaret at her retreat in Scotland. She instantly returned to England, and, by her powers of insinuation and address, and her great talents, soon prevailed upon some of the northern barons to take up her cause. Her enemies, who thought her ruined and powerless, were astonished at the rapidity with which she collected an army of 20,000 men—an army which ranked among its leaders the Duke of Somerset (the son of that noble who was slain at St. Alban's), the Earls of Northumberland and Devon, and the Lords Clifford, Dacres, and Nevil. York had gone to his castle of Sandal, in Yorkshire, to spend his Christmas; but when he heard of Margaret's return to England, and that she was advancing to the south at the head of a large force, he determined, contrary to the advice of his friends, to leave Sandal, and meet her. They met on the 31st of December, near Wakefield, where a battle took place. The conflict was a furious one: but the great superiority of numbers on Margaret's side won her the victory: the duke's army had consisted of only 5,000 men; and of these, 2,000 lay dead upon the field. But the circumstance that rendered this victory more welcome to the queen, was the death of the arch-enemy of her house, the Duke of York himself. The fierce Margaret had the head struck from his corpse; and after crowning it in contempt with a diadem of paper, ordered it to be set on the gates of the city from which the vanquished noble derived his title.—The second son of the Duke of York, the young Earl of Rutland, was in his father's camp, and, after the battle, fled for safety, in company with his tutor. He had not reached his eighteenth year, and was a boy of singular beauty and mental promise. At a bridge which spanned a little stream in the neighbourhood he was stopped by the fierce Lord Clifford. The father of this nobleman had been slain at St. Alban's by the Yorkists, and he had consequently sworn a fearful oath that he would never spare any of the hated family of York that fell into his power. The young earl fell upon his knees, and prayed for mercy; but happening, by accident, to reveal who he was, Clifford plunged his sword into the bosom of his defenceless victim, and laid him dead upon the spot. He then bid the tutor go and tell the duchess the fate of her son. The people were shocked at this atrocity: but they soon became familiar with such sad and revolting acts; for cruelty is the natural result of civil war, and arises from it as spontaneously as weeds and poppies spring up in ill-tended corn-fields or deserted gardens.

Queen Margaret was intoxicated with her triumph, and thirsted for the blood of those who had caused her and her family so much anxiety and misery. In the night following the battle the old Earl of Salisbury fell into her hands. She ordered him, and some knights and gentlemen who were also taken prisoners, to be immediately beheaded; and that harsh sentence was put in execution at Pomfret Castle, on the 1st of January, 1461.

Though Richard, Duke of York, was dead, yet both his claim and his party survived. He left behind him three sons, Edward, George, and Richard, two of whom afterwards wore the English crown. Edward, Earl of

March, who succeeded to his father's title, was but twenty years of age; but he was a prince of great spirit, courage, and activity: and, confident in his right, he resolved to war unflinchingly with the partisans of the House of Lancaster, and not to sheathe the sword till he was crowned with victory.

The queen, after her victory at Wakefield, divided her army into two parts: one she sent, under the command of Jasper Tudor, the Earl of Pembroke, against Edward, the new Duke of York, who was at Gloucester with a great body of troops; and the other she led in person against the famous Warwick, who lay at London with an army of Yorkists. Edward's power was very considerable; for great numbers of people from the Welsh marshes flocked to his standard directly they heard of the death of his father. Thus encouraged, he determined to march against Margaret, and endeavour to punish her for the insult she had wreaked upon the corpse of his parent. When he arrived at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, he was opposed by Jasper Tudor, and a desperate battle took place on the 2nd of February, 1461. The victory fell to the lot of Edward, and nearly 4,000 of his opponents were slaughtered. Jasper, the Earl of Pembroke, escaped; but his father, Owen Tudor, the handsome Welshman who married the widow of Henry V., was taken prisoner, and, with eight other Lancastrians of rank, beheaded on the field of battle. This was done as a retaliation for the fate of those whom Queen Margaret had caused to be executed after the battle of Wakefield; but it was an act of great inhumanity, not sanctioned by the rules of war; and it is to be regretted that Edward sullied his character by allowing it.

Though the division of Margaret's army which she had confided to the Earl of Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross, yet the army under her own discretion gained, on the 19th of February, a victory over the Earl of Warwick at St. Alban's. Warwick marched from London, bearing with him the passive and captive King Henry: he stopped the progress of Margaret just by the town of St. Alban's, which had before been the scene of one of those dark contests in which Englishmen dyed their hands in each other's blood with a fury and bitterness exceeding that which they exhibited towards foreign foes. The queen and her troops fell upon Warwick with tremendous fury, and the battle extended, in a straggling manner, from St. Alban's to Barnet Common. The earl was defeated, and fled, after losing about 2,000 men. In the hurry of flight he left the king behind him, and the passive monarch was discovered in his tent by Margaret, and thus restored to liberty. Lord Bouvile, to whose custody he had been entrusted by the Yorkists, was taken with him; and although Henry had assured that noble of his pardon, yet Margaret gave him over to the hands of the executioner. He was beheaded, together with Thomas Kyriel, a brave soldier, who had won some distinction in the wars of France. This was done in return for Edward's barbarity at Mortimer's Cross: thus, on each side, war was made more terrible by the bitter spirit of private vengeance.

A proclamation was then issued by the active queen in the name of her husband, Henry, withdrawing his consent to the late arrangement respecting the succession of the crown. It was said that this promise, being extorted from him, could not be considered a binding one, and was therefore invalid. The proclamation also denounced Edward, the new Duke of York, as a traitor, and offered a reward for his apprehension.

This proclamation was, however, but little better than waste parchment, for the queen had no power to enforce it. The star of the House of Lancaster was setting before the rising of the sun of York. The power of Edward was rapidly increasing; and Margaret's troops, who lived by plunder, incurred for her the disgust and hatred of the districts through which she passed. Edward, having collected the defeated troops of the Earl of Warwick, marched to London; and the united forces entered in triumph, and were received by the people with tumultuous joy. The duke rode through the streets like a conqueror; and his manly figure, handsome countenance, and courtesy of manner, won him general admiration. Tired of the war, and fearful for the safety of their property, the Londoners no doubt thought that by declaring for Edward, who now seemed the strongest, they would be able to terminate the dark struggle which had continued so long. That young prince, seeing the general favour with which he was regarded, determined at once to assume the name and dignity of king; to insist openly on his claim; and to treat, in future, the opposite party as traitors and rebels to his royal authority.

Still, it was necessary to obtain something like a national assent for such a measure, and this he managed to get, though in an irregular manner. A review of the army was held in St. John's Fields, on the 28th of February, and was deemed a fitting opportunity to propose the subject. An immense concourse of people, amongst whom were many of the wealthiest of the citizens, assembled to witness the sight. Before the multitude dispersed, they were addressed by Lord Falconberg and the Bishop of Exeter. The peer and prelate both spoke against what they called the tyranny and usurpation of the feeble king; and alluding to his long-proved imbecility, demanded of the assembled people, if they would have Henry of Lancaster any longer for their sovereign? Loud shouts of "No, no!" rose up from the excited crowd. The title of Edward

was then dwelt upon; and, after a flattering account had been given of his youth, bravery, and abilities, the question was put as to whether they would love, serve, and obey him as their lawful sovereign? Again a loud shout rose into the air; but it was a shout of "Yes, yes! King Edward! Long live King Edward!" The assent of the people was willing and hearty enough; but the momentary enthusiasm of a mob is not an expression of the deliberate will of a great nation.

Edward knew this very well; therefore, the next day, a great meeting of bishops and nobles was held at Baynard's Castle, on the banks of the Thames; which, after some deliberation, confirmed the choice of the people at St. John's Fields, by declaring that Henry of Lancaster, in joining the queen's forces, had broken his faith, and violated the award of the preceding year; thereby forfeiting the crown to the heir of the late Duke of York, whose rights by birth had been proved and established. Two days afterwards, on the 3rd of March, Edward proceeded to Westminster Abbey, attended by a vast procession, and was there proclaimed King of England. He had not completed his 20th year; but he seems to have possessed as much coolness and self-possession before a concourse of his nobles and people, as he had showed courage upon the battle-field. He explained the claims of his family to the throne on which he then sat; and said that he received the crown as the true heir of the monarchy, and the descendant of an illustrious line of kings. When he had concluded his address, the old abbey rang with shouts of "God bless King Edward! Long live King Edward!"

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI., after he had worn a tottering crown for nine-and-thirty years. He had been a king from his cradle; and at the time of his illustrious father's death, his prospects were as brilliant as those enjoyed by any prince in Europe. The people of England regarded the only son of the hero of Agincourt with a feeling approaching to idolatry, and in his person was centred the sovereignty of both France and England. At the age of forty, the unoffending, monk-like monarch was an uncrowned fugitive, who had forfeited his people's love, his royal possessions, his kingly authority, and scarcely knew where to rest his head in safety. Gentleness, apathy, and superstition were the leading points of his character: indeed, so passive was he, that the revolution which tore the sceptre from his grasp, and took the crown from his brow, afflicted him far less than it did many of his subjects. If he had been permitted to live in peace, it is probable he would almost have forgotten that he ever wore a crown. A story is related of him which shows at once his merciful nature and the weakness of his character. He abhorred the revolting punishment inflicted in cases of high treason, but never had the resolution to abolish it. One day, on beholding the quarter of a person who had been executed for treason fixed on the walls of the Tower, he cried, "Take it away! take it away! it is a shame to use any Christian so cruelly on my account."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FOURTH.—A.D. 1461—1470.



EDWARD, even before there was time for his coronation, had to fight for the sceptre he had so suddenly acquired. The Lancastrians, under the command of Queen Margaret and the Duke of Somerset, collected an army in Yorkshire, consisting of 60,000 men. Such a power was indeed formidable; and the new king and the Earl of Warwick marched to the north, with nearly 50,000 men to meet it.

When they reached Pontefract, a slight engagement took place between some advanced troops of the two armies, which ended in the defeat of the Yorkists. The Earl of Warwick immediately exerted himself to do away with the evil impression which such an accident was likely to produce upon King Edward's troops. Calling for his horse, he plunged his sword into the body of the unfortunate animal, and then, kissing the hilt of the reeking weapon, declared that he had killed his steed to render flight impossible, and swore that he was resolved to share the fate of the meanest of his soldiers. To produce a feeling of confidence in the minds of his men, he declared that every one who wished to retire from the field might do so: he wanted no enforced service—no hands without hearts; and at the same time he threatened the severest punishments to those who should be convicted of cowardice in the ensuing battle.

The two armies met at Towton, near Tadcaster; and there, on Palm Sunday, the 29th of March, was fought the fiercest and most fatal battle that had yet occurred between the conflicting factions. Each side strove with a blind fury, and with such a savage zeal, that it might

have been supposed that every man was encountering a personal enemy, who had inflicted on him an irreparable wrong. The Yorkists first advanced to the charge amidst a thick snow-storm, and the broad, white flakes beat furiously into the faces of their antagonists. One of Edward's nobles had the ingenuity to turn this circumstance to great account: he ordered some archers to advance before the army, and then, having shot a volley of arrows, immediately to retire. The Lancastrian archers, who were half blinded by the snow, and unable to see their foes, supposed that they were within bow-shot of the opposite army, and shot flight after flight of their arrows, which, as there was no enemy within reach, spent their force upon the air, and then fell harmless to the ground. When the quivers of these mistaken men were empty, and they had no more arrows, Edward ordered his soldiers to advance. They did so, and committed fearful slaughter upon the surprised Lancastrians, who looked in vain for the heaps of dead which they supposed their thick flight of arrows had sent to rest for ever. But the bow was soon laid aside, and the infuriated soldiers fought hand to hand and foot to foot. The carnage was horrible, for Edward had issued orders that no quarter should be given, and no prostrate foe spared. With a severity ill-suited to his youth, he wished to strike such a blow as should inspire his opponents with fear, and terrify them into a passive submission to his rule. The horrible conflict lasted for six hours, and then the Lancastrians broke and fled; seven northern barons, who had espoused that fated cause, perished with their weapons in their hands. Two others, the Earls of Devonshire and Wiltshire, were taken prisoners, and, with an insolent exercise of power, beheaded as traitors. Queen Margaret, her husband and son, fled to Scotland, accompanied by the Duke of Somerset, who had commanded in this fatal battle. The defeated army was pursued as far as Tadcaster; and in the white sheet of snow which covered the roads lay the rigid corpse of many a victim of this wild contest.

This fierce fighting and indiscriminate slaughter between the people of the same country, was wild and fiendish work for a day which the Holy One had set apart for rest and peace. The number of the killed, in that desperate conflict, was far greater than had occurred in any of the contests that had preceded it. It is estimated that 36,000 were killed in the battle and in the flight, and that 28,000 were Lancastrians. The result of the battle was almost to annihilate the partisans of the Red Rose, to weave the White Rose in the jewelled diadem of royalty, and to place Edward, for a time at least, firmly upon the throne.

Hurrying from the field of battle, Edward returned to London, and prepared for his coronation. The ceremony was conducted with the usual magnificence and solemnity at Westminster Abbey, on the 29th of June, and the new king afterwards bestowed upon his brother George the title of Duke of Clarence, and upon Richard that of Duke of Gloucester.

On the 4th of November of the same year (1461), the parliament met and confirmed Edward's title. It declared him to be the sovereign by hereditary descent, through the family of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, and dated the commencement of his reign from the day when he assumed the government. It then pronounced the three kings of the Lancastrian line, the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Henry, to have been tyrants and usurpers, and resumed all the royal grants which those sovereigns had bestowed upon their adherents. Here at least the parliament might have paused; but the spirit of faction and revenge was not yet satisfied, and sentence of attainder and forfeiture of their estates was passed upon the fugitive ex-king, his queen, and his son, Prince Edward. This sentence also included all the great Lancastrian nobles, and 150 knights, priests, and gentlemen.

Before Edward dissolved the parliament, he delivered the following address to the representatives of the people. Turning to the Speaker, he said, "James Strangeways, and ye that be come for the Commons of this land, for the true hearts and tender considerations that ye have had to my right and title, I thank you as heartily as I can. Also for the tender and true hearts that ye have showed unto me, in that ye have tenderly had in remembrance the correction of the horrible murder and cruel death of my lord my father, my brother Rutland, and my cousin of Salisbury, and others, I thank you right heartily; and I shall be unto you, with the grace of Almighty God, as good and gracious sovereign lord as ever was any of my noble progenitors to their subjects and liegemen. And for the faithful and loving hearts, and also the great labours that ye have borne and sustained toward me in the recovering my said right and title which I now possess, I thank you with all my heart; and if I had any better good to reward you withal than my body, ye should have it, the which shall always be ready for your defence, never sparing nor letting for no jeopardy, praying you all of your hearty assistance and good countenance, as I shall be with you a very rightwise, and loving liege lord."

No mercy was shown to any one who retained an attachment to the ruined king and his family; and to accuse a man of being a Lancastrian, was almost the same as sending him to the scaffold. Loyalty to the expelled Henry was regarded as the most monstrous of crimes; and the Yorkists employed the axe and the rope of the executioner to extirpate all such of their opponents as the sword had spared upon the battle-field.

A remarkable instance of Edward's hardness of heart and mercilessness of character was shown at the very commencement of his reign. A London tradesman, who had more wit than wisdom, was condemned and executed as a traitor merely for having uttered a harmless joke. Shops of all kinds then exhibited some sort of sign, and his was distinguished by that of "the Crown." The man boasted that he would make his son heir to the crown; and as this poor pun was supposed to be spoken in derision of Edward's ambiguous title, he was put to death in consequence. No act of tyranny so wanton as this had been perpetrated in England since the time of the infamous King John. But the early reign of Edward was a reign of terror, and the flourishing White Rose was daily watered with the blood of his subjects.

Queen Margaret and her family, as previously stated, had fled for safety to Scotland after the fatal battle of Towton. She bribed the Scottish sovereign to undertake her cause, by promising him the important town and fortress of Berwick in return for his services. The Scots accordingly laid siege to Carlisle, but were defeated with great loss by Lord Montague, the brother of the famous Earl of Warwick. They also made an inroad into the county of Durham, but were again beaten back by King Edward's troops; and as the Scotch sovereign had troubles and factions at home to contend with, he left Margaret and her husband to do the best they could for themselves.

Bad as her position was, Margaret was not the woman to despair; she knew that it never yet helped any one. She travelled rapidly from Scotland to the court of France, and begged the assistance of Louis XI. to enable her husband to regain his throne. France had been rising in prosperity as England had been falling; and Louis was an able-minded, crafty monarch, who was not disposed to fight other people's quarrels for nothing. He expressed a great deal of sympathy for Margaret, but feared that he could not assist her. He was poor, he said, and it was necessary to bestow all his attention upon his own kingdom. When, however, she promised to deliver up Calais if her family were restored to their royalty through his means, he changed his mind, and presented her with 20,000 crowns and 2,000 men-at-arms.

This was but a small force, and very unequal to the purpose for which it was intended; but the dauntless queen resolved again to try her fortune with it. Proceeding to England, she landed on the coast of Northumberland in October, 1462, where she was joined by some of her ruined followers and some Scotch borderers. With them she attacked and took possession of the castles of Alnwick, Bamborough, and Dunstable. This gleam of prosperity was soon extinguished by the approach of Warwick with an army of 20,000 men. The castles were retaken, and Margaret and her troops fled to their ships for safety. Even then the wind and the waves seemed adverse to her doomed cause: the little fleet was separated by a storm; the vessels that bore her stores and treasures were driven back, shattered wrecks, upon the coast; and the wretched queen escaped to Berwick, almost alone, in a fishing-boat.

For two years the horrors of civil war were stayed, and Edward reigned in peace. During that time the ever-active Margaret had gone from court to court to solicit foreign assistance; and in the April of 1464 she again made her appearance in England, and raised the Lancastrian banner. The Duke of Somerset, together with the Lords De Roos and Hungerford, Sir Ralph Percy, and many knights and gentlemen, immediately took up arms, and prepared to join her. They were not fortunate enough to accomplish their intention. Percy, Roos, and Hungerford were met at Hedgeley Moor by Lord Montague; and after a skirmish on the 25th of April, which has been dignified with the name of a battle, they were defeated. Only 108 men perished on the field; but Sir Ralph Percy was among them. The Lords de Roos and Hungerford were not so fortunate as to die in honourable freedom with their swords in their hands; they were taken prisoners and beheaded as traitors.

This blow to the cause of the faded Red Rose was rapidly followed by another. On the 15th of May the Lancastrians sustained a reverse of fortune at Hexham. The army under Somerset and the queen was attacked by the victorious Montague, and utterly routed. Many gentlemen perished on the field of battle, and many others on the scaffold.

The unfortunate King Henry had been brought by his queen into her camp, that she might have the advantage of what authority still attached to his name as king; and after the battle he concealed himself among the moors of Lancashire and Westmoreland. In this manner he lived for about a year upon the hospitality of such as were secretly attached to his cause; then he was recognised by some Yorkists, who seized and carried him to London as a prisoner. Edward sent him to the Tower; but that triumphant prince spared the life of his captive, as much, it is thought, from contempt of his feeble mind and character as from a feeling of compassion. The indefatigable Margaret preserved her liberty, but she experienced adventures and hardships which bear more resemblance to those of a heroine of romance, than to the vicissitudes of an unhappy queen. She fled from the battle-field with her son, and took refuge in the intricacies of a neighbouring forest, where she attempted to conceal herself. In this forlorn condition she was discovered

by a band of robbers, who took away her rings and jewels, and treated her with ruffianly insolence. Margaret, however, wisely concealed her rank; and while they were quarrelling over the division of their plunder, she and her son contrived to crawl unobserved away. At length she became entangled in the thickest part of the forest, where, having wandered about until exhaustion and fatigue overpowered her, she sank down a prey to grief and terror. What a situation for an English queen!—for one whose position had commanded the extreme of luxury and deference, and whose personal beauty and talents had won admiration from all around her!

While in this pitiable condition she was threatened by another danger. A robber approached her with harsh looks and a drawn sword. Violence or death seemed unavoidable; but the quick mind of Margaret extricated her from this perilous state. She rightly guessed that many are driven to a life of crime by misfortune—not led to it as the willing choice of a depraved nature. Though a robber, this man might have some touches of generous sympathy yet left in his mind. Margaret suddenly resolved to reveal her rank to him, and trust to his better qualities for her protection. Advancing towards him, she presented the young prince, and exclaimed, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son!" The queen was correct in her estimate of the man's character. Awed by her majestic demeanour, and captivated by the confidence bestowed on him, he not only promised to do her no harm, but vowed that he would devote himself entirely to her service. True to his word, he hid her in the forest until he found means of conveying her in safety to some friends of the Lancastrian cause, who provided her with the means of escaping into Flanders. On parting from the robber, she assured him, that what she most regretted in her unhappy fortune was, her inability to properly reward his generous fidelity.

Edward had conquered all opposition. Henry was a prisoner in the Tower; Margaret and her son, Prince Edward, were exiles in a foreign land; and the principal nobles and gentry who had upheld the House of Lancaster had perished by the sword or axe. Not only were the enemies of the young king at home thus crushed beneath his power, but he had the wisdom to enter into foreign treaties, which saved him from fear of any invasion from abroad. One of these treaties was concluded with Scotland. It bound the two governments to a truce of fifteen years; and the King of Scotland engaged to give neither shelter nor aid to Edward's foes.—The king was exceedingly accessible to his subjects, and treated them with a familiar condescension which won for him their attachment. All things smiled upon him, and the security of his throne seemed unassailable. He therefore abandoned himself to pleasure; and hunting, feasting, music, the society of gay young courtiers, and the most beautiful and elegant of the daughters of his nobles, occupied his time almost to the entire exclusion of more tranquil and serious pursuits. He soon, however, entered into the bonds of marriage with the daughter of a Lancastrian.*

The Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V., and regent of France after the death of that monarch, at his death, in 1434, left a widow, Jacquetta, who afterwards married a gentleman of much lower rank, of the name of Sir Richard Woodville. By this marriage she had several children, and among them a very graceful and beautiful daughter, called Elizabeth. This young lady was married, at a very early age, to Sir John Grey, of Groby, a gentleman who was attached to the House of Lancaster, and who perished in its cause at the second battle of St. Alban's. His estate was, in consequence, confiscated by King Edward; and the youthful widow, deprived at once of her husband and her fortune, returned with her children in sorrow to the house of her father.

Though Lady Woodville, the late Duchess of Bedford, was of Lancastrian family, yet, it seems, she enjoyed the acquaintance and friendly regard of Edward; for one day, while on a hunting party, he paid her a visit at her manor of Grafton, near Stoney Stratford. Desirous of turning this visit to good account, Jacquetta introduced her beautiful widowed daughter to the notice of the youthful sovereign. Lady Grey threw herself at the feet of Edward, and, with many tears, implored him to pity her ruined and distressed children, and restore to them the estate of their dead father. The king gazed with admiration upon the prostrate beauty before him, and, raising her from the ground, assured her that her suit was granted. The cause of this generosity was, that he had conceived a sudden and extreme attachment for her. Her fascinating conversation, and numerous accomplishments, soon strongly fastened the chain of roses with which the young beauty had so quickly fettered her king. Edward declared his love, and made proposals to her, which were instantly rejected as dishonourable. Finding that all entreaties of that nature were useless, and unable to conquer his passion, he imprudently offered to share his throne with her as well as his heart. This proposal was readily accepted, and, on the 1st of May, 1464, Edward and Elizabeth were privately married at Grafton, near Stoney Stratford. This alliance with the widow of a private gentleman, the king knew would provoke the jealousy and anger of his nobles, who all expected that their sovereign would have matched himself with some princess of illustrious descent and powerful connections;

and some of whom, perhaps, had looked upon one of their own daughters as the probable future Queen of England. Edward, therefore, kept his secret for several months.

At length, he summoned a council of prelates and nobles, to whom he avowed his marriage; and the great Warwick, although by no means pleased with the occurrence, took Elizabeth by the hand, and introduced her to the assembly as their queen. Soon afterwards another council settled upon her an annual allowance of 4,000 marks. On the 26th of May, in the following year (1465), she was crowned with great magnificence at Westminster; and the gorgeous ceremony was followed by pageants, tournaments, and other festivities.

Elizabeth showed a greater attachment for her family than was consistent with her exalted position. Every member of it flocked around her, in order to be provided for, and she induced the king to gratify them to an extent which roused the jealousy of the princes and nobles of the court. Her father was created Earl Rivers, and made treasurer and lord high constable. Her brother received the title and estates of Lord Scales, by marrying the heiress of that deceased nobleman; and her five sisters were married to the heirs of five dukes or earls. The daughter and heiress of the Duke of Exeter was also contracted to Thomas Grey, a son of the queen by her first husband. This circumstance greatly annoyed the Earl of Warwick, who had asked the hand of the wealthy young lady for his own nephew; and some other matters of the same trifling character followed, which all tended to create a coolness between that nobleman and the king. Hitherto, Warwick and his family, whose services had placed Edward upon the throne, had enjoyed the full sunshine of royal favour and rewards; but now most of the desirable things in the gift of the sovereign were scrambled for and obtained by the relations of the queen.

Louis IX. of France was desirous that Edward's sister, the Princess Margaret of York, should be married to one of his sons. The lady's hand was also solicited by another French prince, Charles the Rash, the wealthy and powerful son of the late Duke of Burgundy. Warwick, who was Edward's chief minister, said it would be most advantageous to marry the princess to a son of the French king. Edward thought differently, and was inclined to favour the pretensions of Charles; but he yielded his opinion in favour of that of the earl—or, at any rate, pretended to do so, for he was not acting very sincerely. He even sent Warwick as an ambassador to the court of France, to treat with Louis upon the subject; but during his absence he received a messenger from Charles of Burgundy, and agreed to give his sister in marriage to that wealthy prince. Warwick considered himself trifled with and insulted by this duplicity—as, indeed, he was; and on his return to England, great coolness existed between him and the king. Edward was too proud to apologise for the slight he had put upon the earl: he did not even condescend to take any notice of the occurrence; and Warwick soon left the court; retiring, in a moody fit, to his strong castle of Middleham.

The queen and her relations feared Warwick, whom they knew disliked them, and they represented to Edward that the Earl was a dangerous person. The king now desired to be rid of the man whose influence over him had been so considerable, and whose power was too great for a subject. He spread a report, therefore, that Warwick was engaged in treasonable plots against him, appointed a strong guard to protect his person, and banished all the Nevilles from court.

For some years we have very imperfect records of the historical events in England. Many of the chronicles appear to have been destroyed during the civil wars which followed, when the monasteries which contained them were burnt. Strange things were done, the motives for which it is difficult to guess at; and circumstances are related by some writers which are altogether discredited by others. One thing, however, is certain—that Warwick or the king, or perhaps both of them, were tainted by gross treachery and dishonesty. Indeed, most of the public men of that time, in England, were unprincipled and changeable; each appeared to be striving for supremacy, and exclaiming on the faithlessness of the others. Heartlessness and perfidy in a prince are contagious, and not only infect his whole court, but contaminate his people. Thus it was in the reign of Edward IV.: the fountain of honour was corrupt; and the stream, which should have been as pure as snow and clear as crystal, was tainted and muddy.

The year following the banishment of the Nevilles, the great Warwick, whose popularity with the nation was immense, reappeared at court, and was reconciled to the king. In June, 1468, when the sister of Edward was about to embark for Flanders, to be married to the Duke of Burgundy, Warwick conducted her through the streets of London. New jealousies, however, soon arose. Edward had as yet no male children; therefore his brother George, the Duke of Clarence, had some expectation of succeeding to the crown. The ambitious Warwick had two beautiful daughters, either of whom he longed to see Queen of England. Clarence formed an attachment to the eldest, the Lady Isabella. Warwick desired a marriage to take place, but the king and court strongly opposed it. They thought, that as Warwick had raised Edward to the throne, so, in a fit of ill-temper, he might endeavour to depose him, and

place Clarence and Isabella in the regal chair instead. For this reason, they were averse to the match; but the influence of Warwick and the charms of the lady prevailed, and, in the month of July, 1469, Clarence was married to Isabella, at Calais.

Edward's indignation at this circumstance was succeeded by alarm, in consequence of a formidable insurrection which broke out at the same time among the people of Yorkshire. The origin of the disturbance was the exaction of some contributions from the farmers and others by the clergy, which were collected, ostensibly, for charitable purposes, but were applied to their own use. The men of Yorkshire said they would not encourage idle priests to fatten on what was intended for the poor; and neither clerical censure nor imprisonment could drive them from that determination. When the collectors forcibly entered their dwellings, and took away their goods for payment, the spirit of Englishmen was aroused; and the farmers and peasants rose in a great body, and put the meddling intruders to death. Once in arms, they resolved on the reformation of other abuses; and a cry arose for the banishment of the queen's relations from the council of the king. These mushroom courtiers, who, to speak metaphorically, had risen from commoners to the rank of nobility in a single night, were regarded as the very locusts of taxation, and the oppressors of the poor. "Away with them!" said the men of Yorkshire, "for they corrupt the king, and cause all our distresses."

Edward hastily gathered a small army and marched against the rebels. But the latter were so formidable that he retired rapidly to Nottingham, where he wrote to Warwick and his brother Clarence, who were still at Calais, to come and help him. Warwick made no haste to appear; and, before his arrival, a royal army, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke, had been defeated by the insurgents at Edgecote. The earl, and 5,000 of his men, perished in the conflict. The men of Yorkshire fiercely pursued the flying troops; and having seized Earl Rivers, the father of the queen, and Sir John Woodville, one of her brothers, they beheaded them both at Northampton.

It was suspected, by the court, that these cruelties proceeded from the influence of the Earl of Warwick, who, it was thought, secretly fomented the insurrection. Whether he did so is one of the dark mysteries with which history, before the invention and general use of printing, abounds. The earl bitterly hated the relations of the queen, who fell victims to the fury of the men with whom it was supposed he had some secret connection. This leads to a suspicion of his guilt. On the other hand, as soon as he returned to England, he went in a friendly manner to Edward and undertook his cause. This looks like innocence. Warwick persuaded the king to grant a general pardon to the rebels, who were so attached to the earl, that they instantly returned to their homes.

Having delivered Edward from danger, some historians say that Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, who acted with him, carried the king as a prisoner to the earl's castle of Middleham; others deny that this was the case. As a former historian remarks, "All that we can distinguish with certainty through the deep cloud which covers that period, is a scene of horror and bloodshed, savage manners, arbitrary executions, and treacherous, dishonourable conduct in all parties." Certainly, if Edward ever were a prisoner, he was soon released, and an exchange of friendly protestation took place between himself, Warwick, and his brother Clarence, Warwick's son-in-law and faithful ally.

The following year (1470), there was another quarrel between the king and Warwick, another hollow reconciliation, and another insurrection of the people (in Lincolnshire), which the earl was suspected of having secretly excited. As before, Warwick and Clarence marched against the rebels; but Edward distrusted his brother and his warlike minister, and, gathering another and a larger army, also took the field. He was the first to meet the insurgents, who amounted to about 30,000 men, and a battle was fought between them and his troops at Stamford. The king was victorious, and, after a great slaughter, all the leaders of the revolt who escaped death by the sword, perished on the scaffold.

Edward was then so convinced of the perfidy of Warwick and Clarence, who had been raising troops in their own names, and issuing declarations against the government, complaining of grievances and oppressions, that he turned his triumphant arms against them; and it is possible that a battle would have taken place, but that Warwick was disappointed in some of his friends, whose allegiance to Edward he was unable to corrupt. In this difficulty the earl and his son-in-law disbanded their forces, embarked in a vessel with their families and friends, and sailed to Calais.

To Warwick's astonishment, the guns of the fortress were pointed against his ship, and he was refused admission into the town, of which he was the governor. The deputy, whom he had left in command, a Gascon, named Vaucler, resolved to keep the place for the king, and could scarcely be prevailed upon to send a few flagons of wine on board, for the use of the Duchess of Clarence, who had been confined but a few days before, and was suffering severely from sea-sickness. However, he sent a secret apology for his conduct to Warwick, and told him that he was merely acting from a zeal for his service. He assured him that the fortress was ill-supplied with provisions; that he could not depend on the attachment of the soldiers in it; that the place was

unable to resist the power of Edward; and that the inhabitants, who lived by commerce with the people of England, would certainly declare in favour of the king. Thus, he urged, by seeming to be attached to the service of that sovereign, he would obtain his confidence, and keep possession of the fortress until it was safe to restore it to its ancient governor. It is difficult to say whether Vaucler was honest in this expression of attachment, or whether he was a traitor to Warwick on one side, and to the king on the other. He certainly possessed more cunning than is usually found in plain, honest men; but the earl accepted his apology, and proceeded with his family and friends to the court of the French king, where he was received with great hospitality and respect.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FOURTH.—A D. 1470—1472.



CHARLES THE RASH, Duke of Burgundy, was a nominal vassal of the French king; but, in reality, he was nearly, if not quite, as powerful as that sovereign, and altogether independent of him. Charles, by his marriage with Margaret of York, King Edward's sister, had contracted a close alliance with the English king; indeed, so close a one, that the year before Warwick's flight, it was intended they should unite their forces, and make war on France, and that the warlike earl should have the command of the English army.

For this reason the French king was glad to widen the quarrel between Edward and Warwick, and to make a friend of the latter, who was considered a general of great ability. But Louis had a further and a deeper motive: the exiled Queen Margaret and her son were residing at his court, and he wished to reconcile them and Warwick, and induce the latter to adopt the cause of the imprisoned Henry, and drive Edward from the throne.

Louis brought about a meeting between Margaret and the earl, and those two pillars of the opposing factions, who had for so long distracted England, again met face to face. The interview must have been a remarkable one. Each had, for years, regarded the other with the bitterest animosity, for each had inflicted upon the other wrongs which seemed beyond the pale of forgiveness. Warwick had been the chief cause of all the misfortunes of Margaret and her family: he had hurled her husband from a throne, and consigned him to a prison; he had driven Margaret herself into exile, and put to death all her most active friends, either in battle or on the scaffold. On her side, Margaret had, with a feeling of wild triumph, given Warwick's father, the old Earl of Salisbury, over to the hands of the headsman, together with a number of others who were united to him by the bonds of friendship; and he himself had suspected her of a design to assassinate him. A river of blood flowed between them, and reconciliation seemed impossible. But hatred is sometimes as powerful as love: each of them now hated Edward, and they resolved to join their influence in order to be revenged upon him.

It was agreed between them that Warwick should abandon the Yorkist cause, and endeavour to restore the captive Henry to his throne; that Margaret's son, Prince Edward, should marry the Lady Anne, Warwick's second daughter; that during the minority of the prince, the government should be entrusted conjointly to the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence; and that, if the prince died without leaving a son behind him, Clarence should succeed to the throne, from which King Edward and his children were to be utterly excluded. To show that both parties were thoroughly in earnest, Prince Edward, who was in his seventeenth year, was immediately married to Lady Anne.

The Duke of Clarence was in a singular position. Not only was he allied with Warwick against his brother, whom he had hopes of succeeding as king, but he was also, by this strange reconciliation, engaged in an intrigue to restore the House of Lancaster, and thus not only ruin his brother's prosperity, but extinguish all chance of his ever succeeding him. This was more then he intended; and he was very dissatisfied with his false position. His brother, Edward, suspected the state of his feelings, and sent a lady to him, under pretence of joining the train of his duchess, but, in reality, to persuade him not to become the instrument of Warwick's vengeance, and ruin at once his family and himself. The fair ambassadress was successful, and Clarence promised to desert the cause of his father-in-law, and be reconciled to his brother, as soon as he could do so with safety.

Louis of France prepared a fleet to take Warwick and his followers to England; and Charles, Duke of Burgundy, put to sea with a much larger one, to intercept the earl on his passage. He also sent word to Edward to prepare for the danger that threatened him, and collect an army to drive back Warwick, in case he should escape his vigilance and effect a landing. Edward laughed at these fears, and continued the round of pleasures in which he was almost constantly engaged; saying that he wished for nothing better than to see Warwick land in England, that he might have the pleasure of driving him back into the sea. He was very soon to be punished for this careless and presumptuous confidence.

A sudden storm dispersed the Duke of Burgundy's fleet; and, as soon as the weather was calm again, Warwick started, and, sailing over in safety, landed at Dartmouth on the 13th of September, 1470. He was accompanied by the Duke of Clarence, the Earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a considerable body of French and English troops. No one was there to oppose him; Edward having gone to the north to put down a sham insurrection, which had been got up by some of Warwick's friends, on purpose to occupy his attention. Such was the popularity of the earl, and such the zeal of the Lancastrians when they heard that he had embraced their cause, that multitudes flocked to his standard every hour; and in a few days he commanded an army of more than 60,000 men. Edward marched southwards to meet him, but his ranks were daily thinned by desertion, and the men he had summoned to assist him did not make their appearance. Warwick's brother, the bold Lord Montague, was in Edward's army, but he would not fight against his own kindred. After having lulled the king's suspicion of him by an appearance of zealous loyalty, he one day caused his soldiers to toss their caps into the air, and cry, "God bless King Harry!" and then led them to join his brother. His example was followed by other nobles and officers; and Edward, alarmed at this wholesale desertion, mounted his horse, and fled with a small retinue of faithful followers to the sea-shore, where they embarked in three vessels that lay ready. Their ships were chased by pirates; and the royal fugitive only saved himself and his party from captivity by running his vessels aground on the coast of Friesland, near the town of Alkmaar, the governor of which place afforded them protection. Edward had no money, and was obliged to give the master of his ship a gown lined with fur in recompense for his services, and to promise to do something more for him another time. Such a sudden reverse of fortune as this, resembles the incidents of a fairy tale or wild romance, rather than the serious events of history. It shows, also, how narrow is the span between prosperity and ruin: the king of to-day may be the fugitive and beggar of to-morrow. Edward afterwards took refuge in the court of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, who did not receive him very graciously.

The power of the great Earl of Warwick was now supreme in England; and he entered the City of London in triumph on the 6th of October, 1470. He was accompanied by the Duke of Clarence, who, though very discontented at all that was passing, had not seen any favourable opportunity of deserting him. Going with a great guard to the Tower, Warwick released King Henry, who had been a captive in that fortress for five years. He had sent the mild and feeble monarch to prison, and he now restored him to the throne. This was the second sovereign on whose head Warwick had placed the crown; he had deposed Henry and raised Edward, and then, as his mind changed, he had driven Edward into exile and made Henry a king. His singular gifts of the royalty of England gained for him the distinction of "The King-maker." Edward's queen was also residing in the Tower, which she left on hearing of Warwick's progress, and took refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster. There, on the 4th of November, the first son of Edward IV.—afterwards the unfortunate Edward V.—was born.

Though Henry was in the autumn of life, and fast "falling into the sear and yellow leaf," he was just as incapable of governing a great nation as he was during his youth. Time and adversity had taught him patience and resignation, but they had not given him strength. He knew his want of ability; and while he retained the name of king, he surrendered the power of his exalted office into the hands of Warwick and Clarence. Henry's son, Prince Edward, was declared his successor; and, in the event of his death without children, the crown was to descend to the Duke of Clarence. The Lancastrian nobles were restored to their estates, but only one Yorkist was sent to the scaffold. That was John Tibetot, Earl of Worcester, who, though a man of remarkable learning and talents, had, by his great cruelty, earned for himself the infamous title of "The Butcher!" Other nobles, who adhered to the cause of Edward, fled for sanctuary to religious houses, where they were permitted to remain unmolested. Queen Margaret was still abroad; but, on hearing of the success of Warwick, she prepared to come to England, accompanied by a great number of banished Lancastrians, among whom were the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, who had been living abroad in such extreme poverty as to be scarcely better off than common beggars.

King Henry did not long enjoy the dignity which had been so unexpectedly restored to him. The Duke of Burgundy, unable to make his peace with Warwick,

which he was very willing to do, turned round and assisted the fugitive Edward to regain his crown. He secretly gave him a sum of money and four large vessels, and also engaged for him fourteen well-armed pirate ships. Edward's own followers did not amount to more than 1,200 men; but with this force he sailed to England, and endeavoured to land at the Wash, between Norfolk and Lincolnshire. A Lancastrian army was ready upon the shore to receive him; therefore he prudently sailed away, and, four days afterwards, landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. This was on the 16th of March, 1471, only about five months after his sudden flight. The people in the north regarded him with indifference, and did not rise in his favour. Still he marched on to York, and, on the 17th, demanded admission into that city. The mayor and citizens hesitated: till lately he was their sovereign, but now they owed allegiance to his rival. Upon this, according to some authorities, Edward took an oath before them, that he did not return to England to claim the crown, but only as Duke of York, and that he would make no effort to reinstate himself on the throne. A servant of Edward, who was with him, and wrote a *Historie of the Arrival of King Edward IV.*, says nothing of the oath, but states, that the leaders of his small force set forth, that he was not come to claim the kingdom, but only the inheritance of his father, the Duke of York.

Edward was soon joined by great numbers of people; and he then resolved to march on to London. Near Coventry, he was met by the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, with a numerous Lancastrian army. A battle would have taken place; but the treacherous Clarence, suddenly deserting Warwick, went over with his troops to the side of his brother. Warwick was so weakened by this defection in his army, that he retired, fearing that a battle would end in his defeat; and Edward continued his march towards London. If the citizens of the metropolis had been adverse to his cause, and closed their gates against him, he would very likely soon have fallen a victim to his audacity; but they received him, when he entered the city on the 11th of April, with favour, and even with enthusiasm. Strange as this changeable behaviour was, there were several reasons for it: a great number of his followers suddenly issued from sanctuary, and welcomed him as a deliverer; Edward also owed large sums of money to many of the principal merchants, which they would be sure to lose if he were not restored; and the wives and daughters of the citizens had been so delighted with the familiar condescension of their handsome young king, that they persuaded their husbands and fathers to take up his cause. The unhappy King Henry, who was residing at London, fell once more into the hands of his rival, and was sent back again to his old prison, the Tower. An evil destiny was supposed to hang over him; and at last his own followers had begun to fear his presence on the battle-field as auguring misfortune and defeat. An old poet thus alludes to the superstition prevalent upon this subject:—

" For with the worse that side went still away,
Which had King Henry with them when they fought;
Upon his birth so sad a curse there lay,
As that he never prosperéd in aught."

Queen Margaret and her son escaped the fate of the king, as they had not yet arrived in England. While expecting their arrival, Warwick was actively at work strengthening his army; and, in two days after Edward's entry into the metropolis, he also was marching towards the great city. Edward never was deficient in courage, and he led his troops from London to meet the earl. The two armies faced each other on Barnet Common; the forces were nearly equal, each side numbering about 20,000 men. The conflict promised to be a savage one; but the shades of night were rapidly descending, and the battle was deferred until the next day. In the interim, Clarence, moved by the tears of his wife, sent a message to the earl, and offered to act as mediator to reconcile him with his brother. The eyes of the stern earl flashed with contempt and passion as he replied haughtily—" Go, tell your master, that Warwick, true to his oath, is a better man than false perjured Clarence, and will settle this quarrel with the sword to which he has appealed."

The night passed; and when the morning of the 14th of April (Easter Sunday) broke, a thick mist covered the earth, so that it was scarcely possible for men to distinguish their friends from their foes. Edward's cognizance was a sun; and an old chronicler relates, that the prince saw three suns struggling to break through the thick clouds. This he took for a prosperous omen; and it gave him great confidence.

Edward's device of a sun, as a mark by which his followers might recognise each other, certainly proved very fortunate to him; for Warwick had adopted a star with rays darting from it, and the mistiness of the morning rendered it so difficult to distinguish between the two emblems, that the Earl of Oxford and his troops, who fought upon the Lancastrian side, were mistaken for the enemy, attacked by their own friends, and beaten off the field. During the battle, Edward fought with great bravery, and was several times in extreme danger. But this engagement was Warwick's last: the king-maker, after fighting desperately on foot, was slain; and his brother, Lord Montague, shared his fate. The Lancastrians then fell into confusion, and, after a six hours' conflict, were utterly defeated. Edward commanded that no quarter should be given; and a terrible

slaughter followed. The dead were buried where they fell; and a chapel was built upon the spot for the good of their souls. The chapel fell to ruins, and was removed more than two centuries and a-half ago; but a comparatively modern stone column still points out the place where the brave, powerful, and changeable Warwick perished. Our great poet, Shakspeare, has finely represented the dying earl exclaiming, as he might have done with great truth:—

"The wrinkles in my brows, now filled with blood,
Were likened oft to kingly sepulchres;
For who lived king but I could dig his grave?
And who durst smile when Warwick bent his brow?"

The very day that Warwick breathed his last, and the Lancastrians were routed at Barnet, Queen Margaret and her son, Prince Edward, landed at Plymouth with a small army, composed chiefly of French, with which she had embarked at Honfleur on the 24th of March; but had been repeatedly driven back by contrary winds. On hearing the sad news, she was seized with despair; her great spirit utterly forsook her, and she fled for sanctuary to the abbey of Beaulieu. It would have been well for this unhappy woman had she taken to her ships, and returned to France; but it seems as if she was destined to drain the cup of sorrow to the dregs, in expiation of the misdeeds of her early life. Several Lancastrian nobles and gentlemen, who had escaped from the slaughter of Barnet, presented themselves at the abbey, and induced her to hazard another struggle for the supremacy of her family. Advancing through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, she was at length opposed by Edward and his army on the banks of the river Severn, near Tewkesbury, where a battle was fought on the 4th of May. Some of her officers were rash, and others timid; contrary orders were given; the men doubted their leaders—as, after so much treachery as had been shown, they had good cause to do; and the result was confusion, slaughter, and defeat. Numbers of her troops were slain; Margaret, with the residue of her army, fled; and Prince Edward, who was now eighteen, was, according to some writers, taken prisoner by the victors.

The royal captive was carried to the tent of King Edward, who sternly inquired of the prince what brought him to England? The noble youth seems to have possessed something of the spirit of his brave grandfather, Henry V., for he replied boldly, "My father's crown and my own inheritance!" The incensed Edward struck the prince a violent blow on the face with his iron gauntlet, and then his brothers, Clarence and Gloucester, plunged their swords into the bosom of the ill-fated youth, and put an end for ever to his career. Some writers deny that Clarence and Gloucester were the murderers, and say that the royal boy was despatched by the king's attendants; whilst King Edward's servant, already alluded to, and Warkworth, a Lancastrian historian, assert that the young prince was slain on the field of battle.—The Duke of Somerset and other Lancastrian gentlemen, took refuge, after the battle, in a church at Towkesbury: Edward violated the sanctuary, had them dragged from the altar's foot, and after a trial before the king's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolk, the marshal, they were beheaded. Margaret, who took refuge in a religious house at Coventry, was soon discovered and taken to the Tower.

One other dark act yet remained, and then the tragedy of the House of Lancaster was complete. That act was soon accomplished; for, on the morning of the 22nd of May, 1471, scarcely three weeks after the battle of Tewkesbury, the poor, despised, ruined King Henry was found dead in his apartment in the Tower. This sudden death might have been a natural one; but, all the circumstances considered, it is not probable that it was so. It was generally supposed that he was murdered; and many whispered reports were circulated as to how the mysterious deed was done—the common belief being that he was stabbed by the king's younger brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. His body, surrounded by guards, was shown to the people in St. Paul's by torchlight; but this equivocal action did not diminish the general suspicion. He perished in his fiftieth year, and was buried at Chertsey Abbey. The people entertained such an opinion of his sanctity, that many declared miracles were wrought over his grave. Margaret survived her husband about eleven years, five of which she passed a captive in the Tower: she was then ransomed by Louis XI., and ultimately died in France. She was very far from being a spotless character; but her sorrows were heavier than her sins. It is impossible to read the records of her stormy life without emotions of pity and regret.

CHAPTER XL.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FOURTH.—A.D. 1472—1482.



THE House of Lancaster was destroyed—no direct member of it remained alive; all the great nobles who had adhered to the unhappy cause had perished on the scaffold or the battle-field, and the leafless Red Rose was trampled in the dust. Edward's triumph was complete; he now reigned without a rival, and, at length, his blood-bespattered diadem sat securely upon his head. His infant son was created Prince of Wales; and he had every reason to believe that he was but the first of a long line of kings. He was deceived; treachery and ambition won him the crown; but the treachery and ambition of another member of his family tore that crown from the possession of his offspring.

Three years were spent by Edward in sports and revelry; and this man, who—as, indeed, were most of the great commanders of those days—was so pitiless in war, won greatly upon the affections of his people by his condescension and apparent amiability in peace. He then aroused himself to undertake another ambitious project, which, had it been fulfilled, would have sent thousands more of his fellow-creatures to hurried and blood-stained graves. This project was the revival of the old claim of the English king to the crown of France.

To aid him in enforcing that claim, Edward entered into an alliance with the powerful Duke of Burgundy, who, besides hating the French king, Louis, was very anxious to free his dominions from the burden of homage to that monarch; and they agreed to unite their armies, and invade France together. The English king wrote to Louis, defying him as a usurper, and demanding his crown. After that, he applied to his parliament for the necessary funds for the war which he expected his aggressive conduct must naturally lead to. The parliament recollected the military successes which the English arms had achieved in France during the reigns of Henry V. and his predecessors; and its members, and the nation generally, longed to wipe away the remembrance of the disgraces they had sustained there during the time of the monk-like sovereign, who had so recently been laid in his obscure grave at Chertsey. They therefore acted with great liberality towards their gay and ambitious sovereign, granting him two shillings in the pound upon all the rents in the kingdom. Still this was not sufficient; and Edward raised another large sum by forcing loans or gifts from his wealthy subjects, under the title of benevolences—loans which were seldom repaid. No word less applicable than that of benevolence could have been found to describe sums thus illegally wrung from subjects who surrendered their money through fear alone. Such enforced loans or gifts, instead of being bestowed with any feeling of benevolence, were, in most cases, yielded with suppressed emotions of bitterness, anger, and hatred. Henry III. and Richard II. had previously practised this method of raising supplies; but Edward carried it to an extent never employed before.

Edward spent the greater part of 1473 and 1474 in his preparations for the invasion of France. Having collected an army of 16,000 men, composed chiefly of the stout archers of England, in company with his principal nobility he sailed from Sandwich on the 20th of June, 1475, and landed at Calais. The King of France was averse to war; he was a crafty politician, but no soldier. When Edward's herald entered his presence with a demand for his crown, Louis received that messenger with respectful politeness, and made him some handsome presents: he urged the herald to persuade his master to a pacific accommodation, and promised him a further present of 1,000 crowns when peace should be concluded. That officer suggested to Louis, that he should write to certain English noblemen who had the confidence of Edward, and whom he knew were averse to war.

This advice Louis followed: he sent large bribes to many of the English courtiers, who, as Edward had been disappointed by the Duke of Burgundy, had no great difficulty in persuading him to abandon the enterprise of invasion. After two months passed in negotiation, a truce was entered into. On the 22nd of August, 1475, the two sovereigns had a personal interview upon a bridge across the river Somme, at Picquiny, near Amiens; on which occasion they had so little confidence in each other's sense of honour, that a great wooden barrier was erected between them on the bridge. In the middle of this barrier was a strong iron grating, through which the two kings talked to each other. An old chronicler, who was present, has given a minute account of the meeting: he says—"The king of England advanced along the causeway very nobly attended; there being in his train his brother, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Hastings, his chamberlain, his chancellor, and other peers. He

was dressed in cloth of gold, and he wore upon his head a black velvet cap, with a large *fleur-de-lis* made of precious stones. In truth, he was a prince of a most noble, majestic presence; his person graceful and erect, but now a little inclining to fat. When he came within a short distance of the railing, he pulled off his cap, and bowed to within a foot of the ground; and Louis, who was leaning against the barrier on the other side, bowed in the like manner. They embraced through the holes in the grating; and the King of England, making another low bow, the King of France said, 'Cousin, you are right welcome; there is no person living I was so ambitious of seeing, and God be thanked that this interview is upon so good an occasion.'"

After an exchange of insincere compliments, the treaty of Picquiny was concluded. By it Louis agreed immediately to pay Edward 75,000 crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and also to give him an annual sum of 50,000 crowns for the sake of peace. To make this peace the more durable, it was also arranged that Louis's eldest son, the Prince Dauphin, should marry Edward's eldest daughter, the Princess Elizabeth; the marriage to take place as soon as the parties were old enough to enter into so serious an obligation. Both the kings solemnly swore to observe these conditions; and to make their oaths the more binding, they took them upon a crucifix, which was said to contain some of the wood of the true cross. This strange treaty was considered disgraceful both by the French and English people: the former thought Louis prudent even to cowardice; and the latter thought that Edward had sold the honour of his nation for money. When this business was concluded, Louis told Edward, in a pleasant way, that he should be right glad to see him come and divert himself with the gay ladies of Paris. Much to his annoyance, the invitation was accepted. "Certes," said he to a confidential attendant, "our brother of England is a very fine king, and a warm admirer of the ladies; he might chance to find some dame at Paris so much to his taste as to tempt him to return; his predecessors have been too often in Paris and Normandy already, and I have no great affection for his company on this side of the Channel, though ready to hold him as friend and brother on the other side of the water."

A serious difference between Edward and one of his brothers soon after arose. He had, for some time, entertained a jealousy of his brother Clarence; and he was not able to forget that the duke had once been leagued with Warwick, the king-maker, to exclude him and his children from the throne. Clarence was justly regarded as a fickle and dangerous man; few people were attached to him; and he had many secret enemies at the court, amongst whom were the queen and his crafty, talented, and ambitious brother, the Duke of Gloucester. Clarence seems to have been as unamiable as he was unprincipled and capricious; and vices of this character are sure to bring down their proper punishment upon those who possess them. The duke's punishment was as unnatural—for it came from the hand of his brother—as it was severe and disproportionate to his offence.

In the year 1476, Clarence lost his wife Isabella, the daughter of the Earl of Warwick. It was suspected that she was poisoned; and one of her female attendants was tried and executed for the supposed crime. Clarence did not greatly regret the unfortunate duchess, and very soon afterwards proposed to marry again. Probably he would have done so, but for the jealous interference of King Edward, who strongly objected to it. Clarence was enraged, spoke very bitterly upon the subject, and completely estranged himself from his brother: then the long-concealed animosity of the court displayed itself without restraint.

The ruin of Clarence being determined upon, the court began by attacking his friends. His enemies calculated, that if he endured injuries of that character with patience, he would soon be despised by the people for cowardice; and if he resented them, his temper would lead him into actions which could be twisted into bearing a treasonable appearance. There was a dependent of the duke's named Thomas Burdett, to whom he was much attached. King Edward, while hunting one day in the park belonging to this gentleman, killed a beautiful white buck, which was a great favourite with its owner. Burdett, on hearing of the loss, broke into a fit of passion, and wished the horns of the deer in the belly of the person who advised the king to commit that injury upon him. At the worst, this was but a rude speech, very natural in an irritable man, and one which would have been passed by without any notice if spoken by another person. But the unfortunate gentleman was a friend of the duke's, and these few words sealed his doom. He was tried for treasonable language; a judge and jury were found mean, slavish, and wicked enough to condemn him; and Thomas Burdett was, in consequence, beheaded at Tyburn as a traitor. This was not all: one John Stacy, a priest in the service of Clarence, and a man whose knowledge of mathematics and astronomy exposed him to the vulgar imputation of being a magician, was accused of having attempted to destroy the life of a certain nobleman by charms and sorcery. The very nature of the charge proves his innocence; but the wretched man was racked into a confession of what was impossible; and although he afterwards vehemently protested his guiltlessness, he was condemned and executed.

The Duke of Clarence was both alarmed and incensed

at these wanton atrocities.* He feared they were omens of his own approaching downfall, and he knew not how to act. Wisdom would have dictated silence and retirement until the storm of angry feeling which raged against him had blown over. Clarence had far less wisdom than impetuosity, and he presented himself before the council, and vehemently declared that his dependents had met an unjust doom. King Edward, who was present, pronounced this to be a gross interference with the execution of justice, and instantly committed his brother to the Tower.

For some time Clarence remained a prisoner. On the 16th of January, 1478, a parliament was assembled: to the bar of that parliament the captive duke was summoned, and King Edward himself became the public accuser of his own brother. The heartless sovereign charged him with treason, and also accused him of having dealt with the devil by means of conjurors and necromancers; of plotting to dethrone the king and disinherit his children; of encouraging his servants to declare that Thomas Burdett and John Stacy had been illegally executed; of circulating rumours that the king himself was guilty of sorcery and secret poisoning; and that he was illegitimate, and therefore possessed no right to the throne; of causing many of the king's subjects to be sworn to be true to him and his heirs; and with having ordered his servants to keep themselves ready to take up arms for him and his rights at an hour's notice. The duke declared his innocence of all these charges, and vehemently defended himself; but his defence was of little service when addressed to peers who had, there is little doubt, resolved on his condemnation; as they would sooner shed his blood, than run the risk of encountering a frown from their king. On the 7th of February, Clarence was found guilty of treason, and received sentence of death.

Edward was averse to the public execution of his brother, but he was resolved that he should perish. It is said that he offered him the choice of the means by which he should die; that the duke desired to be drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine, and that this singular desire was accordingly executed. So whimsical an incident has a doubtful appearance; but there is no evidence to disprove it. Our great poet Shakspeare represents the duke as being first assassinated by ruffians and then hurled into the wine-butt—an account which is probably the correct one. At any rate, soon after the condemnation of Clarence, it was reported that he had died suddenly in the Tower; and the general belief was that he had been murdered. There is a tradition, that one cause of the unjust prosecution and death of Clarence, whose name was George, was in consequence of a prophecy, then current, which declared that the king's son should be murdered by some one, the initial letter of whose name was G. It is most likely that this prophecy, as it is called, was invented long afterwards, when it was fulfilled by the murder of Edward's children by their uncle, the Duke of Gloucester.—The Duke of Clarence left two children, a boy and a girl, who both of them ultimately perished on the scaffold, after the accession of the Tudors, only because they had the misfortune to be connected with the royal family of York! Truly, much of the history of our country is written, not with ink, but with blood. In the savage and turbulent time at which we have now arrived, princes lived continually within the shadow of the scaffold.

During the latter part of Edward's reign, his tranquillity was disturbed by a war with Scotland. There had been, after the death of the Duchess of Clarence, negotiations between the two courts, in which James III., of Scotland, proposed two matrimonial alliances to strengthen the bonds of unity: one between the Princess Margaret of Scotland and the Duke of Clarence; the other between his brother, the Duke of Albany, and Edward's sister, Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy. The intrigues of France caused an interruption to the good understanding with England; and finally, Louis—who had no wish to carry out the provision of the treaty of Picquiny, by which the dauphin was to marry the Princess Elizabeth—instigated James to break the truce, and invade the border. This he did in 1481, when the Earl of Angus, with a small army, crossed the borders, burnt Bamborough, ravaged Northumberland during three days, and then returned to Scotland with a great amount of plunder and many prisoners. To retaliate upon the Scots, the Duke of Gloucester and a small army were sent into their country; and, although the English failed in an attack upon Berwick, they devastated the finest districts of the south.

Affairs were in this condition when the Scottish king's brother, the Duke of Albany, laid claim to the throne, and solicited Edward's assistance to place him upon it. If Edward would grant him the use of an English army, he, in return, offered to surrender the rich town of Berwick, together with the castle of Lochmaben, and the lands of Liddesdale, Eskdale, and Annandale; acknowledge himself the vassal of England, and give up his connection with the French king. Edward consented, and a treaty to this effect was entered into between him and the Scottish traitor, during the month of June, 1482, at Fotheringay.

In consequence of this treaty, the Duke of Gloucester led 20,000 men into Scotland, and joined the Duke of Albany. Having taken Berwick, they advanced upon Edinburgh. The reason they were able to do so without opposition was in consequence of another conspiracy against the unfortunate King of Scotland. That monarch had summoned his nobles to his assistance,

and they attended with a singular readiness. They did so, however, for no patriotic purpose, but from a selfish motive. James III. was a man with tastes unsuited for a sovereign who had to rule over so warlike and turbulent a race of people as the Scots then were. He preferred literature and the arts to war; and the society of men of letters, artists, and musicians, to that of his haughty and warlike, but chiefly illiterate, nobles. He was surrounded by the former class of men; and even skilful artisans were admitted to his presence and shared his smiles. His chief favourite was an architect, of the name of Cochrane, upon whom he bestowed the earldom of Mar. This man was intoxicated with his good fortune, and behaved with haughtiness and even insolence to the old nobility, who, in return, treated him as a vulgar upstart. His ostentation also excited their envy and hatred: he rode about attended by a body-guard of 300 persons, dressed in gorgeous uniforms, and armed with light battle-axes. His helmet of polished steel, richly inlaid with gold, was borne before him, in the same manner as the regal diadem is carried before a crowned prince. When not armed for the battle-field, his usual costume was a riding-suit of black velvet; while a massive gold chain hung around his neck, and a hunting-horn, studded with jewels, was slung across his shoulder.

The object of the Scottish nobles was to revenge themselves upon Cochrane and the other royal favourites, and then to seize the person of their king. They were encamped at Lauder; and there they held a secret meeting in the church, to decide upon the manner in which they should accomplish their sinister purposes. They determined to wreak their vengeance upon Cochrane; but he was always so numerously attended, that it would be a difficult matter to proceed against him. Lord Grey, one of those noble conspirators, related to his associates the fable of the mice, who decided that the best way to escape from the claws of the cat would be to tie a bell round the neck of the animal, the ringing of which would give notice of its approach. The mice declared the proposition to be admirable; but there was one difficulty—who was to fasten the bell round the neck of the cat? None of them were brave enough to undertake this dangerous task, and the scheme consequently fell to the ground. The Earl of Angus, stepping forward, exclaimed, "If that is all, I will bell the cat!" This speech, and the savage act which soon followed it, gained for that noble the popular surname of Archibald Bell-the-Cat. While this debate was going on, Cochrane himself entered the church: he had heard of the meeting, and, supposing it to be a council of war, came to join it. The Earl of Angus was as good as his word; he was the first to raise his hand against the favourite. Snatching from Cochrane the gold collar which he wore around his neck, he exclaimed, "This is not fit for thee to wear; a rope would suit thee better!" Other insults followed, and the savage nobles then bound the favourite, and dragged him away to the bridge of Lauder to be hanged. When Cochrane saw that his fate was certain, he, with a contemptible ostentation, almost incredible in a man in such a position, implored to be hanged with a silken cord; and told his assassins that they would find one among the hangings of his tent. This singular request was denied, and he was hanged with a rope made of horse-hair, which was considered a more than usually degrading mode of execution. His murder was followed by that of several other of the king's favourites, whose only crime appears to have been, that, being men of humble extraction, they had contrived to win the smiles of their sovereign.

King James was then carried by his nobles as a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle, the royal army disbanded, and the Duke of Gloucester and the traitor Albany were on the eve of accomplishing their purpose. However, when the design of Albany and his English compeer began to be understood by the Scottish nobles, they trembled for the independence of their country. They then collected an army in earnest, and eventually a treaty was entered into, by which it was arranged that the Duke of Albany should lay down his arms, and become a true and faithful subject to his brother, and that he and all his followers should receive the royal pardon for their past treason. The king was then restored to liberty; and the Duke of Gloucester, finding that peace reigned again among the Scots themselves, thought it prudent to retire with his army to England. King Edward was conciliated by a present of the town and castle of Berwick; and thus this quarrel between England and Scotland, which had promised a long and savage war, ended in nothing, except that the English had acquired that town. It is probable that the contest would have been renewed, but the career of Edward was now drawing to a close.

Recollecting the indirect way in which he obtained the English crown, Edward was anxious to strengthen the position of his offspring by marrying his children into the great royal families of Europe. Each one of his five daughters was contracted to a foreign prince, an heir to royalty; but such is the uncertainty of human intentions, that none of these marriages ever took place. By the treaty of Picquiny it was arranged that the Prince Dauphin, the eldest son of Louis of France, was to marry the Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of King Edward. This was the alliance upon which the latter sovereign had most set his heart, and it was now time that it should be carried into effect. Louis, however, had no intention that such an event

should ever take place: he had consented to it to win the favour of Edward and avert a war with England; but he hated the English king, and he no longer feared a war. It was more to his interest to marry his son to the daughter of Maximilian, the Duke of Austria; and although the young lady was but three years old, she was contracted to the French prince.

When this news reached the ears of King Edward he felt himself tricked and insulted, and he was seized with a fit of the most violent passion. He swore that he would punish the old traitor, and carry such a war into France as should exceed all the horrors ever felt by that country. He began to collect troops to carry this fierce intention into practice, but his preparations were interrupted by severe illness. He was but in the flower of manhood; but his constitution had been ruined by dissipation. The progress of his disorder was rapid, and, in a few weeks after his first attack, he breathed his last. He died on the 9th of April, 1483, in the forty-second year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign. Although his life had been chiefly passed amidst scenes of bloodshed and treachery, he became very devout at last, and even ordered that all persons from whom he had unjustly extorted money should be repaid out of the royal treasury. Notwithstanding his magnificence and luxury he died poor, and his desire was never fulfilled by his successor; indeed, his extortions had been so numerous that its perfect execution was impossible. He was buried in the new chapel at Windsor.

Edward was gifted with considerable talents; but he was a cold-hearted, merciless man. He never forgave an enemy, and his revenge was bitter and deadly: he was brave in war, and not without military skill; but his bravery and skill were far surpassed by his cruelty. His throne was built upon the bones of his people, and cemented with the blood of his nobles. His iron heel crushed the Lancastrian party into the dust; and many of its adherents who escaped the sword upon the field of battle, were consigned by him to the axe of the headsman. During the early part of his reign, he was treacherous, extortionate, and arbitrary; but, as opposition disappeared, and he felt himself firmly seated in the regal chair, he relaxed into a pleasure-loving, indolent, and seemingly amiable man. When pleased, his manners were affable and attractive, and his condescension and openness won the attachment of all he conversed with. He was considered the handsomest man of his age; but during the latter part of his life he got exceedingly corpulent. A curious anecdote is related about his good looks and graceful manners. On some occasions, he appealed personally to his wealthy subjects for money, under the title of benevolences. An elderly widow, to whom he had applied in this manner, was so charmed with his appearance, that she told him he should have £20 for the sake of his handsome face. Pleased with the compliment, the king kissed the old lady, upon which she doubled her donation. Besides his five daughters, Edward left two sons —Edward, Prince of Wales, his successor, then in his thirteenth year; and Richard, Duke of York, in his ninth.

During the reign of Edward IV. an event occurred which will ever be remembered with grateful joy by all reflecting minds—an event which, though scarcely noticed at the time, amid the subsiding roar of political contention and civil war, was eventually to change the face of society, and to elevate the character of our race. That event was the introduction of THE ART OF PRINTING into England.

Printing was not invented in England; and it is difficult to say exactly where it was invented, or to whose talents we owe that wonderful and creative art. As the Grecian cities contended for the honour of having given birth to Homer, so do those of Germany for that of being the birthplace of the inventor of printing; and with reason, for that glorious art is worth all the epic poems that ever were written. Indeed, it is itself a noble poetical fact, that the wise thoughts which great men write in solitude to exalt the virtue or add to the comforts of their fellow-creatures, should be multiplied by the natural magic of that winged machine, the printing-press, a thousand thousand times, and read at the same moment by the inhabitants of different continents, between whom roll almost measureless tracts of ocean.

It is said that the first idea of this surprising art, so simple in itself, but so sublime in its results, came from the East, and that the Chinese practised a rude kind of printing as early as the year 930. But it consisted merely in obtaining impressions from letters carved on wooden blocks, and bore scarcely any resemblance to the mode first practised in Europe during the fifteenth century. Printing, as now used, seems to be a German invention; though the town of Haarlem, in Holland, as well as those of Mentz and Strasburg, in Germany, lay claim to have been the birthplace of its originator. The people of Haarlem say, that, before the year 1441, one of their citizens, named Lawrence Coster, invented the art, and brought it to perfection by using cast-metal types; and that one of his servants robbed him of his materials and his secret, and having escaped to Mentz, there assumed the merit of the invention, and revealed it to John Guttenberg. This account is not certain, and some writers state it to be

a fiction. However that may be, to Guttenberg is generally ascribed the merit of being the inventor of the art of printing. In 1443, he, together with John Fust, or Faust, a rich citizen of Mentz, and Peter Schœffer, a poor scholar, first put it into practice. Guttenberg invented the mode of printing with letters or type carved out of wood. This was a troublesome and expensive process, and Schœffer had the ingenuity to devise the means of casting type in a mould. Fust, or Faust, was so delighted with this improvement, that he gave the scholar his daughter for a wife. Like most of the benefactors of the world, Guttenberg met with ingratitude. He was persecuted by the priests, who suspected him of magic, and by those who had hitherto lived by copying books, because they trembled for their trade. For some reason, with which we are unacquainted, his own partners turned against him; he was deprived of his property by litigation, and compelled to abandon his native city. After many years of exile he returned to Mentz, and died there in 1468. Posterity has done him that justice which was denied by his contemporaries. During the present century, a magnificent statue, by the sculptor Thorwaldsen, has been erected at Mentz, in honour of his memory.—The connection of Guttenberg, as well as Schœffer and Faust, with Mentz, and not with Strasburg, is well established: but the people of the latter city declare that the art was first practised there, and not at Mentz.

Thirty years after printing had been in use in Germany, it was brought into England by William Caxton. A few biographical facts respecting a man who rendered so vast a service to his country, will be interesting to the reader. Not that he was a man of gigantic powers of mind or dazzling talents; for those he certainly did not possess; but because good fortune, added to a sound judgment and remarkable industry, enabled him to render an incalculable and imperishable service to his country.

Caxton was born in the Weald of Kent, about the year 1412; and, after receiving the usual scanty education bestowed upon lads in that distracted and unlettered time, was apprenticed to an eminent mercer, named Robert Large. He won the confidence of his master, who, at his death, left him a legacy of thirty-four marks—a considerable sum at that period. His sobriety and intelligence induced the Mercers' Company to appoint him as their agent in Holland, Zealand, and Brabant; and he passed twenty-three years of his life in this responsible employment. During that time he rose to some distinction; for in the year 1464, he was joined in a commission with a person named Robert Whetehill, to arrange a treaty of commerce between King Edward and the Duke of Burgundy. Shortly afterwards, the Princess Margaret of York, Edward's sister, was married to the duke, and Caxton received some appointment in the household. While in her service he translated a French book, called the *History of Troy*, for which the duchess handsomely rewarded him, though she blamed him for his inaccurate English, and undertook to correct it for him. Caxton excused himself for not writing his native language with precision because he had been so long abroad. In the introduction to this work, he says, that at the time of finishing it, his eyes "were dimmed with over-much looking on the white paper; that his courage was not so prone and ready to labour as it had been; and that age was creeping on him daily, and enfeebling all his body. That he had practised and learnt, at his great charge and expense, to ordain this said book in print, after the manner and form as we there see it; and that it was not written with pen and ink as other books be."

Very little is known of Caxton; his biography is rather a skeleton than a living portrait; the dry bones are there, but not the form and roundness of the limbs, with the glow of life and vital fire of thought. Even the period at which he returned to his native country cannot be ascertained with any certainty; but it is supposed that he came back in 1474, and brought with him the art of printing. How he became acquainted with it is also a mystery, for it was carried on in secret, and guarded with a rigid jealousy. But we know that he did learn the secret, that he did bring it home with him, and that he set up a printing-press in the Almonry, near Westminster Abbey. During the remainder of his life he continued translating foreign works into English, and printing them with great rapidity. His death is supposed to have occurred in the year 1491 or 1492.—Peace be to the ashes, and honour to the memory, of that worthy old citizen

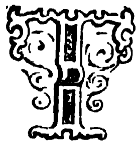






CHAPTER XLI.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE FIFTH.—A.D. 1483.



HE jealousy which many of the old nobility bore to the queen of Edward IV. and her relations had never been forgotten; and feelings of opposition were entertained on each side. On his death-bed the late king had summoned the leaders of both parties to his presence, and implored them to be reconciled, and to unite their efforts to sustain the government, and promote the prosperity of his son. The promise was readily given; but after the death of the king it was just as readily broken; and these feuds, as Edward had feared, led to the ruin of his family.

Edward V., though ranked among the kings of England, was not, strictly speaking, one of its sovereigns, because he never went through the ceremony of coronation, or possessed a vestige of the royal power. This unfortunate young prince, who was only twelve years and a-half old at the time of his father's death, retained the shadow of royalty for scarcely three months, and was then set aside by his ambitious and treacherous uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester. It may rather be said that the crown hovered over the head of young Edward than that he wore it; and happier would it have been for him had he been the son of a citizen, and not the heir of a monarch.

At the time of Edward's death the young prince was residing with his uncle, Earl Rivers, at Ludlow Castle, and the Duke of Gloucester was, with his army, still in the marches of Scotland. The duke was a wicked, designing, ambitious man, possessed of great talents, but crafty and cruel, and one who feared neither God nor man. He had all the vices of his family, with some additional ones of his own. Yet he concealed them beneath a grave, quiet deportment, and made great pretences to morality and religion. From the moment that he heard of the death of his brother, he cast his eyes upon the crown, and resolved that no obstacle which could be subdued by craft or violence should keep it from him. His design was not only difficult, but seemed to be impossible, for four lives stood between the throne and him—the two sons of the late king, and the son and daughter of the murdered Duke of Clarence. But Richard was not a man to be deterred by obstacles such as these.

At first, however, he proceeded with great caution, and with his customary duplicity. On receiving the news of his brother's death, he rode to York, accompanied by 600 knights and esquires in mourning, where he induced all the nobles and gentry to swear fealty to his nephew, Edward V. He also wrote a letter to the widowed queen, assuring her of his affection to herself, and his loyalty to her son. The motherly anxiety of Elizabeth made her, notwithstanding, take every precaution for the safety of the young king; and she wrote to her brother, Earl Rivers, to bring him up to London with an escort of 2,000 horse soldiers. This measure was vehemently opposed by those members of the council who disliked the queen: the chief among them being the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Hastings. They feared that such a force would give too much authority to their rivals, and said that it would probably lead to a renewal of the civil war. Lord Hastings threatened to leave the council, and depart to his government at Calais; other noblemen were equally violent. The Duke of Gloucester was applied to; and as he represented that an armed force might create a spirit of distrust and promote disturbances, the queen-mother was reluctantly compelled to abandon her intention. She then sent another message to her brother, desiring him to bring the young king to London with no further retinue than was necessary for the support of his dignity. So attended, Edward, with his uncle, Earl Rivers, his half-brother, Sir Richard Grey, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, left Ludlow on the 24th of April.

Gloucester rode with his followers from York to Northampton, where he waited for the arrival of his nephew, with the assumed intention of himself following him to London. Earl Rivers, however, to prevent confusion by the meeting of the two trains, sent the young king on by another road through Stoney-Stratford, a town about ten miles distant, and nearer the metropolis. Still, to prevent any misunderstanding, the earl, accompanied by Lord Grey, rode back and apologised to the Duke of Gloucester. He received them with great politeness, and insisted that both of them should sup with him. They consented to do so, and, shortly after-
wards, the party received an addition in the person
the Duke of Buckingham, who arrived at Northam
attended by 300 armed horsemen. The nobles
the evening of the 29th of April together in a
manner: Gloucester was all smiles, wit, and
for that subtle man had a singular charm the
tion whenever he pleased to exert it: li
terrible creation of fiction, he could

innocent flower, and be the serpent under it." That night he had a serpent's part to act; for long after Earl Rivers and Lord Grey, the brother and son of the queen-mother, had retired unsuspectingly to rest, he sat up with his accomplice, Buckingham, plotting their destruction.

The next morning the whole party set out to join the young king at Stoney-Stratford; Gloucester and Buckingham riding side by side with Rivers and Grey, and wearing false smiles upon their crafty faces. The instant they entered the town, and the young king was within their power, they changed their manner; and Gloucester abruptly charging Rivers and Grey with estranging the affections of his nephew, caused them, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, to be arrested and sent in custody to Pontefract Castle. Gloucester, after this unjust and treacherous act, presented himself before his nephew with every demonstration of respect and affection, and tried to satisfy him about the arrest of his uncle and half-brother. Although much grieved, the young king was helpless, and could not resist, especially as Gloucester had discharged all his other attendants; indeed, from this hour until that of his death, the unhappy prince was in reality a prisoner in the hands of his subtle uncle.

When the queen-mother received news of these strange proceedings, she fled in great alarm to the sanctuary at Westminster, taking her second son, the little Duke of York, and her five daughters, with her. She was filled with alarm for her family, and with suspicion of Gloucester and his associates. The Archbishop of York went to comfort and advise her; and he delivered a kindly letter from Lord Hastings. Elizabeth had not forgotten the recent quarrel she had with that nobleman, and she bitterly exclaimed—"A woe worth him, for he is one of them that goeth about to destroy me and my blood!" The perplexed archbishop, who knew not what to do, and who shared too much in the fears of the queen to be able to allay them, rather strangely answered, "Madam, be of good cheer; for I promise you that if they crown any other king than your son, whom they have now with them, we shall, on the morrow, crown his brother, whom you have here with you."

But though Elizabeth and her party were alarmed at the arrest of Earl Rivers and the others, the people generally were greatly pleased at it; and Gloucester was received with loud acclamations when he entered the city of London with the young king. Indeed, many of the most worthy and wealthy citizens looked up to him as the only man who was able, by his counsels, to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom. When he and the young king approached, the mayor, the sheriffs and the aldermen, arrayed in scarlet, together with 500 other citizens, dressed in violet, and all of them mounted on horseback, rode forth to meet them. They entered London on the 4th of May. Edward was conducted to the Tower, as the place where he would be the safest; and the 22nd of June was fixed for his coronation. The Tower was not, as it afterwards became, a fortress and prison only; at that time it was also used as a royal palace.

A great council was assembled; and as the king was not of age, it was necessary to appoint a regent or guardian to carry on the business of the government. Everything seemed to point to the able Duke of Gloucester as the fittest person to fulfil this office, and he was accordingly chosen protector of the kingdom. His activity in this position was remarkable; and he attended to business from early till late. For some reason the council was divided, and the greater part met at Richard's house, in Crosby Place, while the others assembled at the Tower; amongst the latter was the accomplished, but bitter-minded Lord Hastings. Richard was very desirous to win this nobleman over to assist him in his design upon the crown; and he set a lawyer, named Catesby, to sound him on the subject. Though Hastings disliked the queen, and triumphed in the arrest of Earl Rivers and Lord Grey, yet he was true to the children of the late king, with whom he had lived on terms of friendly confidence. Finding that he could not win the powerful Hastings to his purpose, Richard instantly resolved upon his ruin, which he soon accomplished in the following startling and romantic way.

On the 13th of June, the protector, as Gloucester was now called, unexpectedly entered the chamber in the Tower, where Hastings and the minority of the council were sitting, and took his seat amongst them. He was such a master of deceit that he could conceal the most murderous design under a smiling face and an appearance of gaiety. On the present occasion he was not only cheerful but merry; and, after talking mirthfully with the grave men assembled there, he turned to the venerable Bishop of Ely, and exclaimed, "My lord, you have very good strawberries in your garden in Holborn; I request you let us have a mess of them." "Very gladly, my lord," answered the bishop; "would to God I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that!" The strawberries were sent for, and the protector, excusing himself for awhile, left the chamber, still apparently in the cheerful state of mind in which he entered it.

After an hour or so he returned with a clouded and anxious face, and sat down frowning and biting his lips. Suddenly he asked what those persons deserved who had been plotting against his life? The council was astonished; but, after a momentary pause, Lord

Hastings replied, that they deserved to be put to death as traitors.

"Those traitors," answered the protector, "are that sorceress, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his mistress, with others their associates; see how they have wasted my body by their incantations and witchcraft!" As he said this, the cunning duke bared his left arm to the elbow, and showed it all shrunk and withered. This was not the result of witchcraft, as he impudently pretended, but a natural imperfection with which he had been always afflicted, as his auditors very well knew. Every one was aware that this strange accusation was merely an excuse for some quarrel, and the members of the council scarcely knew what to say.

Hastings again broke the silence, and said, doubtingly, "Certainly, my lord, if they have so heinously done, they be worthy heinous punishment."—"What!" cried the protector in a furious passion, "do you reply to me with your ifs and your ands! I tell thee that they have done so; and that I will make good upon thy body, traitor!" Then striking the table with his fist, the chamber was instantly filled with armed men. All was consternation, and the duke, raising his voice and fixing his keen glance on the astonished Hastings, continued—"I arrest thee, traitor!" "What, me, my lord?" exclaimed that nobleman, who believed himself to stand high in the estimation of Gloucester. "Yes, thee, traitor!" was the answer; and Hastings was instantly seized by the guards. "Away with him!" said Gloucester; "for, by St. Paul, I will not to dinner until I see his head off!"

The unfortunate nobleman was dragged into the Tower Green, and instantly beheaded on a log of wood which chanced to lay there. During the confusion which ensued when the guards first rushed into the chamber, one of them, as if by mistake, aimed a blow at Lord Stanley with a battle-axe, which would have killed him instantly had he not shrunk from it and fallen beneath the table. Quick as he was, however, he was slightly wounded. It was not struck in error; Stanley was suspected by the Duke of Gloucester of being no friend to him, and he therefore would willingly have had him despatched. But Stanley was a cunning man, and he contrived afterwards even to deceive the acute Gloucester, and obtain his confidence; but, for the present, he, together with the Bishop of Ely and the Archbishop of York, was arrested and confined in a dungeon in the Tower.

Ten days after Lord Hastings had been thus shamefully and illegally executed, another tragedy took place at Pontefract Castle. Lord Rivers, the queen's brother, Lord Grey, her son, Sir Thomas Vaughan and Sir Richard Hawse, favourite attendants of the young king, were taken from confinement and publicly beheaded; or, to speak more justly, murdered in the broad light of day. Gloucester had accused them of plotting to effect his death; but he knew his accusation to be so infamous and unfounded, that he did not even dare to bring them to trial. Unheard and uncondemned, these unfortunate men were sent to ignominious, blood-stained graves, because the ambitious duke knew them to be loyal to their young sovereign. This execution was conducted by a villanous partisan of Gloucester's, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a man whom a writer living near that period described as being "short and rude in speech, and as far from pity as from all fear of God."

To give a colour to his accusation of Hastings, Gloucester ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be seized, and she herself to be summoned before the council to answer a charge of sorcery and witchcraft. Jane Shore was a beautiful, intelligent, and amiable, though erring woman. She had been married, while very young, to a wealthy citizen, whom she accepted from no feeling of love, but to gratify the wishes of her parents. Unhappily for her peace and good name, she attracted the notice of the wanton King Edward. He was struck with her grace and accomplishments, and she was dazzled by the attentions of the handsome monarch; the result was, that she deserted the home of her husband to become the mistress of her king. Conduct like this admits of no apology; but still, Jane was liked and respected in spite of her sinful connection. She was loved by the king, and employed her influence to soften his fierce temper, and induced him to pardon many whom he had resolved to punish. She was ever ready to protect the oppressed and to relieve the poor; and her benevolence and generosity won for her the attachment of the people. She had one great fault and many virtues; and might be compared to a lovely garden, full of rare flowers, rich fruit, and grateful fountains, but in the midst of which stood the death-distilling poison-tree of the desert.

The unscrupulous members who formed Gloucester's council did not require much evidence on which to condemn an accused person to severe punishment, or even to death; but they could find no evidence at all against Jane Shore, and they were just enough to say so. The protector was, however, determined to punish her, and he directed the Bishop of London to make her do penance for her immoral life. Jane was therefore compelled to walk barefooted through the city, wrapped in a white sheet, and carrying a lighted taper to denote her shame.

Gloucester's object in this cruelty was to parade his own pretended morality, and drag to light the vices of his buried brother, whom it suited his dark schemes to calumniate and revile. All Jane's property had been seized by the hypocritical protector; and there is an old

story, that he caused her to be thrust out into the streets, and forbade any one, on pain of death, to relieve her wants, until at length she died in a ditch in the suburbs of the city, from hunger and sickness; hence, we are told by some writers, arose the name of that part of the east of London we now call Shoreditch. This is a traditional error. Stow, writing about 1596 or 1598, says, "Soersditch was so called more than 400 years ago, as I can prove by record." Jane Shore attained a great age; being alive in the reign of Henry VIII., when Sir Thomas More mentioned her in terms of high commendation. It is not known when or where she died.

The protector desired to get the young Duke of York, as well as his royal brother, into his power; and he represented to the council that the queen's fears were an insult to him, and it was necessary the young prince should attend the ceremony of his brother's coronation. He even proposed to take the prince from his mother by force, if she would not yield him without it; and he argued, that, by doing so, he should not be violating the sanctuary of the church, as this ecclesiastical privilege was only intended to give protection to unhappy men persecuted for their debts or crimes, and was entirely useless to the young prince, who did not lie under the burden of either.

Cardinal Bourchier, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Archbishop of York, were shocked at this reasoning, and would not permit the sanctuary to be profaned; but they undertook to persuade the queen to deliver the young prince to them. After great hesitation, on the 16th of June she entrusted her child to their charge. She never beheld him again; and, at the moment of parting, a presentiment seemed to strike her that this would be the case. Tenderly embracing him, she burst into a passionate fit of tears, and bade him farewell for ever. The prelates were affected by the scene, but they did not share her fears; for they were good men, and quite ignorant of the murderous designs of Richard.

The Duke of York was lodged in the Tower with his brother, and then their crafty uncle played another scene in the dark tragedy he had in hand. He spread reports among the people that his nephews were illegitimate, and could not therefore legally succeed to the crown: he said that, before his late brother's marriage with Elizabeth Grey, the queen-mother, he had been privately married to another lady, Eleanor Talbot, a daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury; in consequence, the second marriage was void, and the children not honourably born in wedlock.

This reported marriage of the late king with the Lady Eleanor Talbot was never proved, and was probably an idle invention, arising from some familiarity between them. But Gloucester went so far as to engage a popular preacher, named Dr. Shaw, to declare in a sermon, which he delivered at St. Paul's Cross on the 22nd of June, that this was the case, and that, as the children of the Duke of Clarence were excluded from the throne on account of their father's treason, the Duke of Gloucester was the only true heir of royalty remaining. The political preacher took for his text the following verse from the wisdom of Solomon:—"The multiplying brood of the ungodly shall not thrive, nor take deep rooting from bastard slips." Dr. Shaw, who was a bold, dishonest man, not only declared that the royal princes were illegitimate, but that their father, the late king, himself was so. The mother of that monarch was yet living, and known to be a princess of irreproachable character; but no calumny was too monstrous for this venal preacher. Having heaped all the odium he could upon the members of the royal family, the Duke of Gloucester excepted, he exclaimed, "Behold this excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, the genuine descendant of the House of York; bearing no less in the virtues of his mind, than in the features of his countenance, the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favourite; he alone is entitled to your allegiance: he must deliver you from the dominion of all intruders; he alone can restore the lost glory and honour of the nation."

It had been previously arranged between the duke and the preacher, that as the latter spoke these words, Gloucester should appear among the crowd, who it was expected would raise a shout of "Long live King Richard!" But the duke did not arrive in time; the preacher had to repeat that part of his discourse, and then the words fell tamely upon the ears of the people. Instead of the expected shout of enthusiasm, there was a perplexed silence; the citizens were amazed, and some were disgusted; and the baffled duke, pretending to be angry at what Dr. Shaw had said, rode away.

Richard, though bitterly disappointed, was not discouraged, and he employed another agent to effect his purpose. He wanted a recognition by the people of his pretended claim to the crown; and if this were given by ever so small a minority of them, he was prepared to construe it as a willing act of the whole nation. His fellow-conspirator, the Duke of Buckingham, who possessed some talent as an orator, on the 24th of June addressed the citizens at Guildhall upon Gloucester's title to the throne. He described the duke as a wise, religious prince, declared the children of the late King Edward to be illegitimate, and asked the assembled multitude, if they would not have Richard for their sovereign? Again was it expected that they would cry "God save King Richard!" but again this expectation was disappointed, and the citizens gazed at each other

in silent wonder. Many of them were inclined to favour Gloucester; but they were not prepared to desert their young king, and they wanted time to consider the matter.

Buckingham turned to the Lord Mayor, and asked him the reason of the silence. The mayor, who was a brother of Dr. Shaw, the preacher, and a favourer of Richard's pretensions, answered Buckingham, that perhaps the citizens did not understand him. Then the duke repeated his discourse in different language, urged the same arguments as before, and concluded by again asking the question as to whether they would have Richard for their king? Still the citizens remained silent, or conversed together in low whispers; and the mayor told the duke that they were not used to be addressed by any one but the recorder, and did not understand how to answer a person of his high rank. The recorder was, therefore, called upon to repeat the particulars of the duke's speech; but that officer took care to express nothing of himself, and said that he merely recapitulated the observations of the Duke of Buckingham. The citizens, as before, preserved silence, and the duke then said, "This is wonderful obstinacy. Express your meaning, my friends, one way or other. When we apply to you on this occasion, it is merely from the regard which we bear to you. The Lords and Commons have sufficient authority, without your consent, to appoint a king; but I require you here to declare, in plain terms, whether or not you will have the Duke of Gloucester for your sovereign?"

After all this extreme urging, a few poor people threw up their caps and cried out, "Long live King Richard!" Buckingham, who saw that nothing more could be done, thanked them and retired.

Two days after, the Duke of Buckingham, and some other nobles who were favourable to Richard's pretensions, together with the Lord Mayor and a deputation of the citizens, waited upon him at Baynard's Castle, and entreated him to accept the crown. The wily conspirator pretended to be alarmed, and at first refused to see them. Buckingham understood this very well, and would not be satisfied with the refusal. He and the deputation were then admitted, and an address was presented to Richard, to induce him to comply with their wishes. The hypocritical Gloucester declared that he was a man of no ambition; that he was strongly attached to his nephews, and determined to preserve the crown for them. This opposition had been arranged between him and Buckingham beforehand, as it was thought it would give a better appearance if the protector did not yield too suddenly. The former then, addressing Richard, said, "The free people of England will never be ruled by a base-born prince; and if you, the lawful heir, refuse the crown, they know where to find another who will gladly accept it." Gloucester pretended to be convinced: under such circumstances, he said it was his duty to submit to the will of the people, and to accept the crown; and as they would have him to be their sovereign, he would take upon himself the duties of that elevated office.

This strange scene occurred on the 26th of June, 1483, and the brief reign, as it is called, of Edward V. was over.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE REIGN OF RICHARD THE THIRD.—A.D. 1483—1485.



N the 6th of July, the crafty Duke of Gloucester was crowned at Westminster as King Richard III. No one opposed the ceremony—a great body of prelates and nobles attended—the people cheered their new king, and the princes in the Tower seemed to be forgotten. If their just claim were mentioned, it was in whispers and retired places, not in the open streets or in the presence of strangers. Richard's queen, Anne, was crowned with him. This lady was the second daughter of the great Earl of Warwick, and the widow of Queen Margaret's son, Prince Edward of Lancaster, of whose death, as we have shown, different accounts are given. It would have been most strange and unnatural if Anne had accepted for her second husband a man whose hands were reputed to have been stained with the blood of her first; and this marriage renders it more probable, therefore, that the statement that the unfortunate prince was killed on the field of battle, was the true one.

After the coronation, Richard showered rewards and honours upon his partisans. To the Duke of Buckingham he gave the princely estate belonging to the earldom of Hereford, made him constable of the kingdom, and governor of all the royal castles in Wales. Lord Howard was created Duke of Norfolk; and his son, Sir

Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey; Lord Lovel was advanced to the dignity of viscount; and even Lord Stanley, who had so lately been confined in the Tower, was not only set at liberty, but received into favour, and made steward of the royal household. Richard then charged his nobles to preserve peace and justice in their several counties, and to punish crime and disorder. Though he had obtained the regal power unjustly enough, it seemed as if he intended to use it with wisdom and moderation. Soon after his coronation he began a royal progress through the country, everywhere graciously receiving petitions and remedying abuses. The people were pleased with this attention on the part of their king, and cheered him as a friend and benefactor; indeed, so much enthusiasm was excited at York, that, to gratify the inhabitants of that city, Richard had his coronation performed over again. Apart from the cruelties to which ambition led him, Richard was not a bad ruler; but usurpers have generally tried, by a just and moderate government, to obtain popularity among their people. Nor was he in all things a bad man. He was grateful and true to those who served him; and, having punished those who sought to drive him from his high position, he did not evince any feelings of revenge towards their representatives: in several instances, on the contrary, his conduct to those persons was characterised by great generosity. Had he been a private man, there is reason to believe that Richard would have been just and generous; and, as a sovereign, his acute intellect and resolute will enabled him to rule wisely; but he hesitated at no crime, however heinous, if necessary to maintain his regality.

Though crowned king, and though apparently in high favour with the people, he was uneasy about the rights of the princes he had deposed. They were helpless and passive enough then; but it would probably be otherwise as they approached towards manhood. Besides, the queen-mother had numerous friends; and many parties were organised to restore her sons to liberty, and place Prince Edward on the throne. Richard soon obtained information of the secret plottings, and he resolved to frustrate them by putting the unhappy boys to death. For this purpose he sent a message to Sir Robert Brackenbury, the governor of the Tower, commanding him, in some manner, to execute the shocking design. Brackenbury was a man of too much humanity and honour, and he refused obedience to the murderous mandate. The usurper soon found some more complying person; and Sir James Tyrrel, his Master of the Horse, undertook to deprive Edward and his brother of life. Richard sent Tyrrel to the Tower with a commission, by which Brackenbury was to deliver to him the keys and command of that fortress for the space of four-and-twenty hours. The governor understood the meaning of this dark order; but he had no power to refuse obedience, or to interfere in what he guessed would follow.

Much mystery hangs over this gloomy transaction; but it is supposed that one night, in the August following Richard's coronation, Tyrrel arrived at the Tower, bringing with him two strong ruffians, named Miles Forrest and John Dighton. Tyrrel stood at the door while the two latter stealthily entered the chamber where the two princes slept, and smothered them with the pillow and bed-clothes. No noise accompanied this midnight atrocity—the hapless sufferers were unable to call for assistance; a few brief struggles, and the subtle spirit of life was extinguished. The ruffians then beckoned in their employer. Tyrrel entered the chamber, and gazed for a few moments upon the lifeless bodies of those who, but a few months before, had been the cherished and happy children of a king. He then commanded his villanous attendants to carry the dead princes to the bottom of a flight of steps, and bury them deep in the ground, under a heap of stones. Richard rewarded the murderers, and Tyrrel became a great favourite with him; but there is a more powerful and awful judge of the deeds of men than the kings whose sceptres are so often dipped in the blood of the innocent; and in the next reign Tyrrel perished upon the scaffold. Retribution commonly waits upon crime, as does the shadow upon the dial.

The Duke of Buckingham, lately so warm in the service of Richard, had turned against him, and joined a secret conspiracy for restoring the young king, Edward V., to the throne. The reasons for this conduct are not very clear; but Buckingham seems to have been dissatisfied with the rewards Richard had bestowed upon him. The king had been liberal: it is difficult for princes, however, to satisfy those powerful subjects who have helped to place them on their thrones. Still Buckingham's sudden change is unaccountable, unless we suppose him to have been a man of a capricious temper. Whatever were his motives, he joined a conspiracy against Richard; and called upon all Englishmen to aid him in restoring the rightful prince to the throne.

It is very likely that Richard would have kept the murder of the princes a secret; but when he heard of these attempts to restore Edward, he proclaimed that the unhappy lad and his brother were dead, and left people to think what they pleased. He knew that men's opinions could not raise the dead; and he trusted that the dark rumours which were circulated respecting the young princes would soon be forgotten. He was mistaken; the conspirators were, indeed, baffled for a time; but the disgust of the nation was excited, and a

feeling of extreme dislike arose against him in the minds of the people. Defeated in the object of restoring the murdered Edward, the conspirators cast their eyes upon a person distantly connected with the royal family, and offered him the crown if he could succeed in expelling Richard.

This person was Henry, Earl of Richmond, then living as an exile in the court of Brittany. He was regarded as a sort of representative of the ruined House of Lancaster, being a grandson of Sir Owen Tudor and the Princess Catherine, the widow of Henry V.; and his mother was a great-grand-daughter of John of Gaunt. His descent from Catherine would give him no title to the crown; nor, strictly speaking, could he make any such claim, in consequence of his far-off relationship to John of Gaunt; for he was descended from an illegitimate branch of that nobleman's family. But a strong feeling existed against Richard; and the nobles who were opposed to him had resolved, under any circumstances, to have another king, either with a just title or without one. They therefore proposed to Henry that he should marry the Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of King Edward IV. (who, after the death of her brothers in the Tower, was the next heir to the crown), and thus unite the two Houses of York and Lancaster. He consented to this arrangement; and it was agreed that he should land with an army in England, when he was to be joined by the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Dorset, Lord Stanley, and other nobles and gentry, with their forces. Elizabeth, the widow of Edward IV., who still resided in the sanctuary at Westminster, greatly approved of the scheme, and sent a sum of money to the Earl of Richmond to forward his purpose.

These movements took place in September and October, 1483; and the conspiracy was carried on with so much secrecy, that the acute Richard only discovered it a few days before it was arranged that a general insurrection should take place. With that vigour and decision which he always showed, he summoned a royal army to meet him at Leicester; and on the 22nd of October, issued a proclamation, denouncing Buckingham, Dorset, and the rest as traitors, and setting a price upon their heads. Buckingham had collected an army in Wales, but he was unable to cross the river Severn on account of its being flooded by long-continued rains; for the inhabitants of the neighbouring English counties, who disliked the Welsh soldiers he brought with him, broke down all the bridges. The result was, that, in a little time, the army of the duke was in want of food, and the Welshmen, of whom it was composed, deserted, and fled to their native mountains. Buckingham put on a disguise, and hid himself, intending to remain concealed until the arrival of the Earl of Richmond. Having taken refuge in the house of an old servant, of the name of Banister, he was detected, and sent a prisoner to King Richard at Salisbury. Richard ordered him to be instantly beheaded: the duke implored for an interview, but Richard would not grant it; and the sentence was executed at Salisbury on the 2nd of November.

Richard then marched into Devonshire against the Marquis of Dorset and his associates; who did not wait for his approach, but fled for safety, and joined the Earl of Richmond in Brittany. Some few fell into the hands of the king, who sent several of them to the scaffold; but his conduct was not marked by great severity. One remarkable exception, however, must be mentioned: a gentleman of the name of William Collingbourne was executed under a sentence of being concerned in this rebellion—but, in reality, for having written the following sarcastic lines upon the king and some of his new councillors. The cat refers to Catesby, a man who had considerable influence with the king; the rat is Sir Richard Ratcliffe, who conducted the executions of Lords Rivers and Grey at Pontefract. The crook-backed boar designates Richard himself, as that prince was slightly deformed, and he bore the device of a boar upon his arms.

> "The cat, the rat, and Lovel, our dog,
> Do rule all England under a hog.
> The crook-back'd boar the way hath found
> To root our roses from our ground.
> Both flower and bud will he confound,
> Till king of beasts the swine be crown'd:
> And then the dog, the cat, and rat,
> Shall in his trough feed and be fat."

It is strange that Richard, who feared neither the power of God or man, should have been stung by such feeble lines as these; but the power of the pen has frequently made tyrants tremble, when they have laughed contemptuously at the glittering swords of hostile armies.

Richard, having crushed the conspiracy, assembled a parliament in the next month, November. It was evident that his energy in meeting his enemies had revived his reputation in the minds of its members. The parliament passed a bill of attainder against all who had been concerned in the late rebellion; declared Richard the lawful sovereign by birth, inheritance, free election, consecration, and coronation; and entailed the crown upon his children. An act was passed, by which benevolences, and all such exactions, were abolished for ever; and several others, having for their object the repression of the privileges of the nobles, and the raising the masses of the people to a position of greater independence.

Knowing that the pretender, Richmond, aimed at marrying the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and the real heir to the crown, Richard resolved to defeat that scheme by proposing an alliance between that young lady and his own son, the Prince of Wales, who was but eleven years old. It seemed scarcely possible that the widowed queen should consent to ally her daughter with the son of the murderer of her children, and the despoiler of her own dignity and grandeur; especially as she was engaged in a conspiracy against him. But she was a vain, ambitious woman, and Richard was a crafty, able man, who was exceedingly expert in removing all obstacles to his wishes. He wrote an affectionate letter to the queen-dowager, and invited her and her daughters to come to court. After a little hesitation, and the exaction of an oath that they should be in no danger, they came; and the eldest daughter, Elizabeth, would have been married to his son, had not the project been interrupted by the sudden death of that young prince.

Richard was, for a time, overpowered by the loss of his son; displaying more sorrow than seemed possible in a man supposed to be so devoid of all tender and natural feelings. When he recovered, his active mind was again at work, considering how he could defeat the plans of the Earl of Richmond. He had no other son, so he resolved to marry the young lady himself. Neither Elizabeth nor her daughter made the least objection, although his queen, Anne, was yet alive. She was ill: her death was expected, and eagerly looked forward to, by those heartless women, who seem to have been worthy members of the ambitious and grasping family of York. The queen died in the March of 1485, and it was suspected that she was poisoned by the order of her husband. No direct proofs exist of this horrible suspicion, which is not at all unlikely to have been a calumny spread by his enemies, who were every day growing more numerous.

Richard then turned his attention to marrying his niece, Elizabeth. The queen-dowager wrote to her son, the Marquis of Dorset, desiring him and his friends to withdraw from the Earl of Richmond, as she had a better match in hand for her daughter. But an obstacle arose which prevented Richard from contracting this marriage. When he mentioned it to his confidential advisers, Ratcliffe and Catesby, they strongly advised him against it. They said it would confirm the general rumour that he had poisoned his queen, Anne. Besides which, it was regarded by the English people as an improper and unnatural thing for an uncle to marry his niece. This was soon proved to be true; for when the marriage came to be talked about, the general excitement and condemnation it elicited were sufficient to alarm even the usually fearless Richard. He was never at a loss what to do: he summoned the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and citizens in the great hall of the Temple, and earnestly declared to them that he had never thought of the reported marriage, and that such a thing was very far from his intentions. Not satisfied with this gross falsehood, he desired them to seize and punish all persons whom they found propagating what he called such malicious reports.

The Earl of Richmond had passed many years in the court of Duke Francis of Brittany, in a kind of easy and honourable confinement. This duke had a talented minister, named Landois, who had been very friendly to Richmond; but the English king offered him a large sum of money to seize the earl, and send him a prisoner to England. Once in the power of King Richard, the earl's life would have been a very brief one; but by some means he discovered the intention of Landois, and fled to the court of France, where he was kindly received by the French king, who regarded Richard as a cruel usurper, and would have nothing to do with him. Charles VIII., who had just succeeded his father Louis on the throne of France, gave Richmond some ships, and 3,000 Norman soldiers. The earl resolved to land with that force upon the English shores, and trust to a rising of the people in his favour.

Richard was soon informed of this intention, and he made rapid preparations to defeat it. He issued a cleverly-written proclamation, in which he alluded to the obscure birth of his rival, on whom he would bestow no other name than that of "one Henry Tudor." He declared that this Henry Tudor had promised all the dignities and profitable places of the church and state to foreigners and traitors. That he intended to rob the nobles of their inheritance, and the people of their liberties. That the soldiers he brought with him were a band of thieves and murderers, the refuse of prisons—ruffians who would pay no respect to the property of men, or to the delicacy and honour of women. Finally, Richard called upon all his subjects to arm for the cause of their country, and promised that he himself would encounter every peril in their defence.

The king had lost what hold he might have had on the affections of the people; and they did not wish to fight for one who was regarded as the murderer of his nephews, and the poisoner of his queen. The crimes that had raised him to the throne were soon to assist in hurling him from it, for they kept back many thousands who would otherwise have flocked to his standard. Besides this, Richard was poor; and armies are not to be raised without money. Unable to obtain it in any other way—as the parliament had passed a law abolishing all benevolences—"he borrowed many notable sums of money," says the chronicler Fabyan, a contemporary, "of rich men of this realm; for surety whereof he

delivered to them good and sufficient pledges." By these means he obtained a considerable sum of money, and collected an army of 12,000 men. With these he resolved to station himself in the centre of his kingdom, and leave the coasts to be defended by the great nobles near them. Very few of these nobles were faithful to him; and Richmond, who sailed from Harfleur on the 1st of August, 1485, was permitted to land his forces at Milford Haven on the 7th, without opposition. These forces seemed quite incompetent for the purpose of vanquishing the sovereign of such a country as England; for they did not consist of more than 5,000 men, of whom only 2,000 were English; but Henry Tudor expected to find more friends than enemies on the ground on which he landed.

Richmond marched his small force through Wales, crossed the river Severn, and, on entering the English counties, was joined by several knights and gentlemen. By the 21st of August he had arrived at Tamworth; for Sir Rice ap Thomas and Sir Walter Herbert, who were entrusted with Richard's authority in Wales, were both false to their cause. The former deserted to Henry, and the latter offered scarcely any opposition to his advance. Richard immediately marched from Leicester to the neighbouring market-town of Bosworth, and the two armies met in a fine open plain to the south of it.

Very few of Richard's nobles had joined his army: the Earl of Northumberland, the Duke of Norfolk, his son the Earl of Surrey, and Lord Lovel, were the principal of those who were with him. Lord Stanley was absent: at first he sent word that he was ill, and then that he was coming; and, at last, he marched with his forces before the army of Richmond, as if he were retreating from it—taking good care not to come up with Richard. He intended to desert to Henry; but had Richard been victorious, he would have joined him, and invented some apology for his delay. Besides this lack of support from the nobles, Richard's army was thinned by continual desertions; every hour some of his adherents stole secretly into the camp of his rival.

Richard saw that delay was indeed dangerous to him, and that it would be best at once to risk a battle. On the morning of the 22nd of August, therefore, he gave the word, and the conflict began. The Duke of Norfolk and his troops charged the enemy with great skill and bravery; but the rest of the king's followers fought without spirit. During the battle Richard beheld Henry surrounded by his officers, and he instantly resolved to end the struggle by the death of the earl. With a cry of "Treason!" he rode violently towards him, killed his standard-bearer with one blow, cut down another gentleman with a second, and, having thus made his way towards Richmond, he aimed a thrust at him which, had it taken effect, would have ended the rebellion and the life of its leader at once. But it was not to be: Sir William Stanley (for the Stanleys had appeared upon the field and joined Henry) parried the blow, and in another moment Richard was surrounded and slain. The death of the king terminated the battle, during which about 3,000 or 4,000 men were killed: amongst them were the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrers, Sir Robert Brackenbury, and the villanous Sir Richard Ratcliffe. Sir William Catesby, the other principal agent of Richard's crimes, was taken prisoner, and soon afterwards beheaded at Leicester. Lord Stanley took the blood-stained crown from the brow of the corpse of the king, and placed it on the head of the Earl of Richmond, upon which the army raised a great shout of "Long live King Henry VII.!"

The body of Richard, mangled with many wounds, and smeared with blood and dirt, was stripped naked, thrown across a horse, and taken in an insulting manner to Leicester. After being publicly exposed for several days, that all men might know the regal murderer was dead, it was buried in the church of Grey Friars of that town.

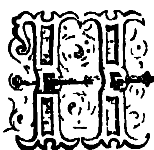
Thus, after a reign of two years and two months only, ended the ambitious career of this gifted but merciless being. A crown was the glittering phantasm that led him to destruction; able as he was, his mind was not strong enough to resist the temptation of the gaudy bauble. His exact age was not known, but it is supposed that he perished in his thirty-third year. He left no children, and with him ended the long line of kings of the House of Plantagenet. With him also ended the bitter feuds which had so long existed between the rival branches of that house, the Lancastrians and Yorkists. As Henry was regarded as the representative of the family of Lancaster, so the Princess Elizabeth was looked upon as the heiress of the family of York; and with their marriage the Red Rose and White were blended inseparably together.

Bad as Richard was, he has been represented in darker colours than are warranted by truth. He was, no doubt, to some extent hypocritical and crafty; and, when his interests required it, merciless and vindictive. Ambition appears to have led him into the commission of crimes and cruelties foreign to his nature; and, after he had obtained the crown, he governed with wisdom, moderation, and a regard for the liberties of his people. Although the darkest spot on Richard's character, the murder of his nephews, is without a parallel in the lives of his brothers, Edward and Clarence, he does not appear to have really been a worse man than either of them. He has, however, been described as the most wicked member of the House of York; and upon his

memory writers have poured all their bitterness. Even Richard's personal appearance has been misrepresented; he has been described as being hump-backed, and possessing features of a harsh, disagreeable cast. This is now known to be untrue; he was rather short in stature, and slightly deformed; but his face was strikingly handsome, his carriage graceful, and his manner, when he pleased, singularly attractive and fascinating. Still, for his many crimes he will always remain classed among the tyrants who have at times disgraced the English throne, and a load of infamy rests upon his memory which will never be removed.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SEVENTH.—A.D. 1485—1487.



ENRY VII. was the first sovereign of the House of Tudor—a race of princes who were more powerful and despotic than any that had preceded them in this country. The causes of the great authority that they enjoyed, were chiefly that the power of the ancient nobility of England had been destroyed by the long civil war, carried on between the factions of the Red and White Roses, and that the power of the people was not yet aroused. The authority that the nobles had lost, the monarch had gained, while the voice of the people was not heard or regarded.

After the battle of Bosworth, Henry proceeded by slow journeys to London, carefully preventing his troops from exhibiting any appearance of triumph, or acting like victors, for fear of exciting the jealousy of the people. The nation had received him as its sovereign from choice, not submitted to him as a conqueror. During his progress to London the people cheered him heartily; and when he arrived there, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens received him with enthusiasm. They had some reason to do so; for sixty years the nation had been distracted by wars and convulsions; and it was naturally hoped, that now the claims of the rival factions were united in the person of a talented prince, of the manly age of thirty, it might look for peace, and its attendant, prosperity.

After Henry had offered up thanks at St. Paul's for his victory, and suspended his three banners in the cathedral, he retired to the palace at Westminster. Those three banners bore decorations which referred to his Welsh descent from Sir Owen Tudor. The first had a representation of St. George; the second a red dragon; and the third a dun cow. Indeed, Henry laid claim to being descended, through Sir Owen Tudor, from the famous ancient British hero, King Arthur, whose very existence is suspected of being only a fable. But whether Arthur really reigned, or whether he is a mere myth, he was a great hero in the popular belief; and a supposed descent from him conveyed incalculable honour in the estimation of the people.

Henry's coronation was put off for a few weeks, on account of a strange kind of plague which then was very fatal in London. It was called the sweating sickness, and great numbers perished from it. People were suddenly attacked, and in less than twenty-four hours they either died or recovered. It is rather remarkable that two successive Lord Mayors of London and six aldermen died of it within a period of eight days. But as this strange disease came in mystery, so it departed in mystery; for in about six weeks from the commencement of its outbreak it had disappeared. Then, on the 30th of October, 1485, Henry was crowned with great state and solemnity at Westminster Abbey. Previously to the ceremony he created twelve knight-bannerets, and conferred the dignity of the peerage upon three of his adherents. His uncle, Jasper, was made Duke of Bedford; Lord Stanley was made Earl of Derby; and Sir Gilbert Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. Henry exhibited his cautious disposition very early; for at his coronation he appeared surrounded by a body-guard of fifty stout archers. The English people were unused to such a precaution, and it caused some uneasiness among them. They would have been better pleased, also, if he had at once married the Princess Elizabeth, and caused her to be crowned along with him. His natural cunning withheld him from that; he entertained a jealousy of the claim to the throne, held even by the lady who was to become his queen; he was very anxious for the people to believe that the right to the crown rested only in him; and he feared that if he married the princess before his coronation, it would imply a sort of sovereignty in her.

On the 7th of November, Henry met his parliament to settle the affairs of the country; and told the peers and commons that he had become their king "by just title of inheritance, and by the sure judgment of God, who had given him the victory over Richard in the

field." The parliament settled the crown on Henry, neither recognising his right by birth or conquest, but simply declaring, "that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king."—Soon after the legislature assembled, a curious question arose. Many members of the new House of Commons had been attainted and outlawed by the late king; and Henry himself, who called the parliament, had also been attainted and declared a traitor. Could he, therefore, call a parliament—or could such attainted persons sit as members of it? This important question was referred to the judges; and they decided, that the members of the House of Commons who were attainted must not take their seats until an act should be passed to reverse their attainder. Concerning Henry himself, they said, that "the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood; and that, from the time the king assumed royal authority, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruptions of blood discharged."

One of Henry's first acts was calculated to produce an unfavourable impression. He was exceedingly fond of money, and he eventually became a sort of royal miser, who used his great power chiefly for extorting wealth from the people. To gratify this love of money, when it became necessary, after parliament assembled, to fix the date of the commencement of his reign, he did so, not from his coronation, or from the day on which Richard was slain at Bosworth, but from the day *before* the battle; though at that time Richard was King of England, and he nothing but the Earl of Richmond. His object in this disreputable artifice was, that he might accuse all the wealthy nobles and gentry who fought against him of being traitors, and then confiscate their estates. This was shamefully unjust; for, before the battle of Bosworth, they were as much justified in fighting for Richard, who was then their king, as they would afterwards have been in taking up arms for Henry; because the duty of the subject is always due to the sovereign who then wears the crown. Henry, notwithstanding, required the parliament to pass a bill of attainder against the late king, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, Lord Lovel, Lord Ferrers, and five-and-twenty other nobles and gentlemen. The parliament hesitated; but afterwards, with a disgraceful cowardice and want of self-respect, passed this infamous act. Henry then seized all the estates of the attainted nobles, who, by this arbitrary action, were reduced to beggary. He certainly did not proceed further, and deliver those unhappy gentlemen into the hands of the executioner; for it was money, not vengeance, that he wanted; and he had been perfectly successful. The people were alarmed and disgusted by this arbitrary exercise of power; and, to divert their attention, Henry issued a general pardon for all such followers of the late King Richard as would submit to his mercy, and take the oath of allegiance. Notwithstanding this amnesty, the Earl of Surrey, who came forward and submitted himself, was sent to the Tower.

Before the parliament separated it voted to the king a supply of money, consisting of a grant of tonnage and poundage, to be held during his life. At the same time the members desired him to perform his promise of marrying the Princess Elizabeth; and he assured them that he would comply with their request. Accordingly, on the 18th of January in the following year (1486), the marriage was solemnised, to the great joy of the nation. The king was displeased with this manifestation of pleasure on the part of the people, and it gave him a jealous dislike of his queen. He kept her as much as possible in seclusion; and it was a long time before he would consent to her coronation. Her mother, the widow of Edward IV., was also treated with reserve and indifference; for Henry was not the man to forget that she had consented to marry her daughter to his late rival, King Richard. After his marriage, Henry applied to the pope to confirm his title to the crown; and the pontiff, who was delighted with the chance of interfering in the worldly affairs of princes, readily consented to do so, and threatened to excommunicate any one who should presume to call it in question.

The new sovereign then made a royal progress through the kingdom, that he might show himself to the people, and gain their affection. He knew that the memory of Richard was yet respected in the north, and he remained nearly a month at York, and conferred many favours upon the inhabitants of that city. Among other things, he made an immense reduction in the town-rent to the crown, upon which the people cheered very heartily, and prayed God to bless his handsome face. They would have been still better pleased had he brought his queen with him; but the jealous monarch kept her at home, for he did not wish any one to share with him the homage of the nation.

While he was at York he received intelligence of an insurrection. The ruined Lord Lovel, with Sir Humphrey and Sir Thomas Stafford, had left the sanctuary in which they had taken refuge, and, having collected an army of near 4,000 men, were approaching with the insane intention of attacking the king. Henry was not deficient in courage and activity; and he speedily collected a small body of troops, which was sent forward under the command of the Duke of Bedford. The conduct of the rebels was as spiritless as it had been rash; for Lovel, thinking that his enterprise was hopeless, disbanded his men, and then contrived to escape into Flanders. The Staffords fled to a church for sanctuary, but they were dragged from it, and condemned to death as traitors. The elder was executed,

but the younger pardoned. On the 20th of September, 1486, Henry's queen presented him with a son, who was christened Arthur, and the court flatterers declared that they were quite sure he would become very much more famous than the King Arthur of our traditional history. They were mistaken; for, although the young prince became famous in his father's court for his learning and numerous acquirements, he sickened and died before he was sixteen years old.

It will create no surprise to learn that Henry was not loved by his subjects; and he always showed so much dislike for the partisans of the York family, that most of them began to fear, if not to hate him. He particularly excited their angry feelings by two of his actions. The first was the imprisonment of the young Earl of Warwick (the son of the Duke of Clarence) in the Tower; and the second was the resumption of all grants of land made by the sovereigns of that family. Warwick had a far better claim to the crown than Henry had; and it was feared that within the gloomy walls of the Tower he might meet the same fate that had befallen his two cousins, the hapless sons of Edward IV. The fear was so common, that many people made comparisons between the conduct of Henry and that of Richard, and raised him many enemies. The taking back the lands given by former sovereigns to their friends, also created a number of beggared and desperate men, ready for rebellion or any wild exploit. Henry certainly excused himself by saying that the royal revenue had become too small for sustaining the dignity of the crown; but this was no comfort to the sufferers; neither did it prevent them from believing that he had taken away their property out of a spiteful feeling against the York party.

The dislike towards the king gave rise to a very curious circumstance. In the spring of 1487, Richard Simon, an intriguing priest, went to Dublin with a remarkably handsome boy, about the age of fifteen, whom he declared to be the young Earl of Warwick, who, he said, had escaped from the Tower, and was resolved to put forward his right to the throne. The true Earl of Warwick was still a prisoner, and the boy and his instructor, the priest, were impostors. The real name of the lad was Lambert Simnel, and he was the son of a baker. The Irish people were disaffected to Henry; they received the pretended prince with enthusiasm; and the lord-lieutenant of that country declared that the crown and sceptre of the realm belonged of right to him, as the sole heir male left of the line of Richard, Duke of York. There were many things in the young pretender to excite a feeling of sympathy and affection. Besides being attractive and graceful in appearance, he was ready and witty in speech, related his own story with much pathos, and was able to tell many anecdotes and give minute particulars of the royal family of York. Fired with enthusiasm, the people of Dublin declared that he was their true sovereign; and they crowned him in the cathedral church of that city as King Edward VI. The Bishop of Meath performed the ceremony; and, as no crown was to be readily had, a diadem was taken from the head of the statue of the Virgin Mary, and placed upon the brow of the supposed prince.

Henry was astonished and greatly vexed when the news of this new claim to the throne reached him; but he proceeded with his usual cautious prudence. He held frequent consultations on the subject with his ministers; and the result of these interviews was the arrest of his mother-in-law, the queen-dowager Elizabeth, and her committal as a prisoner to the monastery of Bermondsey. The reason assigned for her arrest was not the true one. It was said, that in spite of her secret agreement to marry her daughter Elizabeth to Henry, she had yielded to the solicitations of Richard, and placed that princess and her sisters in his hands. This was true; but it was an old and half-forgotten offence, which might admit of many excuses. The queen-dowager was a restless and bitter-minded woman; and finding that Henry had not rewarded her services in helping him to the crown, but treated her with coldness and indifference, she had conceived a strong dislike towards him. The assumed Earl of Warwick was much better informed about the habits and appearance of the late royal family than it was supposed an impostor could be; and it was suspected that the queen-dowager herself had given hints for his instruction. This, it appears, was the real cause of her arrest; but Henry was so fond of mystery that the reason was never made public.

After arresting the queen-dowager, Henry took the real Earl of Warwick from the Tower, and had him conducted, on a Sunday, through the principal streets of the city, that every one might see him. Some of the nobles, who had known the young earl while a child, also spoke to him before the multitude. This was an excellent plan, and made most of the English people believe that Lambert Simnel was an impostor. But in Ireland it had no such effect: there the people said that the king was an impostor; and that to deceive the world, he had dressed up a boy like Edward Plantagenet, and exhibited him in public, for the purpose of discrediting the true heir of the line of sovereigns.

At Henry's court there was a brave and accomplished young nobleman, known as John, Earl of Lincoln; he was a nephew of the late King Richard, who, at one time, had appointed him to be his successor on the throne. In consequence of this, he was regarded with a very jealous eye by Henry, and much looked up to by

the York party. Immediately after the arrest of the queen-dowager the young earl fled to Flanders, to the court of his aunt, Margaret of York, who had married Charles the Rash, and was now the widowed Duchess of Burgundy. This lady (who was the sister of Edward IV., and the patroness of William Caxton, our first English printer) hated Henry very bitterly, and longed to see some of her own family once again upon the throne of England. Her court was accordingly the refuge of all the partisans of the York family, who fled from the tyranny of Henry; and there Lord Lovel had gone after the failure of the insurrection.

It is not at all likely that the Duchess of Burgundy really believed Lambert Simnel was her nephew; but she pretended to do so for the purpose of annoying Henry, and readily adopted his cause. Having engaged a little army of 2,000 Germans, under the command of an experienced officer, named Martin Swart, she sent them, together with the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Lovel, and some other English fugitives, to Ireland, to assist the supposed Earl of Warwick. The Irish people were delighted; and, thinking that the English were just as disaffected towards Henry as they were themselves, resolved on an invasion of England. Lambert Simnel, or Edward VI., as he was called by the Irish, embarked with his followers, and, crossing the Channel, landed at Foudray, in Lancashire. There they were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton and a small body of armed tenantry; but they received no further assistance, for the people were sick of insurrections and civil war.

In the meantime King Henry had not been idle. After resorting to several measures to restore his shattered popularity, he collected an army, and marched towards York; to which city Simnel, with the Earl of Lincoln and the insurgents, had advanced. They did not shrink from the unequal conflict, but marched to the south, with a view of meeting the royal troops. On the 16th of June, 1487, a battle took place at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham. The invaders had resolved to conquer or perish, and they fought with great bravery; but the ill-armed and half-naked Irish troops were slaughtered in a frightful manner; whilst Martin Swart and his veteran Germans, the chief hope of the insurgents, were overpowered by numbers, and almost all died fighting. After a fierce contest of three hours, Henry gained a decided victory; and the Earl of Lincoln, Sir Thomas Broughton, Martin Swart, and 4,000 of their followers, were left dead upon the field. Lord Lovel escaped; but he was never seen or heard of again. Two hundred years afterwards, a skeleton, seated on a chair, with its head resting upon a table, was discovered in a subterranean chamber in the mansion which had belonged to this unhappy nobleman. It was supposed to be that of Lord Lovel, who had concealed himself there, and died from the effects of despair or starvation.

Amongst the prisoners taken after the battle of Stoke, was the young impostor, Lambert Simnel, and his instructor, the priest. Henry would not put the lad to death; but, professing to consider him too mean and insignificant an object for such a punishment, pardoned him in contempt, and made him a turnspit in his kitchen; where, after a time, he was promoted to be one of the king's falconers. Richard Simon, the priest, was committed to prison, and probably died there; for he was heard of no more. Henry took his revenge, and gratified his love of money at the same time: he did not send his prisoners and others who favoured the insurrection to the scaffold, but he punished them by heavy fines and ransoms. Some persons had raised a report that the king had been defeated, and had fled; they also were subjected to fines, and a considerable sum was thus poured into the king's coffers.

Though the queen had been married a year and a-half, Henry had not permitted her to be crowned; but now he determined upon gratifying the people with this spectacle. The ceremony took place on the 20th of November, 1487; and the king, who, after all this delay, was ashamed to show himself at it, looked on from behind a screen. He granted Elizabeth this indulgence that he might increase his popularity with the people; but every one saw that he had consented to it to serve his own purposes, and not from good-will. Elizabeth's brother, the Marquis of Dorset, who had been sent to the Tower upon some suspicion, was set at liberty; but the queen-dowager still remained a prisoner in the monastery of Bermondsey.

CHAPTER XLIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SEVENTH.—A.D. 1487—1499.



ENGLAND was now tranquil. Though Henry was not much respected, he was regarded as a wise and prudent monarch, and therefore submitted to. With no opposition, therefore, at home, for the next four years his attention was principally occupied by some complicated and cunning political intrigues upon the continent; which must be glanced at as briefly as possible.

For some years France had been increasing in power and greatness; all the conquests the English had made in that country had been recovered, and she was becoming the first state in Europe. The neighbouring independent principalities, with the exception of the duchy of Brittany, were subjected to her rule. The King of France, Charles VIII., was a boy; but his elder sister, Anne of Beaujeau, the regent, was a woman of great ability, and she resolved, at the close of 1488, to annex Brittany to the crown of France. For this purpose she sent an army into that duchy; and the duke, Francis II., applied to England for assistance and protection. The French government also sent ambassadors, desiring that Henry would assist it against Brittany, or, at least, would remain neutral in the matter. When Henry was an exile from England, he had been kindly treated both at the court of Brittany and the court of France, and now he offered to act as a mediator between the two countries. The French accepted this offer, but still continued their hostilities. The Duke of Brittany answered, that having, in Henry's youth, long acted as a guardian and protector to him, he had expected more effectual assistance than a barren offer of mediation. He added, that if gratitude would not induce the English king to assist him, motives of prudence ought to do so, as France was already too powerful; and that, to increase its strength by the annexation of Brittany, was to exalt a foe that might ultimately prove the ruin of England.

Though Henry was so careless concerning the fate of Brittany, his subjects viewed the matter very differently. Sir Edward Woodville, one of the queen's uncles, begged permission to go to the rescue of the unfortunate duke from the hands of the French. Henry gave an unwilling consent; and Woodville, with a band of 400 men, sailed for the coast of Brittany. He arrived in time to take part in a battle between that country and the French, in which the latter were victorious, and Woodville and most of his men perished.

A loud outcry was instantly raised in England; and Henry, who had received supplies from his parliament, in 1488, for the purpose of assisting the people of Brittany, was called upon to fulfil his promise. The crafty king had pocketed the money; and, after considerable hesitation, he again summoned his parliament at the beginning of 1489, and asked for more money to enable him to defend Brittany. That assembly granted him a tax, which, it was supposed, would amount to the sum of £75,000. But the people of Yorkshire and Durham, disgusted with Henry's equivocating conduct, refused to pay the tax levied upon them. The commissioners applied to the Earl of Northumberland, and desired his advice and assistance in the collection. The earl, in an imperious manner, insisted that the tax must be paid, upon which the irritated people rose in insurrection and put him to death. Once in arms, they chose for their leaders a violent man, named John à Chambre, and Sir John Egremont, a discontented gentleman. The insurrection assumed a formidable appearance, and Henry became alarmed. He sent a force against them, under the command of the Earl of Surrey, whom he had released from the Tower, and taken into his service; and he himself prepared to follow with a larger army. Surrey attacked the rebels, and put them to flight before the arrival of the king. Sir John Egremont escaped to Flanders, but John à Chambre and many of his associates were taken prisoners, and hanged at York. Though the people were thus punished, the collection of the tax was abandoned; for the king was wise enough not to push the matter to extremes.

The parliament of 1490, however, voted him a further supply; and, in deference to the wishes of the nation, he at last sent an army of 6,000 men into Brittany, under the command of Lord Willoughby de Broke; but he gave him directions to return at the end of six months. Lord Broke obtained some trifling successes, but the French avoided any set battle; and, before the expiration of the six months, Henry recalled him to England; for the king was much more desirous of saving his money than of assisting Brittany. The French had other wars upon their hands, and a treaty of peace was, therefore, entered into at Frankfort, by which they agreed to retire from Brittany; and also that a congress should be held for the amicable settlement of all their disputes.

Francis, the Duke of Brittany, died broken-hearted during this struggle, and left the government of the

duchy to his young and beautiful daughter, Anne. Many princes were suitors for the hand of this young lady; and she at length consented to bestow it upon Maximilian, King of the Romans, from whom she had received assistance in her war with the French. That prince, fearing to make a journey to her himself, was secretly married to the young duchess by proxy. Charles, the King of France, who was now one-and-twenty years old, and had assumed the government, resolved to break this engagement, and marry the lady himself. By this means he would obtain possession of Brittany without any further fighting. There were two great obstacles to such an arrangement—first, that he was engaged to another lady, the Princess Margot, a daughter of Maximilian by a former marriage; and, secondly, Anne of Brittany considered her marriage by proxy to Maximilian binding, both by divine and human laws. But Charles cared nothing for difficulties; he advanced with an army, and threatened to besiege the young duchess in her capital unless she became his queen. The unhappy lady was driven into compliance at the point of the sword, and accepted the King of France as her husband. At the same time she signed a treaty, by which she conveyed to him her rights over Brittany, and consented that, if her husband outlived her, it should remain a part of the French kingdom; while, if she outlived him, she should leave her dominions to the reigning sovereign. This affair was carried on with cautious secrecy; and the marriage was actually celebrated before it reached the ears of Maximilian.

That sovereign was exceedingly enraged; he had been tricked out of his bride and an extensive territory; and his daughter, whom he had expected would become Queen of France, and who had for a long time lived at the court of that country, and been treated there as the future wife of its sovereign, was contemptuously returned to him. He applied to several European princes to assist him in punishing the perfidy and reducing the over-grown power of France. Henry felt himself somewhat deceived in the transaction, and he resolved to assist Maximilian. He had also other motives for declaring war against France; the most important of which was, that he hoped to make money by it. This may seem strange; war usually dissipates money rather than collects it; but the clever and parsimonious Henry had made his calculations, and contrived by trickery to realise his expectations.

He first issued a commission for levying a benevolence upon the people—a tax which had always been odious, and was now illegal; for it had been abolished by his predecessor, Richard III. But the king did not care about the lawfulness of anything, if he had the power to do it; and the citizens of London alone were compelled to pay the then great sum of £10,000. When asked to contribute to this benevolence, most people complained that they could not afford to give any direct sum to the king—they were not rich enough for that: but Archbishop Morton, the chancellor, had an answer to suit all objections of that kind. If those who complained lived in a frugal manner, they were told that their saving habits must, of course, have made them rich; if, on the contrary, they lived in a splendid and hospitable style, that, it was said, was a proof they were wealthy, and could therefore well afford to pay. Either alternative was used against the complainant; and the chancellor's retort—which some called "Chancellor Morton's fork," and others named his "crutch" —was quite successful.

Henry was not content with the amount of these extortions: he was a very horse-leech in respect of money, always crying, "Give, give, give!" and he therefore had no sooner pocketed the benevolences, than he called his parliament in October, 1491, and asked for supplies. He very well knew the warlike temper of the nation, and how anxious the people were for a war with the French, and he cunningly practised upon this inclination. He told the parliament that France, elated with her late successes, had treated England with contempt, and even refused to pay the tribute which Louis XI. had agreed to give to Edward IV.; and that it became so warlike a nation as the English to be roused by this indignity, and no longer to confine themselves to resenting the present injury. For himself, he said, he was resolved to lay claim even to the crown of France, and to maintain his title by force of arms—a title which had descended to him from his gallant ancestors, and which he would not permit to be forgotten. Crecy, Poictiers, and Agincourt were examples which would convince them of their superiority over the enemy; nor did he despair of adding new names to the glorious catalogue. He said, that the internal troubles of England had been the cause of her losing France, and that her present union would be the effectual means of recovering it. After this boastful preamble came the point the crafty king was aiming at; he said, that when such an important object was in view, it did not become brave men to complain about advancing money; and that, when the war was once begun, he was determined to make it maintain itself, and he hoped it would rather add to, than diminish, the wealth of the country.

The parliament fell into the trap laid for it by the scheming king, and voted him a considerable supply; a great military enthusiasm was excited in the nation, and an act was also passed allowing nobles and gentry to sell their lands without paying the ordinary fees to the crown for alienation. This was done to encourage warlike persons to raise troops for the war at their own

expense, and to enable them to ruin themselves in the service of the king with as little trouble as possible. Such was the general excitement, that many sold their estates in the hope of acquiring military glory, and expected that, in a little time, they would be carrying their victorious banners even to the gates of Paris.

Though he had money and troops, Henry deferred his expedition to France until the autumn of 1492. This created some suspicion that he intended soon to conclude a peace, because spring or summer was the time chosen for war, and, at the fall of the year, armies generally retired into winter quarters. Some of his officers hinted this to the king; but he replied, that he should go over to make an entire conquest of France, which was not the work of one summer. It was, therefore, of no consequence at what season he began the invasion, especially as he had Calais ready for winter quarters. In October, his troops, which consisted of 25,000 foot and 1,600 horse soldiers, landed safely at Calais, and then marched to Boulogne, to which they laid siege. This attack was meant merely for show; for Henry had already secretly sold a peace to France! His double-dealing was of the most dishonest and disgraceful character: he raised money from his subjects upon the pretence of war, and from his enemies for the sake of peace. He agreed to abandon Brittany to the French king for an enormous sum of money, which Charles consented to pay, because he was very eager to obtain a settlement of the dispute. It was also arranged that peace should be maintained between France and England during the lives of Henry and Charles. The king, who thus traded in war and peace, disgracing his high office, then returned home, having incurred the disgust of his army and people; which he did not suffer to annoy him, as he had, as usual, contrived to fill his pockets. Some of the captains sneeringly referred to what the king had so boastfully said in parliament—that after the war was begun he was resolved to make it maintain itself: they said he had indeed kept his promise.

Henry was anxious to get back to England, for a new pretender had arisen, who laid claim to the throne. During the year 1492, a handsome and accomplished youth landed in Ireland, and gave out that he was Richard, Duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., who was supposed to have been murdered in the Tower. His elder brother, he said, had perished by the hands of assassins; but he had contrived to escape, and, after seven years of wandering and obscurity, had come to claim his inheritance. The story had the appearance of having been suggested by the imposition of Lambert Simnel; but the manners of this young man were so courtly and fascinating, that the Irish people readily believed him; and many of the Anglo-Irish were ready to take up his cause. Earl Kildare, the lord-lieutenant, though favourably disposed towards him, was not inclined to take any active measures; and when messengers came from the King of France, inviting the young adventurer to the court of that monarch, and promising him protection and assistance, the earl advised him to go. Charles received him with a great deal of ceremony; assigned him a guard of honour, and lodged him like a sovereign prince. His object was to frighten Henry into a peace; and when that peace was concluded, the French sovereign immediately withdrew his protection from the supposed heir of the English crown, and commanded him to leave his dominions.

From France, the young man, in 1493, went to Flanders, to the court of the Duchess of Burgundy, who had before taken up the cause of Simnel. The hatred which that lady bore to Henry has caused it to be suspected that she was the author of the plot, and had instructed the new claimant in the part he was playing. Whether that was the case or not, will now never be known; but when he first applied openly to the Duchess of Burgundy, she wore an air of distrust; said that she had already been deceived by Simnel, and was determined not to be misled again by any impostor. She asked the assumed prince a number of questions; seemed surprised at the knowledge which his answers showed that he possessed concerning the family of Edward IV.; and, after a great deal of scrutiny, declared she was convinced. Embracing him as her nephew, she said that he was the very image of her dead brother; and bestowed upon him the title of "The White Rose of England." Once convinced, or pretending to be so, the duchess heaped hospitalities upon the adventurer; appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and enjoined every one about her to treat him with the respect due to his exalted rank.

The people of Flanders shared in the belief of their duchess; and in a little while the story also obtained great credit in England, especially among those nobles who were disgusted with King Henry's government. Some of them wrote to the pretender; and others secretly sent Sir Robert Clifford, a gentleman who had known the little Duke of York, to the court of the duchess, to see the young man, and send word whether he was the true prince or not. Clifford wrote back that there was no doubt as to his identity; that he was certainly the son of Edward IV., and the right heir to the throne of England. Such a representation had great influence on the nobles and people; the belief spread rapidly, and an extensive conspiracy was formed against the king.

Henry had not been idle all this time; his fears were aroused, and he proceeded with great caution and activity. He sent spies all over Flanders and England,

and directed many of them to pretend that they were favourable to the cause of the prince, and thus to insinuate themselves into the confidence of his friends and associates. He even corrupted Sir Robert Clifford, and induced him to betray the secrets committed to him; and, in the end, he obtained the information he required. According to that, the supposed Duke of York was one Peterkin or Perkin Warbeck, the son of a converted Jew, of Tourney, in Flanders. The freedom with which he spoke English was accounted for by the fact of his having lived for a considerable time among the English merchants in Flanders, and his having travelled about Europe as a servant in the employ of a Lady Brompton. The whole of his history could not be ascertained, nor what it was that induced him to pretend he was the Duke of York; but it was imagined that his remarkable likeness to King Edward IV., together with his graceful manners and great intelligence, caused him to be pointed out to the Duchess of Burgundy as a fit person to act this strange part, for the purpose of troubling, and even, if possible, deposing Henry.

Having obtained this information respecting "The White Rose of England," as Warbeck was called, Henry demanded that he should be delivered up to him; and, as this was refused, he prohibited the English merchants from trading with Flanders. The faithless Sir Robert Clifford had, on the 7th of January, 1495, come to England, thrown himself at Henry's feet, and revealed to the king the names of the English nobles and gentlemen who had corresponded with Warbeck; and Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, and a number of priests and gentlemen, were all arrested in one day. Three of them were beheaded, and thus this strange imposture was baptised in blood. Lord Fitzwater was sent a prisoner to Calais; but, as he attempted to escape, he also was put to death. The rest were pardoned; but the old chronicler hints that they were, before long, treacherously made away with.

Shortly afterwards, another gentleman of high rank fell a victim to the suspicions of Henry. This was Sir William Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain, the brother of that Lord Stanley who had placed the crown upon his sovereign's head after the battle of Bosworth. He had himself saved Henry's life in that battle, and it seemed incredible that he could be guilty of any treason against him: but Stanley was a rich man; and Henry, who coveted his property, is reported (it is to be hoped untruly) to have himself instigated Clifford to accuse him. The king pretended to be greatly surprised, and said that the accusation must be a false one; still, as Clifford persisted in it, he committed Sir William Stanley to the Tower. Some historians have said that the offence of the unfortunate gentleman only consisted in his having told Clifford, in confidence, that if he were sure that the young man who appeared in Flanders was really the son of King Edward, he would never bear arms against him. Others have said that he sent money to Warbeck, and promised to support his cause. He himself confessed that he was, to some extent, guilty of what was alleged against him, and submitted to the king's mercy. This was sufficient: he was sentenced, and beheaded.

The followers of Warbeck were, by these events, reduced to despair; and, in consequence of the treachery of Clifford, each man suspected his follow. In the language of that distinguished philosopher, Lord Bacon, who wrote a history of this and the following reign—"They were now, like sand without lime, ill-bound together, especially as many as were English; who were at a gaze, looking strange one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their side; but thinking that the king, what with his baits and what with his nets, would draw all unto him that were anything worth." The people of Flanders, also, no longer regarded Warbeck with a favourable eye, because, on his account, they were great losers through their trade being stopped with England. In this condition he adopted a bold and hopeless scheme: he resolved to land in England, and trust to an insurrection of the common people in his favour: from the nobles he could not hope anything, for Henry's craft and severity had so intimidated them, that they no longer dared to correspond with Warbeck. Having collected about 600 followers (all desperate men, the majority of them being outlaws and pirates), on the 3rd of July, 1495, while the king was in the north, Perkin Warbeck and his wild troop sailed to the coast of Deal, where most of them landed. They were received with false smiles by the gentlemen of Kent; who, though they had collected some troops to oppose Warbeck, pretended to be friendly disposed towards him, and invited him on shore, that they might take him prisoner. He observed that they had more order and military regularity about them than was usual or likely in newly-levied recruits, and, suspecting treachery, refused to trust himself among them. His caution saved his life; but when the Kentish men found they could not induce him to land, they fell upon those of his followers who had done so; and after a short contest, in which several were killed, they took more than 150 prisoners. These men were pinioned, and driven to London in herds like cattle. Henry, in a merciless manner, caused them all to be hanged. Some were executed at London, but others were gibbeted round the coast of Kent, Sussex, Essex, and Norfolk, and their bodies left hanging as a warning, in case Warbeck and his adherents should attempt to land again. Henry then thanked the men of Kent, and promised to reward

their services; but he only gave them a few smiles and kind words, which, of course, cost him nothing, and did not do them much good.

Warbeck and his remaining followers, completely discouraged, sailed away from the coast of Deal to the court of Flanders, where he was very coldly received; for the Flemings, feeling the loss of trade with England, had entered into a treaty with Henry, and promised not to harbour his enemies any more. Warbeck then (1496) sailed to Ireland, in the hope of inducing the people to rise in his favour; but again he was disappointed. He had but one hope left: he knew that James IV., of Scotland, hated Henry, and regarded him with favour; so to Scotland he went. James received him in a courteous and honourable manner, acknowledged his right to the throne of England, and was so delighted with his fascinating manners, that he bestowed upon him the beautiful Catharine Gordon for his wife. This young lady was a daughter of the Earl of Huntley, and a relation of the Scottish king himself. Warbeck was also permitted to state his case before the council of the king, and it was soon determined that he should be assisted in an attempt to depose Henry from the throne.

The crafty English king had many spies at the Scottish court—not poor men, without an appearance of honour or position, as might be supposed, but men who ranked among the nobles of that land. Strange as it may seem, these men were ready to earn Henry's money by services of the most dishonest and disgraceful kind. Some of them laid a plot for seizing Warbeck during the night in his tent, and then sending him a prisoner to England; but their treachery failed of success. Then they endeavoured to persuade their sovereign not to invade England, because such a war would be impolitic and dangerous; but their representations were useless.

Having collected an army of Scots, Germans, and Flemings, King James and Warbeck marched into England. Warbeck addressed a proclamation to the English people, calling them his subjects, promising them liberty from oppression, and relief from taxation, and offering £1,000, and an estate in land, to any one who should capture or kill Henry Tudor. The people were too wise to be misled by any such promises; they disliked and feared Henry, but they disliked and feared a civil war much more. No one joined Warbeck, and both he and the King of Scotland were bitterly disappointed. The latter was so angry that he permitted his troops to plunder and ravage the county of Northumberland. They committed such frightful acts, that Warbeck was shocked and disgusted, and expostulated with King James upon the subject, saying he would rather lose the throne than gain it by the sufferings of Englishmen. Instead of regarding his scruples, that monarch sneeringly replied, that he thought the prince need not be so over-solicitous for the welfare of a nation which would not acknowledge him for a king, nor even for a fellow-countryman. Warbeck and the Scottish army were soon in want of provisions, and obliged to return, rather disgracefully, home again.

King Henry did not trouble himself much about this invasion; but, as usual, he attempted to extort money even from the misfortunes of his people. He summoned a parliament, and asked for a grant of money to punish the Scots for their aggressive conduct. The parliament feared the king, and dared scarcely refuse him anything; so they passed a tax, which it was expected would raise an immense sum. The people murmured (they knew Henry's great wealth), and said that he had money enough of his own. The men of Cornwall, in the spring of 1497, even rose in rebellion, and demanded the head of the chancellor, who was an exceedingly rapacious man. They chose Michael Joseph, a farrier, and Thomas Flammoc, a lawyer, for their leaders; and these men, with 16,000 stout peasants at their heels, marched through Devonshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Surrey, into Kent, and encamped on Blackheath. They had been joined by Lord Audley, and other rash and turbulent gentlemen; but the common people held aloof from them. They were wise enough to believe that such an ill-considered effort would not meet with success.

Henry was now quite used to insurrections, and, although they gave him considerable trouble, he seems to have always felt tolerably secure. It was his custom to say that he only desired to see his rebels; by which he meant that, when he did see them, he felt quite sure of subduing them. It happened that he had an army on foot, which had been collected for the purpose of fighting against the Scots; and he determined to employ it in putting down the insurrection. He divided his force into three parts: one part he sent, under the command of Lord Daubeney, to attack the rebels in front; a second part he despatched with the Earl of Oxford, to wheel round and fall upon them from behind; while he himself remained in St. George's Fields with the third part as a reserve. The attack was ordered to be made on the 22nd of June; and the fighting was commenced by Lord Daubeney, who beat the advanced guard of the rebels at Deptford Bridge; and then, marching upon the heath, began the attack on the main body. Rushing furiously into the midst of them, he was taken prisoner, but soon afterwards rescued. The Cornish men fought with more bravery than he expected; but they were ill-armed and undisciplined; and when Oxford and his troops attacked them in the rear, they were thrown into confusion:

2,000 of them died fighting bravely; 1,500 were taken prisoners, and the rest fled. Amongst the prisoners were Lord Audley; Flammoc, the lawyer; and Joseph, the farrier. These three were executed as traitors; but all the rest were permitted to ransom themselves from those who had taken them. This was a touch of mercy in the king which created some surprise; but, though generally severe in his conduct, he was not a savage man, and he always loved money better than revenge. Poor Joseph, the farrier, went to the scaffold with great courage, saying that he died for the liberties of his countrymen, and that he should be honourably mentioned in the pages of history. This encounter of Henry's troops with the Cornish rebels has received the name of the Battle of Blackheath.

While this unhappy insurrection was in progress, the Scottish king again invaded the northern counties of England, though this time he left the tender-hearted Perkin behind him. After having done a great deal of mischief, James retreated before an English army, and retired to his own country. Both monarchs were desirous of peace, and Henry secretly engaged a foreign ambassador to mediate between them. Commissioners were then appointed to arrange a treaty. Henry first demanded that Warbeck should be surrendered to him: this James refused, saying that he would never betray a man who had trusted to his generosity and good faith. Henry's commissioners next demanded that reparation should be made for the injuries which the Scottish army had lately committed on the English borders; but they were answered, that the spoil of that invasion was like water spilt upon the ground, which could never be recovered, and that Henry's subjects were better able to bear the loss than James's were to repair it. The third demand of the English commissioners was, that the two kings should meet at Newcastle to settle all their differences; but the Scots haughtily replied, that their king meant to treat for a peace, and not go begging for one. James, though thus uncomplying, desired peace, and knew that keeping Warbeck in his court was the chief impediment to it. Therefore he told that young man he could no longer protect him, and Warbeck and his beautiful wife embarked in a vessel that was prepared for them. Once more the mysterious pretender was a fugitive and a wanderer upon the broad expanse of waters.

After Warbeck's departure, a truce for seven years was entered into between Scotland and England; and Henry, who acted with great prudence and moderation, then proposed that a marriage should take place between King James and his eldest daughter, Margaret. James was not very eager for the match, for his affection was entirely engrossed by a beautiful woman, named Margaret Drummond, with whom he lived in a dishonourable manner; and the negotiation with England was prolonged for some time. But the connection of James with the ambitious and unfortunate beauty, Miss Drummond, was terminated in a sudden and very tragical manner. One day, after dinner, she and her two sisters, Euphemia and Sibylla, were seized with a strange illness, and died in great agony. Inquiry was hushed up; but it was supposed that they were poisoned by the nobles, who were jealous of Margaret's influence over the king. The treaty with England was then proceeded with; in 1502 it was concluded; and James was united to the Princess Margaret in the summer of 1503. He was in his thirty-first year, and she only in her fourteenth; but royal weddings are contracted from political convenience, instead of from private affection, and disparity of age is usually altogether disregarded. Still, James acted in an affectionate manner to his young bride; the marriage ceremony was remarkably splendid, and was succeeded by a great deal of feasting and entertainments.

When Warbeck, with his high-born and devoted wife, sailed away from Scotland, they sought for shelter on the shores of Ireland, and once again he landed at Cork. His safest and most honourable course, even supposing him to have been the character he had so long represented, would have been to abandon his hopeless claim to a throne on which another was so firmly seated. To urge his cause further was a cruel act of selfishness, which involved all who followed him in ruin, and led many to the scaffold. But ambition hardens the hearts and blinds the eyes of its votaries; and Warbeck once again tried to rouse the Irish to take up arms for his lost and forsaken cause. Happily for them they were tired of revolts, which led to nothing but misery, defeat, and death; and they held aloof in silent apathy. The restless pretender then consulted with some ruined tradesmen, who were his chief advisers, and he adopted the hardy resolution of landing in Cornwall, and endeavouring again to rouse the feelings of discontent which had so lately driven those bold peasants to insurrection.

Early in September, 1497, he landed at Whitsand Bay, in Cornwall, with about 150 followers. From the coast he marched to Bodmin, the native place of the unfortunate Joseph, the farrier, and there he was joined by about 3,000 men, who were eager to avenge the fate of those friends and relatives who had fallen at Blackheath. Assuming the title of Richard IV., King of England, he marched as far as Exeter, the number of his adherents increasing all the time. He attacked the east and north gates of that city on the 17th of September, but his men were repelled, about 400 being either killed or wounded. On the 18th the attack was renewed; but though they forced the east gate, and

entered the city, they were again repelled by the inhabitants, and obliged to retire. From Exeter they marched to Taunton, in Somersetshire.

The news of Warbeck's landing soon reached Henry, who was delighted to hear it, for he felt convinced that he should at last get his enemy into his hands. He instantly gathered an army, and sent it against the rebels. These foolish men, who then amounted to about 7,000, were startled by the number and order of their foes; but there was no talk of fear or flight. It was evening, on the 20th of September, when the royal army came in sight of the Cornish men, and the battle was deferred until the next day. During the night Warbeck's heart failed him, and he secretly deserted his followers, and rode away to the abbey of Beaulieu, in the New Forest, where he took sanctuary. In the morning, his poor foolish followers, not having a leader, submitted to the king's forces in despair, without fighting. Henry commanded the ringleaders to be hanged, and sent the rest to their homes—that is, all except those who had any property, and these he ruined with heavy fines. The king then sent a troop of horse to seize Warbeck's unhappy wife, who had been left at St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall. She was brought into the presence of Henry, before whom she wept bitterly. His usually cold heart was melted by her beauty and her forlorn position; he spoke to her with kindness, and sent her to the queen, who assigned her an honourable position among her attendants: Henry even granted her a pension, which she received till after his death. She was respected by the people, and was still called by them "The White Rose of England"—the title which had been bestowed upon her husband by the Duchess of Burgundy. Some time after the death of her husband, this lady was married again to a Welsh gentleman, and ultimately buried by his side in the old church of Swansea.

The king's next object was to get Warbeck also into his power. For that purpose he sent some messengers to the sanctuary, who promised the fugitive the royal pardon, and induced him to come forth, and trust to the mercy of the king. Henry, on the 28th of November, carried him to London in a sort of triumphal procession; and the citizens crowded the streets to see the handsome adventurer, whose romantic wanderings and mad attempts upon the crown had so long occupied their attention. Some insulted him as he passed; many more gazed on in a pitying and respectful silence. Henry treated him with clemency, permitting him to live at the Tower, under a guard, and he received every mark of respect. A confession of his imposture was, however, extorted from him, but it was kept a secret. He might now have ended his days in peace; but, in June, 1498, his restless spirit revived, and he contrived to escape. Being pursued, he took sanctuary in the priory of Sheen; but the principal of that religious house surrendered him to the king, on a promise that his life should be spared. Henry ordered him to be placed in the stocks for a whole day before Westminster Hall, where he was compelled to read a confession of his imposition. This confession was afterwards printed, but no copy of it now remains.

After this public disgrace, Warbeck was again sent to the Tower, where he was permitted to form the acquaintance of the unfortunate Earl of Warwick (the son of the Duke of Clarence), who had so long been a prisoner in that fortress. Long confinement and a want of education had rendered him so simple, that he was supposed to be defective in his mind; and when Warbeck proposed that they should murder the governor and escape from the Tower, he at once consented to the plot. Warwick was then to summon the retainers of his father, and Warbeck was to be proclaimed King of England. This absurd plot was discovered; and some writers have even suspected that Henry himself surrounded the prisoners by spies, who first led them into the conspiracy, and then revealed it. There is no proof, however, that the king was guilty of such an act of treachery.

Warbeck was placed upon his trial for treason on the 20th of November, 1499, found guilty, and sentenced to death. He was executed at Tyburn on the 23rd, together with John O'Water, an Irishman, and his first follower. When on the scaffold his confession was read over, and he pronounced it to be all true; and, after asking forgiveness of the king for his many rebellions, submitted himself with patience and humility to the hands of the hangman. There can be little doubt that his dying words were true, and that he was an impostor. It is incredible that the little Duke of York should have been able to escape from the murderers in the Tower when his elder brother perished. But some writers have professed their belief that he was really the son of Edward IV., and that a confession to the contrary, even upon the scaffold, was wrung from him by threats of fearful torture. That ingenious and highly-gifted writer, Horace Walpole, has tried to prove this, but not successfully. It is most probable that Warbeck was an accomplished knave, who acted a false part so long, that, at last, he himself almost believed it to be true.

After the condemnation of Warbeck, the Earl of Warwick was, on the 21st of November, placed upon his trial. His only crime was, that he had attempted to escape; but he was accused of having conspired with Warbeck to disturb the government, and excite an insurrection among the people. The truth is, that Henry had long feared him as being the last male heir

of the House of York, and was glad of an excuse for putting him to death. The unfortunate young man, who seems scarcely to have known the meaning of what he did, pleaded guilty, and the servile and pitiless House of Lords condemned him to the scaffold. He was beheaded upon Tower Hill on the 28th of November. At his death he was twenty-nine years of age, and had been a prisoner from infancy; his only crime being that he was of royal blood—a crime which the jealousy of his uncle Richard, and his successor Henry, could never forgive. Although the legal heir to the crown, he lived in a prison, and died on a scaffold, without one cheering ray of sunshine throughout his blighted and gloomy existence. A murmur of disgust and indignation, at his cruel and untimely end, arose from the people, which startled the crafty Henry, and he tried to shift the blame from his own shoulders to those of the King of Spain, who, he said, would not permit his daughter to be married to Henry's son, Arthur, while any of the royal family of York survived. This excuse did not mend matters; but Henry was too securely seated upon his throne for murmurs to shake him. It was the peculiar age of kingcraft; and abroad, foreign princes rather respected Henry for the political wisdom which he displayed in his treatment alike of Warbeck and of Warwick.

It was at this time that Machiavelli, an Italian statesman, lived, who afterwards wrote a book in recommendation of tyranny and treachery, in which the worst crimes of kings are not only excused, but applauded. That many of the great sovereigns of Europe in that age were wanting in honour and truth, and capable of that duplicity to which the term Machiavellian was subsequently affixed, is proved by the fact that the hints from which Machiavelli composed his detestable book, called *The Prince*, were taken from the lives and actions of monarchs then living.

CHAPTER XLV.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SEVENTH.—A.D. 1499—1509.

SOON after the tyrannous execution of the helpless Earl of Warwick, London was afflicted by a plague, which swept great numbers of its inhabitants to their graves; and men did not scruple to say that it was God's judgment upon the nation for that cruel act. Superstitious people are always fond of tracing public calamities to individual crimes: the plague, no doubt, arose from the neglect of cleanliness, and not from the anger of the Almighty; for Henry, who was the perpetrator of that state-crime, went over to Calais, where he remained until the plague was past, and escaped untouched.

In the year 1499, the marriage alluded to in the last chapter, between Prince Arthur, then in his thirteenth year, and the Spanish princess, who was about a year his senior, was performed; the princess being represented by proxy. In 1501, Catharine of Aragon, as the princess was called, arrived in London; and, on the 6th of November, the ceremony was again performed at St. Paul's. A great deal of feasting and rejoicing followed this event; the prince was compared by the courtiers to Arcturus, and the princess to Hesperus; and it was confidently declared that they would shine in the world as brilliantly as those constellations do in the heavens. As if to mock all the vain and foolish prophecies of the courtiers, Arthur sickened and died on the 2nd of April, 1502, within six months after his marriage; and, it is alleged, before it was consummated. The Lady Catharine afterwards became a distinguished character in English history. Her father proposed that she should be allied to her late husband's younger brother, Henry, and the English sovereign consented to this strange arrangement. Prince Henry was not, at that time, twelve years old, and he made all the opposition he could to the match; but, as it was considered politically necessary, he was at once contracted to Catharine, though the marriage did not take place until five years afterwards.

On the 11th of February, 1503, the king also lost his queen, Elizabeth. She was much regretted by the people, who thought that her husband had not treated her as kindly as he should have done; but Henry himself was not much grieved. He had married her on account of her title to the throne, and had always been jealous of her in consequence. But, under any circumstances, he was too selfish a man to mourn greatly for any one.

Henry's prudence and enormous wealth made him much respected by foreign princes, and feared by his own people. He had gradually obtained a more absolute power over the nation than had been possessed by any English king since the time of the Conqueror.

Unrestrained by any opposition, he therefore gave himself up to the gratification of his ruling passion—*avarice!* He was haunted by an insatiable craving for money; and to obtain it, he resorted to shamefully unjust and oppressive methods. He employed two villanous lawyers, named Empson and Dudley, to wring money from his people. Empson was a low-bred violent ruffian, who tried to terrify men out of their property; Dudley was a person of education and gentlemanly manners, but just as dishonest and extortionate as the other. These worthies got up unjust claims and accusations against an immense number of people of property—the rich merchants of London being specially selected—who were committed to prison, but never brought to trial; and, after remaining in confinement until their spirits were broken, were made to pay large sums to recover their liberty. Henry's rapacious ministers disregarded all forms of law, and summoned men to their private houses, where arbitrary and wicked judgments were pronounced upon them. Sometimes, indeed, juries were called together; but, unless they gave such verdicts as were required of them, they were brow-beaten, insulted, fined, and even imprisoned. Men were harassed almost beyond endurance; no one was safe; and, to be rich, was to live in constant fear of ruin. Innocence and strictness of life was no protection from the fangs of Henry's legal wolves; for they invented fresh offences, and spies and informers abounded in every direction. A new kind of Inquisition was created in England, only less dreadful than that gloomy and mysterious tribunal, where the victims were taken from the dungeon and the torture chamber to perish in agony by fire. By these wicked proceedings thousands were ruined, and prosperous families turned into the streets to starve; but Henry amassed enormous wealth; and even Empson and Dudley became very rich.

It might have been expected that the parliament would have interfered to save the nation from such oppression; but it remained quiescent; and it is strange how much both parliament and people consented to suffer in past times, when they were governed by a powerful and tyrannical king. Edward II. was dethroned and cruelly murdered for conduct which was absolute purity in comparison with Henry's extortion. It is not very honourable to the English people, that, in the middle ages of their history, they usually only resisted weak kings, while they submitted, with a slavish readiness, to crafty or strong-handed tyrants. The reigns of the Tudors furnish far too many illustrations of an abject crouching of the nation beneath the frown of an unjust and imperious sovereign. Under Henry VII., the House of Commons, instead of checking the mean tyranny of their miserly king, actually complimented that monarch, when they assembled in 1504, by choosing Dudley for their speaker, and taxing the nation to any extent which he proposed. Thus, although the king's coffers were full of treasure, he continued to add to, and gloat over, his glittering stores.

There was at that time a young nobleman, named Edmond de la Pole, who bore the title of Earl of Suffolk. He was a nephew of Edward IV., and brother of that Earl of Lincoln who had been killed at the battle of Stoke, in the early part of Henry's reign. The king, by a dishonest quibble, deprived this young noble of his inheritance, and then took credit for generosity in returning him a small part of it to live upon. By this dishonesty, Henry not only gratified his love of money, but also his hatred of the family of York, to which Suffolk was closely related. The young noble, in a violent fit of passion, accidentally killed a man—a solemn offence, but one which, in the judgment of the law, is called manslaughter, and not murder. The king, wishing to humble the earl, caused him to be tried for the latter crime, and then commanded him to plead the royal pardon. Suffolk indignantly refused, and fled to the court of his aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy. Henry, however, by fresh promises of forgiveness, induced him to return; but soon afterwards he fled a second time to Flanders, taking with him his younger brother.

Henry suspected that their object was to take advantage of the unpopularity into which he had fallen on account of his extortions, and get up a new insurrection against him. To prevent this, he set to work in his usual subtle manner. He caused Sir Robert Curson, who held an important trust at Calais, suddenly to abandon it, and represent himself to the Earl of Suffolk as an injured and discontented man. This traitor crept into the confidence of the unsuspecting earl; learnt the names of those friends on whom he relied in England; and then forwarded them to the king. In consequence of this information, Henry arrested William de la Pole, a younger brother of the earl, Lord Courtenay, Sir William Windham, Sir James Tyrrel, and some other persons. It was difficult to urge any particular crimes against them; but Henry suspected and disliked them, and that was sufficient. Lord Courtenay and William de la Pole were sent prisoners to the Tower, where they remained during the life of the king, and Windham and Tyrrel were beheaded as traitors. The people rejoiced in the death of the latter, because he had, many years ago, been concerned in the murder of the young princes in the Tower.

After the treacherous Curson had thus ruined or destroyed the friends of the Earl of Suffolk, he suddenly abandoned him and returned to Henry, who received him into great favour. Suffolk was bewildered at the

duplicity of the man whom he had received as his friend; and not knowing where Henry's power might reach him, he fled first to France, then to Germany, and returned, at last, into the Low Countries.

The Archduke Philip, sovereign of the Netherlands, and his wife Joanna, Queen of Castile, were, while at sea, driven by a storm into the harbour of Weymouth. Sir John Trenchard and Sir John Cary, gentlemen of authority in the neighbourhood, invited the royal wanderers to their houses, and behaved to them with all humanity and respect. At the same time, however, they sent a messenger to the king, to inform him of what had happened; and he returned for answer that he would pay Philip and his queen, Joanna, a visit before their departure, to congratulate them upon their arrival on his shores. Philip, after receiving this message, knew that he could not depart until Henry had seen him; and, for the sake of saving time, he himself rode to Windsor to confer with the English monarch.

Henry met his guest at Elworth Green, near Windsor, and conducted him to the castle, where he was lodged in a magnificent suite of apartments. But the King of Castile, as Philip was called in right of his queen, Joanna, was in reality little better than a prisoner. Before Henry permitted him to depart, he wrung from Philip his signature to a treaty of commerce, greatly in favour of the English government; and, after that, complained that the Earl of Suffolk had found a shelter in his dominions. "I really thought," said the King of Castile, "that your greatness and felicity had set you far above apprehensions from any person of so little consequence: but, to give you satisfaction, I will banish him." Henry replied, "I expect that you will carry your complaisance further; I desire to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can depend upon his submission and obedience." Philip hesitated to give up a man who had trusted to his generosity and protection; and he said, "Such an action will reflect dishonour upon you as well as myself. You will be thought to have treated me as a prisoner." "Then the matter is settled," replied Henry, "for I will take all the dishonour upon me, and so your honour will be saved from blemish." The King of Castile was obliged to consent; but he did so only on condition that Henry should spare Suffolk's life. This was promised; and then Philip wrote to the earl, and induced him to come over to England on a promise of pardon. Suffolk came, and was instantly committed to the Tower. Philip and his queen were then permitted to depart, after having been detained by Henry in a sort of honourable captivity for nearly three months. Suffolk was kept a prisoner for a few years; but, on his deathbed, Henry left an order for the earl's execution, and he was beheaded accordingly, by the order of Henry VIII., in 1513; no new offence having been alleged against the unfortunate nobleman.

Henry wanted another wife, but his chief object was to acquire money or territory by the lady; and though he entered into several matrimonial negotiations, he was disappointed in all. His declining state of health soon drew his attention to other and more solemn matters.

The last two years of his life, Henry was in a very feeble state of health. He suffered both from gout and from that mysterious scourge of England, which has been metaphorically called, "the destroying angel who claims a fourth of those who die"—consumption. His lungs were wasted by severe fits of coughing, which attacked him periodically three times a year. A fear of death excited great apprehensions in his mind; and he endeavoured to avert the Almighty's anger by acts of charity to the poor; and by ordering all prisoners, who were confined for debts of less than forty shillings, to be set at liberty. When very bad, he felt great remorse on account of the extortions which he had permitted Dudley and Empson to inflict on his people. He even talked about restoring to his subjects the money he had robbed them of; but, as soon as he got better, these penitent fancies vanished, and his two wicked finance-ministers were permitted to oppress the people as much as ever. Sir William Capel, Mayor of London, was a second time prosecuted upon some false pretence, and condemned to pay a fine of £2,000. This man possessed the old English spirit, and very properly refused to pay a shilling. For this spirited conduct he was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner until Henry's death. Three other wealthy citizens were thrown into prison, and kept there until they bought their liberty with a sum of £1,400. Hawes, an alderman, was indicted, and died of vexation before the proceedings against him were concluded; and Sir Lawrence Aylmer, who had been Lord Mayor, and his two sheriffs, were fined £1,000; but they, like Sir William Capel, honourably preferred imprisonment to a mean submission to this harassing tyranny.

Thus this wealthy, but mean-spirited, king ground his people to the very last; but this career of craft and extortion was about to close for ever. The bleak damp air of the spring of 1509 aggravated his disorder so much that he felt the approach of death. Again his mind was agitated with the remembrance of his cruelties and extortions; and he urged his son to make restitution to all whom he had injured. The number of robberies which he had committed upon his people rendered this impossible; nor would he have given the matter another thought if he had recovered. He died in his palace at Richmond, on the 21st of April, 1509, in the 52nd year of his age, having reigned twenty-

three years and eight months. The nation openly rejoiced at his death; and throughout England not one sigh of regret was uttered, except by his villanous financiers and collectors, who had some cause to fear the vengeance of the people now that their protector lay cold in his coffin.

To judge the character of Henry VII. by the ordinary rules of morality and Christian feeling, he must be spoken of in terms of the heaviest censure. That is, however, a test which it is hardly fair, in all cases, to apply to kings and statesmen who lived in an age when different feelings and principles prevailed than those which now influence us. Kings have not the same chance as private persons of becoming good men. They are exposed to temptations which intoxicate weak minds, and corrupt and harden strong ones. Far removed from the common wants and distresses to which most of us are subject, they too often lose that wholesome sympathy with their fellow-creatures which is called humanity. The power that is entrusted to them for the public good, is frequently, as in Henry's case, improperly diverted to private and selfish purposes; and sometimes, the man whom a nation tries to elevate into a sort of worldly deity, is corrupted, by the falsehood of flattery, into an incarnate demon. The famous Macedonian conqueror of antiquity, whose character Julius Cæsar studied as a model for imitation (Alexander the Great), was well aware of the false state of things in which monarchs dwelt, when he commanded a servant to remind him every morning that he was mortal.

As will be seen from the narrative of his reign, Henry had many faults; but he was not all evil. He was a tyrant, but yet a tyrant whose reign was rather advantageous to his country. Under his rule, the power of the barons was finally overthrown; and the nation had to submit to the will of one arbitrary man, instead of many. The middle classes of the country rose in greater estimation; and as the extravagance of the nobles often induced them to sell their estates, rich merchants and tradesmen became landed proprietors. Thus the aristocracy of industry and commerce rose in proportion as the aristocracy of war and violence sank. These nobles themselves were disgusted with the rude military lives their ancestors had led; and, hanging up their swords and coats of mail, they spent their time more in the library than on the battle-field. The effect of these changes was beneficial to the people; and we are told by Cavendish, Cardinal Wolsey's secretary and biographer, that when Henry VIII. ascended the throne, England was "called the golden world, such grace of plenty reigned then within this realm."

The greatest stain on the character of Henry VII. was his avarice; his love of money amounted to madness; it was the crime of his life, and the nurse of nearly all his tyrannies. He was extremely cunning; so much so that he preferred artifice to openness, when one would have served his purpose as well as the other; and loved trickery for its own sake. Indeed, his was an age when subtlety was in fashion with princes; and all the great sovereigns of Europe were trying who could be most crafty and indirect. In such a state of feeling, truth, manly openness, and lofty principles, were either forgotten or despised as simplicity. Henry's Machiavelian policy makes us often despise him; and his miserly love of gold led him into many actions of gross dishonesty and oppression. But, though arbitrary, he was not capriciously tyrannical: though usually severe, he was not naturally cruel. His conduct both to Simnel and Warbeck was lenient. He certainly sent the latter to the gibbet, but not without repeated aggressions, and many attempts on the part of that remarkable impostor to escape, and renew his efforts to sustain his fraudulent claim to the throne. Edward IV., or his brother, Richard III., would have put both Simnel and Warbeck to death at once, without the slightest hesitation; but Henry punished his enemies from motives of policy, and seldom from revenge. Indeed, his feelings scarcely ever interfered with his judgment, which was both clear and strong. His courtiers called him a second Solomon; but though he was a man of considerable talents, and evinced skill and judgment on many occasions, the application to him of that title was gross flattery. He was active, cautious, deliberate, and prudent; but certainly not possessed of either the capacity for profound thought, or the genius to conceive great and noble measures. A mean-minded, clever man, never actuated by lofty or purely honourable motives, he was an able, though not a good king. He crushed the numerous obstacles by which he was surrounded; and, by industry, caution, and deliberation, triumphed over all difficulties. His object was, to establish a despotic government in England; and he, in part, succeeded: but though the spirit and liberties of the people bowed in terror before him, they were only awed, not extinguished—thrown into slumber, not death; and the national energy and independence of character, though doomed to be still further depressed, was yet, in after-times, to rise with a might and majesty which they had never yet assumed.

Although the church of Rome was on the eve of its downfall in this country, yet, in the reign of Henry VII., its bishops and priests continued in their course of persecution, and endeavoured to stifle inquiry and dis-

sent (which they called heresy) in fire, and to drown it in blood. Though so near that great Reformation which convulsed all Europe, the church felt, in that era, no diminution of the power it had enjoyed so long. Indeed, Henry was much attached to the priesthood, and bestowed on them nearly all the responsible offices of the state. Many persons perished in agony at the stake for entertaining the new doctrines in religion; but the most memorable of these unhappy martyrs was an elderly widow lady, named Joan Boughton.

This venerable woman, the first of her sex who had been burnt to death in England for religious opinions, was upwards of eighty years of age. She was put to this cruel torture in the year 1494, the ninth of Henry's reign, for following the doctrine of the reformer, Wycliffe. So convinced was she of the truth of her opinions, that all the priests and learned doctors in London could not turn her from them. When they told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy and false belief, the heroic old lady defied their power; and said that she was so beloved of God and his holy angels, that she did not fear the flames. When the fatal pile of faggots was lighted, and the fire blazed and crackled around her aged figure, she only called to God to receive her soul, and so perished. The stern and bitter priests turned away disappointed; they could destroy the body of the martyr who sought the truth, but the eternal principles of truth itself they could not touch. Men walked moodily from the smouldering embers of that brave woman, and questioned if a church which could sanction such cruelties, could be fulfilling the spirit of the merciful Jesus, whose sternest reproof to the erring was, "Go, and sin no more."

Even burning those who differed from them in opinion at the stake, would not satisfy the priests of the persecuting Romish church. In the year 1506, one William Tylsworth was put to death in this revolting manner, at Amersham, in Buckinghamshire: and to make his sufferings more poignant, his only daughter, who was suspected of sharing his opinions, was compelled, with her own hands, to set fire to the funeral pile. One poor man, who was thrown into the bishop's prison in Buckinghamshire, was placed in so small a cell, and ironed so heavily, that, although his confinement lasted only fourteen weeks, he was never able to stand upright again. About the same time thirty people were branded on the right cheek with a hot iron, "because," says Foxe, "they would talk against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the Holy Scriptures." Among the other victims of intolerance during this reign was one Thomas Chase, who was secretly murdered by his gaolers in the Lollards' tower. It was pretended that he hanged himself in prison; but that was impossible, as the cell in which he was confined was too small to allow him to stand upright.

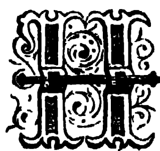
But the victim of the Romish church, during this reign, who excited the greatest sympathy, was one Laurence Ghest, who was burnt to death in Salisbury, for denying that the bread and wine, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, was really the body and blood of the Saviour. The particulars of the death of that unhappy man are thus related by John Foxe, the martyrologist:—"He was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise not unfriended, for which the bishop and the clergy were the more loath to burn him, but kept him in prison for the space of two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children. Wherefore they, thinking to influence and persuade his mind by awakening his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake they brought before him his wife and his seven children. At the sight of them, although nature is commonly wont to work in other men, yet in him religion overcoming nature, made his constancy remain immovable: so that, when his wife exhorted and desired him to save himself, he began to desire her to be content, and not to be a stumbling-block in his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his salvation; and so fire being put to him he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself, to follow Christ. As he was burning, one of the bishop's men threw a firebrand at his face. At this, the brother of Laurence, who was standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him had he not been otherwise prevented."

To mention all the victims of the priests in the reign of Henry VII., would encroach too much on the space allotted to this history. The examples given are not meant to excite an undue indignation against the Romish church, but rather to inculcate the true Christian doctrine of being kind and indulgent to all who differ from us in opinion in any matter, but chiefly in religion. Man delights to punish, but God to spare. We should remember that thousands of the best and wisest men have held different opinions upon this mysterious theme; and that charity and kindly forbearance to all persons is the conduct most acceptable to that Divine and Benevolent Being whose word created the universe, and whose will regulates and sustains it.

The period during which Henry VII. reigned was remarkable for two famous nautical discoveries, which were of deep importance and interest to the whole civilised world. The first was the discovery of the vast continent of America, in the year 1492, by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese; and the second, the achievement of the passage to India past the Cape of Good Hope, in 1497, by Vasquez de Gama, a native of Portugal.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.—A.D. 1509—1515.



HENRY VIII. was only eighteen years of age at the time of his father's death. His accession was the cause of great joy to the people, who entertained cheerful hopes of his good government and future glory. It was very natural that they should do so; for Henry was young, handsome, full of spirit, cheerful and frank in his manners, well educated, and possessed of considerable abilities. In almost all things he was just the reverse of his father, for whom every one felt a great dislike; and the nation believed that he would become a wise, just, and merciful sovereign. It will be seen, from the narrative, that these bright anticipations were far from being realised. Still, the thirty-seven years which Henry reigned over England, is a period of our history deserving more attention and study than any that had preceded it. Strange as it may seem, out of his tyranny arose the greatest of reforms; and from the prostrate and trampled liberties of Englishmen sprung that most valuable and blessed of all liberties, the liberty of conscience—the freedom of the soul, and the holy right of every one to read the Bible for themselves, and to exercise their own judgment upon its sacred doctrines.

The young king was proclaimed on the 22nd of April; and, on the 7th of the following June, he was married to the Spanish princess, Catharine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur. Some objections were raised to Henry's marrying his sister-in-law; but a dispensation was procured from the pope, which rendered it legal. Catharine's marriage with Prince Arthur had been a mere form, and the young people had not lived together as husband and wife, though, in after-times, it suited Henry to pretend that he believed they had. The princess was attractive in her appearance, and amiable in disposition; and another reason for the marriage was, that a large dowry had been paid with her by the Spanish king, Ferdinand, which Henry was by no means inclined to return. Three weeks after their marriage, the royal couple were crowned as King and Queen of England.

Henry kept the chief of his late father's ministers, most of whom were men of talent and experience. Two of them were not only deprived of office, but sent to the Tower, to await a well-deserved punishment. These were Dudley and Empson, the lawyers who had pandered to the avarice of the late king, and practised so many extortions and cruelties upon his subjects. As soon as it was known that they were arrested, charges against them were made from immense numbers of people, and a loud outcry was raised for their execution. They could not be tried for their real crimes without casting disgrace upon the memory of the late king; so a false charge was made against them (A.D. 1511), of endeavouring to depose their sovereign, and they were condemned as traitors. For about a twelvemonth after sentence was pronounced they were kept in prison, when so loud a clamour arose for their deaths that they were brought out (A.D. 1512), and beheaded on Tower Hill. So great was the fury of the people against these extortioners, that the mob seized many of their spies and informers, and beat and ill-used them till they died.

At this time, Pope Julius II., who loved fighting much better than praying, had set many of the great nations of Europe together by the ears. Having overthrown the republic of Venice, he turned his arms against France, and induced the King of Spain to join him in a league to expel that nation from Italy. He also courted the alliance of England, and sent Henry a sacred rose perfumed with musk, sprinkled with holy water, and which had received the pontiff's benediction. The pope could hardly have sent him a cheaper present: but Henry prized it. What, however, tempted him much more strongly to comply with the pope's wish, and join in hostilities against France, was the hope that to him would be transferred the title borne by the sovereign of that country, of "Most Christian King." The young monarch was also eager for military glory, and anxious to spend the vast treasures his grasping father had left, and which were said to amount to £1,800,000; so he interfered on behalf of the pope, and sent a message to the French king to prohibit him from waging war upon the sovereign pontiff. Of course, Louis paid no attention to this impertinent command; and then Henry sent another message, demanding that the provinces of Anjou, Maine, Normandy, and Guienne, should instantly be delivered up to him as his lawful inheritance. This was the same as a declaration of war, for Henry knew that they would not be surrendered, and he summoned a parliament, and applied to it for money for the invasion of France.

The parliament of 1511-'12 readily voted the money, and the people readily paid it; for they were delighted at the idea of a war with France, and dreamed of ob-

taining new military triumphs like those of Crecy and Agincourt. Henry, unlike his father, applied the money to the purpose for which it was voted. He raised an army, which he intended should enter France through his own town of Calais; but his father-in-law, Ferdinand, the King of Spain, persuaded him to commence his attack in the south of France, and send his army to Guienne, where the sway of the English was still regretted. In that case, he said, he could assist Henry with a Spanish force; and he even sent over a fleet to transport the English army to the scene of action.

Ten thousand men, under the command of the Marquis of Dorset, embarked in the Spanish ships, and were carried, in June, 1512, to Fuente-Rabia, near the mouth of the river Bidassoa. But Ferdinand's object was not to assist the English against France, but to make them, unknowingly, assist him in the conquest of Navarre, a small kingdom on the frontiers of France and Spain. The presence of an English force in the Bidassoa prevented the French from sending any assistance to the King of Navarre, and that country was overcome by Ferdinand's troops, and annexed to the Spanish monarchy. Dorset perceived the trick that had been played upon him, and called upon the Spaniards to assist him in the siege of Bayonne and Bordeaux; but the Spanish commander very coolly replied, that he would march nowhere but towards Bearn, where the unfortunate King of Navarre had taken refuge. Dorset refused to make war upon any place but France, according to his instructions, and King Ferdinand sent an ambassador to England, to complain of the conduct of the marquis. Henry and his council did not perceive how completely they had been tricked; and they sent orders to Dorset to remain with the army where he was, and act in unison with the Spaniards. The English soldiers had been perishing from sickness and want of proper food; and when this order arrived, they mutinied and insisted on returning home. Thus the army, which was sent to conquer France, came back without drawing a sword. Henry was exceedingly angry, and scarcely better pleased when the trick which Ferdinand had practised was made clear to him. But as the offenders were too numerous for him to punish them all, he put on the best face he could, and pardoned them.

The same year the English engaged the French at sea, and suffered a partial defeat. An English fleet of forty-five ships encountered a French fleet of but thirty-nine ships near Brest, and after a savage conflict, in which the vessels of both the French and English admirals were burnt and sunk, the former had rather the advantage.

Louis then collected his fleet, and strengthened it very considerably; and in the March of 1513, Sir Edward Howard, the lord admiral, was sent by Henry to scour the Channel, and then attack the French navy at Brest. Howard was so sure of the victory, that he sent a letter to the king, desiring him to come in person and take the glory of it. But Henry had no fancy for glory that was attended by peril; and he caused his ministers to send a sharp message to the admiral, reproving him for tempting his sovereign into danger, and telling him to do his duty. Howard felt hurt, and fought with a reckless bravery that cost him his life. Sailing into the harbour of Brest among the French fleet, he lashed his ship to that of the French admiral, and leaped on board, followed by only eighteen of his crew. The French immediately cut the cable which held the two vessels together, the English galley drifted away, and Howard and his few brave men were surrounded by some hundreds of French. Before they could be rescued, they were all killed and thrown overboard. Their brave leader, seeing that death was inevitable, took his gold chain and whistle, the badges of his office, from his neck, and threw them into the sea. Such trophies, he said, should never fall into the hands of his enemies. The English were disheartened by the death of their brave commander, and sailed mournfully away: the French were so encouraged, that they ventured to invade the coast of Sussex, but were speedily driven back to their ships. Henry sincerely regretted the death of Sir Edward Howard, and appointed his brother, Sir Thomas, to succeed him as lord admiral.

For some months another army had been getting ready for the invasion of France; and Henry thought to retrieve all former disgraces by taking the command of it himself. On the 30th of June, 1513, he landed at Calais with the main body of his army, having sent before an immense detachment to prepare the way, and bear the brunt of the danger. Henry only liked the pride and pomp of war, its stateliness, its finery, its floating banners, its inspiriting music, and the roar of cannons fired as salutes: as far as real fighting was concerned, he took care to keep as much as possible out of the reach of it.

The detachments which preceded Henry to Calais, under the command of Lord Herbert and the Earl of Shrewsbury, had marched to Terouenne and laid siege to that place. Henry, on his arrival, remained for some time at Calais, occupied with frivolous and unwarlike amusements. Among his counsellors was a keen-eyed, frank-looking, and rather handsome priest, about forty years of age, who was conspicuous for his assiduous attention to the king, and in whose society Henry spent much of his time. This man was Thomas Wolsey, the king's almoner, who soon became, and for nearly twenty years remained, the most distinguished and extraordinary man in England.

Henry was roused from his pleasures by the intelli-

gence that a French army, under the command of the Duke de Longueville and the famous Chevalier Bayard, was advancing to the relief of Terouenne. The dilatory English king then marched towards that town with an army of 15,000 men. On his way, a strong detachment of French cavalry appeared in sight, each man having behind him a sack of gunpowder and two quarters of bacon. These they contrived to throw into the besieged town, and then they hastily retired. Henry thought they rode away for fear of him; but they had executed their orders, and relieved the wants of their countrymen.

When Henry arrived before the walls of Terouenne, he was joined by his ally, the Emperor Maximilian, a prince considered to be the first sovereign in Europe, but who was so poor, that he was called "Maximilian the Moneyless." He had received the sum of 120,000 crowns from Henry to provide troops, to aid in the conquest of France; but having pocketed the money, he came with little more than his personal attendants. He endeavoured to make up for his want of good faith by ministering to the vanity of Henry, which he had discovered was enormous. Maximilian told him that he, the Emperor of the West, had come to serve under the great King of England; and Henry was so fooled by this idle compliment, that he not only excused the breach of his engagement, of which the emperor had been guilty, but actually allowed him 100 crowns a day for his expenses.

Henry was so far from being likely to accomplish the conquest of France, that his army had been six weeks encamped before the walls of Terouenne, without being able even to take so unimportant a town. The French army then advanced, and on the 18th of August a singular conflict took place. Their cavalry, after approaching the English, were suddenly seized with a strange panic, and galloped back upon their own lines, which they threw into confusion. The Englishmen immediately charged with a shout of "St. George! St. George!" and the French army fled without striking a blow. The Duke de Longueville, the Chevalier Bayard, and other officers, who scorned to fly, were taken prisoners. This affair was sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the name of the place where it was fought; but it was long known as the *Battle of the Spurs*, as the French had made more use of their spurs than of their swords.

After this success, Henry, who was now at the head of an army of 50,000 men, might have followed up his advantage and struck a serious blow at France, especially as his allies, the Swiss, with 20,000 men, had crossed the Jura mountains, penetrated into Burgundy, and were laying siege to Dijon, its capital. But the English king did not understand war, and was beginning to be heartily tired of it. After remaining at Terouenne till the 27th of August, when that place surrendered, he wanted to go home to his queen and his pleasures. But as he very properly feared the just contempt of his people if he should return after having talked so much and done so little, he turned back to Tournay, and laid siege to that city. Tournay, though it belonged to France, lay within the frontiers of Flanders, injured the trade of the Flemings, and gave the French a passage into the heart of the country. Maximilian longed for its destruction; and it was by his advice that Henry undertook to besiege it. Indeed, all through these inglorious conflicts, the English king was constantly being tricked into fighting for other people's advantage. The men of Tournay were very bold at first, and, in their foolish confidence, rejected the aid of a garrison of royal troops, which the French king offered them. When, however, they heard the roar of the English cannon, their hearts failed them, and on the 29th of September they surrendered. Henry gave himself as many airs as if he were a great conqueror; and, soon after the surrender of Tournay, he returned to England, where he arrived on the 22nd of October, having been absent not quite four months.

While Henry was parading himself and his troops in France, a great victory was won by the Earl of Surrey over the Scots. James IV., the king of that people, was in alliance with the French, and sought to aid them by an invasion of England. James sent a herald with a letter to Henry, who was then at Terouenne, desiring that he would desist from further hostilities against the French king; and adding that, unless he did so, he should feel justified in compelling him to abandon so unjust a war. Henry burst into a violent passion, and asked the herald if he would take back a verbal answer to his master. That functionary asked for a message in writing; but, at the same time, reminded Henry that James's demand was not that he should write him a letter, but that he should straightway leave the war and return into his own country. Henry answered—"That I shall do at my own pleasure, and not at your king's command!" The herald rejoined by a denunciation of war, and then retired.

King James was as good as his word; and, on the 22nd of August, 1513, he crossed the borders, at the head of an army of 50,000 men. For some time he loitered on the banks of the Tweed, and took several border fortresses. The Earl of Surrey made good use of this delay; and, collecting an army of 26,000 soldiers, approached the Scots, and challenged them to battle. James accepted the challenge, and made preparations for the coming contest; but many of his troops had deserted on account of a want of provisions, and his nobles advised him not to risk an engagement. He treated their advice with disdain, and told the brave old

Earl of Angus, that, if he was afraid of the English, he could go home. The aged warrior burst into tears, and departed, saying, "Age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised; but I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field: may old Angus's foreboding prove unfounded."

The two armies met on Friday, the 9th of September, 1513, at a place called Flodden Field. The battle began at about four in the afternoon, and, after a furious contest, victory seemed to incline to the Scots; but the impetuosity of the Highlanders, who were cruelly galled by the English bowmen, induced them to quit their ranks, and rush upon their foes with their broadswords. The result was, that they were baffled by the intrepid coolness of the English, and thrown into confusion. The English then attacked the centre of the Scottish army, both in the front rear and on the right flank; and the battle was waged with such fury that the soldiers took off their shoes, that they might obtain a firmer footing on the ground, which was rendered slippery with blood. The Scottish king was struck almost at the same moment by an arrow and an axe, and fell dead. His troops closed around the body, and still fought, until darkness put an end to the slaughter.

The English passed the night under arms, and kept strict watches; but the rising sun revealed to them that they were the victors. The Scots had silently retired, leaving 10,000 of their companions lying dead upon the field. Many of the bodies on that ghastly ground were quite naked; for, during the night, the borderers who fought under the standard of Lord Home stripped the dead, and carried off the blood-stained garments of the silent warriors. The corpse of the Scottish king was found beneath a heap of dead, and sent by the Earl of Surrey to London. It was afterwards buried in the monastery of Sheen, now called Richmond. Besides the king, thirteen Scottish earls perished; and it is said that there was scarcely a family in the country that had not one of its members to mourn for. Thus ended the fatal battle of Flodden Field—a battle which plunged the Scottish nation into the deepest grief, and filled the land, from one extremity to the other, with weeping widows and orphans. The loss of the English was too considerable to permit Surrey to follow up his victory.

The Scottish people would not at first believe that their king was dead. It was reported that he had been seen crossing the river Tweed at Kelso; some said that he had been murdered by the vassals of Lord Home; while others declared that he had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to pray for the souls of his slaughtered nobles, and spend the remainder of his life in penitence and prayer. But these were idle stories; James perished on the battle-field; and his sword and dagger, together with a turquoise ring which was taken from his corpse, are still preserved in the Herald's College at London.

To reward the Earl of Surrey for this great victory, Henry restored him to his hereditary title of Duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father, who perished in arms against the Earl of Richmond on the field of Bosworth. Margaret, the widow of the King of Scotland, who was now appointed regent of that country, was Henry's sister; and she wrote to her brother, imploring his forbearance towards herself and her helpless infant. It is much to the credit of Henry that he extended to her the kindness that she asked; and he consented to grant a peace to Scotland. But his generosity proceeded partly from prudence; for he had no wish again to encounter so brave a nation.

Peace with Scotland was soon followed by peace with France. The allies of Henry had all entered into separate treaties with Louis XII., and left the English sovereign either to carry on the war against France by himself, or get out of the difficulty the best way he could. In this state of things, the Duke de Longueville, who had been taken prisoner at the Battle of the Spurs, and was living at the English court, proposed a peace and alliance between Henry and his sovereign. He thought it would be an excellent bond of union, if the French king, who had lately lost his queen, was to marry Henry's sister, the beautiful Princess Mary. Certainly there was a great difference in the age of the parties; for Louis was fifty-three, and the princess only sixteen; he was also a confirmed and feeble invalid, and she in all the vigour and rosy bloom of healthy youth. Besides these objections, the princess loved some one else—the handsome and accomplished Charles Brandon, Viscount Lisle; but Henry approved of the suggestion, and Louis was delighted with it. A treaty was therefore entered into; peace was to reign between the two nations; and the princess was compelled to marry her royal, but feeble and ill-matched, admirer. The ceremony took place in the October of 1514, the French king at the time suffering severely from the gout. On the 5th of November the queen was crowned; and, on the first day of the very next year, the royal Adonis died, and left the beautiful Mary a widow. Before her husband had been two months in the grave, the young lady asked her former lover, Charles Brandon, who had been created Duke of Suffolk, whether he had courage to marry her at once, and trust afterwards to obtain her brother's forgiveness. The duke was too gallant to refuse such an offer; and he and the late Queen of France were privately married at Paris. King Henry was very indignant at first, for he thought such a match beneath the rank of his sister; but, as he was much attached to Suffolk, he soon relented, and received them both into his favour.

CHAPTER XLVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.—A.D. 1515—1521.



BEFORE we proceed further with the historical narrative, it will be necessary to glance at the rise of Thomas Wolsey, first mentioned a few pages back, and who by this time had risen to the dignity of cardinal. This extraordinary man was, for many years, Henry's principal adviser, minister, and favourite. He was born at Ipswich, in Suffolk, being, as Cavendish informs us, "an honest, poor man's son." His father exercised the calling of a butcher, but had sufficient discrimination to observe that his son possessed more than common intelligence. He gave him an excellent preparatory education, and then sent him to Oxford University, to study for the church. There his progress was so rapid, that he gained the distinction of being called the "Boy-Bachelor," in consequence of obtaining the Bachelor's degree at the age of fifteen. Having taught for some time at the grammar-school adjoining Magdalen College, he obtained (A.D. 1500), the parsonage of Lymington, in Somersetshire, through the patronage of the Marquis of Dorset, one of whose sons had been under his tuition. At this time he was rather wild and indecorous in his manner of living; and it is related, that he was, on one occasion, placed in the stocks by Sir Amias Paulet, a neighbouring magistrate, for some misconduct.

Leaving Lymington, probably in consequence of this punishment, he became domestic chaplain to the treasurer of Calais. The treasurer, finding that Wolsey was a man of great abilities, recommended him to Bishop Fox, one of the ministers of Henry VII. The bishop was pleased with the talents of the young priest, and recommended him to his sovereign as a useful and business-like person. The king, who was a good judge of character, received Wolsey into his favour; and, after preferring him to the deanery of Lincoln, made him his almoner. Of his industry and intelligence while in the service of Henry, the following incident will give a good idea. The king having sent him on a commission to a foreign prince, who was residing at Brussels, was surprised to see him, in less than three days afterwards, present himself before him. Supposing that he had not yet started on his journey, his sovereign began to reprove him for his delay. Wolsey informed him that he had just returned from Brussels, and had successfully fulfilled all his majesty's commands. "But, on second thoughts," continued the king, "I found that something was omitted in your orders; and have sent a messenger after you with fuller instructions." "I met the messenger on my return," said Wolsey; "but, as I had reflected on that omission, I ventured of myself to execute what I knew must be your majesty's intentions." Promptness, industry, and intelligence like this seldom fail to win their way; and Wolsey would, no doubt, have been further promoted by Henry VII., but for the death of that monarch.

When the young king, Henry VIII., ascended the throne, Bishop Fox found that the Earl of Surrey, afterwards created Duke of Norfolk for his victory over the Scots at Flodden Field, was his successful rival for the favour of the sovereign. The bishop introduced Wolsey to the notice of the king, with instructions that he should assist him in his views, and with the hope that he would draw away the affection of that prince from Surrey. Wolsey's talent and craftiness enabled him to supplant them both, and establish himself as the chief favourite of the king.

Though Wolsey was a priest, and about twenty years older than Henry, he entered freely into all the pleasures and tastes of his sovereign. He read books of divinity with him, or talked gaily about the various styles of beauty and dress shown by the most lovely ladies of the court. He would amuse the king with a learned discourse, or a cheerful song, and pass from pleasure to business without an effort. He loved gaiety and magnificence, and arranged all the young monarch's feasts and pageants; but, above all, he flattered Henry in a manner so gross, that it would have been apparent to anybody, except the vain and conceited king. Henry hated business, and loved to devote his hours to pleasure without control. Wolsey encouraged him in this course, and gradually got all the state affairs into his hands. He told him that he should hawk and hunt, and amuse himself with those pastimes to which his elevated rank entitled him; and that, whenever he wished to learn the business of his kingdom, his humble servant would relate in an evening, in a few words, the substance of a whole day's consultation.

By this crafty and courtier-like conduct, he soon became appointed, first, in 1514, to the bishopric of Lincoln; then, in 1515, to the archbishopric of York; and, in 1516, to the lofty and responsible office of chancellor of the kingdom. Besides these great dignities, he held many other very profitable preferments in

the church; indeed, so many, that the butcher's son had risen to be the richest, and, except the king, the most powerful person in the land. The pope, also, anxious to win a person of such importance to his interest, made the wealthy priest a cardinal in the same year in which he obtained the great seal; and in the following year, Leo X. appointed him his legate, with the highest powers appertaining to that office.

Wolsey showed himself fit for his good fortune; his great talents were quite equal to the stress laid upon them, and he administered justice with impartiality. Though he afterwards became very much disliked by the people, he was at that time exceedingly popular; for he was not only the richest, but the most generous and magnificent, of the king's subjects. He feasted the nobles; encouraged learned men; endowed colleges; and was very liberal to the poor. Still he was grasping, haughty, and very fond of a display of finery. He is said to have doubled his immense income by the sale of preferments in the church; he gave away benefices, the right of patronage in which belonged to others; and all persons who committed offences were called before him, and made to pay such fines as he pleased to inflict upon them. These things, in time, made him many enemies, who longed for the ruin of the fortunate priest.

His fondness of finery and display was exemplified by his love of dress. He wore silks and satins; and even his shoes were ornamented with pearls and diamonds. When he appeared in public, the cardinal's hat was carried before him by a lord; for he had no less than nine or ten noblemen among his attendants, who are said to have amounted altogether to the enormous number of 800. Before him walked his pursuivant-at-arms, carrying a silver-gilt mace; then came two gentlemen with silver staves; and then two tall and handsome priests, holding aloft immense silver crosses. Behind the cardinal rode a troop of horsemen, all richly dressed. Wolsey, himself, as a priest, sat upon a mule; but the trappings of the animal were of crimson velvet, ornamented with gold. In the end, the king got envious of all this magnificence; but, for a time, he liked it; as he fancied that, his minister being so great, he, of necessity, must be greater. And Wolsey was very vain of all his power and wealth, which gave him hopes of becoming pope, and caused him to think himself superior to all his brother priests. When the Archbishop of Canterbury, having written him a letter, signed himself, "your loving brother," Wolsey complained of his presumption. The archbishop, on being told of this, merely replied, "This man is drunk with too much prosperity."

For some years affairs went on quietly in England; though the quiet, to some extent, resembled the hush and calmness which precede a storm. Few events of any historical importance took place. Peace existed between King Henry and Francis I., who had succeeded Louis XII. upon the throne of France; and the English sovereign so much admired the bravery and spirit of the French king, that he proposed a personal interview. Francis readily consented; and everybody was delighted with the idea of two wealthy and powerful monarchs meeting for the purpose of exchanging compliments and kind words. The interview was put off for a time, in consequence of the death, in January, 1519, of Maximilian, the Emperor of Germany. Henry of England, Francis of France, and Charles of Spain, became candidates for the imperial crown; for the emperors did not succeed by hereditary right, but were elected to their elevated rank by the petty princes of Germany. Henry had no reasonable cause to suppose he would be elected; but he was disappointed when Charles of Spain was chosen. As Francis was also unsuccessful, the friendship between him and Henry remained uninterrupted.

The proposed interview between the two monarchs took place in the month of June, 1520, in a plain between Guisnes and Ardres. The French and English nobility vied with each other who should make the most magnificent display; and many spent their whole fortunes, and ruined themselves, to provide costly dresses and equipages. Henry had a wooden palace built for his residence, which resembled those beautiful structures read of in fairy tales. Before it was a gilded fountain, spouting forth many sorts of wine, and an exquisitely carved column, supported by four gilded lions, wreathed with flowers. Upon the tower and battlements of the palace, were statues of gigantic warriors, seemingly in the act of hurling down great stones upon the heads of those below; and other statues of the heroes of classical mythology. The furniture of the interior was exceedingly gorgeous, and the walls and altar of the little chapel were radiant with gold and brilliant gems. Henry had a Latin motto placed over this magnificent habitation—*Cui adhaereo praest;* which means, "He prevails whom I support." It implied that he held the balance of power between the great monarchs of Europe: which, indeed, to some extent, he did. Wolsey arranged all this pomp and magnificence.

Francis, the French king, had an immense pavilion in the form of a dome, the outside of which was covered with cloth of gold; and the inside, which was concave, was lined with blue velvet, and studded with golden stars, to represent the sky. Unfortunately for this magnificent tent, a tremendous wind arose, which tore up the ropes, and made the whole a mere heap of glittering ruins; so the French king was obliged to go

and live in an old castle near the spot. Still, such was the profusion of finery and gorgeous apparel that was exhibited, that the place received the name of the Field of the Cloth of Gold.

On the 7th of June, the two kings approached each other, on horseback, in the valley of Ardres. After mutually embracing, Francis said, "My dear brother and cousin, thus far to my pain have I travelled to see you personally. I think verily that you esteem me as I am, and that I am not unworthy to be your aid. The realms and seigniories in my possession demonstrate the extent of my power." Henry answered—"Neither your realms nor other the places of your power are a matter of my regard; but the steadfastness and loyal keeping of promises comprised in charters between you and me. I never saw prince with my eyes that might of my heart be more beloved; and for your love have I passed the seas into the farthest frontier of my kingdoms to see you." Then both of then dismounted, and walking arm-in-arm together into a tent prepared for them, partook of a splendid banquet. A grand tournament followed, which lasted for six days. During this time the common soldiers amused themselves with wrestling; and, one day, the King of England asked the French king to try a fall with him. The challenge was instantly accepted, and Henry was thrown. Being very much mortified, he demanded his revenge; but the courtiers on both sides interfered, and prevented a contest which might have turned this peaceful meeting into a scene of confusion and violence.

The French king was of a cheerful, generous disposition, and he much disliked all the suspicious precautions that were used when Henry and himself met. He therefore hit upon a curious plan to remove them. One morning he rode almost alone to the English quarters, and told the guards to take him to their king. Entering Henry's apartment, he found him still in bed, and told him, in a smiling manner, that he was his prisoner. Henry was delighted with this generous mark of confidence, and, leaping from his bed, called Francis his brother, and placed around his neck a collar of pearls, worth 15,000 angels (an angel being a piece of money valued at ten shillings, and so called because it had the impression of an angel stamped upon it). Francis would not be outdone in liberality, and he only consented to keep the collar upon condition of Henry's accepting a magnificent bracelet worth twice as much.

The next day Henry returned the French king's visit in the same manner, and, after some more time spent in balls, banquets, and masquerades (of which Henry was very fond), the two monarchs parted, the French king departing to Paris, and the English one to Calais. Before Henry returned to England he went to Gravelines, and paid a visit to the Emperor Charles, who was Queen Catharine's nephew. Though young, that monarch was wise and crafty; and, as he was anxious that, if a war arose between him and Francis, Henry should not take the part of France, he lavished many compliments upon the English sovereign, and told Wolsey, that if the pope died, he might count upon his assistance in helping him to the triple crown of Rome.

The most important effect of all the dressing, feasting, and extravagance at the Field of the Cloth of Gold was, that numbers of both the French and English nobles were brought into difficulties, and some of them even ruined. Many, it is said, wore, in costly clothes and jewels, the price of an entire estate upon their backs. The greatest of English poets thus speaks of the rivalry in magnificence between the high-born spendthrifts of the two nations:—

"To-day the French,
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the English; and, to-morrow, they
Made Britain, India: every man, that stood,
Show'd like a mine."

The Duke of Buckingham, one of the richest men in England, provoked the king's anger by loudly condemning all this extravagance; although he was amongst the foremost men on the field, and one of the four judges of the jousts. This nobleman was related to the House of the Plantagenets, being descended, on the female side, from the youngest son of Edward III. Henry was seated too firmly on the throne to admit of any one being able to dispute his claims; but still he looked upon Buckingham with a jealous eye. The duke had been so unguarded as to say that, if the king died without leaving any children behind him, he thought that he had the best title to succeed him. And he listened to a fortune-telling monk, named Hopkins, who encouraged him to believe that he or his son would, at some time, wear the crown of England. Buckingham had also offended Wolsey, whom he pretended to despise as a low-bred person; and, on one occasion, when the duke was holding a basin of water for the king to wash his hands, the cardinal, as soon as the king had done, dipped his hands into the same water; upon which Buckingham, who disdained to wait upon him, spilt the water in Wolsey's shoes. No doubt this incident was secretly enjoyed by the courtiers who were jealous of the cardinal's power; but that prelate himself was so incensed, that he uttered an audible threat against the duke.

One day Buckingham was invited from his estates in Gloucestershire, to attend the court at Greenwich. Suspecting no evil, he arrived in London, where he was



arrested, and carried to the Tower. This was during the month of April, 1521, and the following May he was tried before the House of Lords on a charge of high treason. It was said that he had tempted Friar Hopkins to make traitorous prophecies, and had threatened, in the event of the king's death, to send Wolsey and others to the scaffold. But by far the most serious charge against him was, that he had said, on a late occasion, that if the king had ordered his arrest, he would have plunged his knife into him. It seems Buckingham had been guilty of listening to the friar's obscure stories, and of using the threatening language spoken of; but he declared that words alone, without any action, did not amount to treason. That is certainly true: to threaten to murder any one is not to commit a murder; although it is a very serious offence, and deserving of punishment. Buckingham should have been imprisoned or reprimanded; but moderation and mercy in such matters were seldom exercised in the middle ages of our history, and the unfortunate duke was condemned to perish by the hands of the headsman.

The Duke of Norfolk, the victor of Flodden Field, pronounced the sentence, and shed tears as he did so; for he respected the unhappy noble, but he dared not oppose the king's will, and he knew that Henry had resolved upon Buckingham's death. The fallen peer answered, "My lord of Norfolk, you have said to me as a traitor should be said unto; but I was never one. Still, my lord, I nothing malign you for that you have done unto me. May the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do. I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I desire. I desire you, my lords, and all my fellows, to pray for me." It was expected that the king would grant Buckingham a pardon, for he was greatly loved by the people; but, on the 17th of May, he was led to the scaffold, and beheaded on Tower Hill. His father was the worthless Duke of Buckingham who had helped to raise Richard III. to the throne; then rebelled against him; and finally perished in the same violent and gloomy manner as his son did.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

A DIGRESSION ABOUT MARTIN LUTHER, AND THE BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION.



WE have now arrived at the commencement of one of the most important events to be found in modern history —the REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH OF ROME! Before, however, the progress of that movement is dwelt upon, a few pages must be devoted to a brief account of the distinguished reformer, Martin Luther, and the origin of that great religious convulsion, which took its rise in Germany. Without some knowledge of Luther's life, it would be very difficult to understand the great and fundamental change in religious practice which was brought about mainly by his teaching, and is known as the Reformation.

Martin Luther was born at Eisleben, in Lower Saxony, on the 10th of November, 1483. His parents were poor people—very poor indeed; his father being only a mine-labourer. But God sends his gifts where he pleases, without regard to rank or wealth; in His sight all men are equal; and the son of the humble, unregarded labourer was to win a fame greater than that of any of the princes of his time. When Luther was a child, he and his companions sang about the streets and begged, to get a trifle to purchase food. This would be very sad to reflect upon, but that begging in this manner was not then considered degrading in Germany, as it now is amongst us. It was a custom, and many children of the poor practised it. While still a boy, he was sent to some relations at Eisenach—very humble people too—and there he obtained a situation in the house of a daughter of a neighbouring burgomaster. Being thoughtful and industrious, he set to work to learn Latin, and, after a time, contrived to enter the university of Erfurt, intending to study the law.

His father, in the meantime, had got on better in the world, and was able to help him a little; and the old man had hopes that his learned son would make his fortune. When Luther was nineteen, he and a friend, named Alexis, had been to visit his father; as they were walking back, a storm came on, and Alexis was struck dead by lightning at Luther's side. This painful accident awoke in his mind very serious reflections; he thought of the awful power of God, and of the littleness and weakness of man. He saw that we were, every hour, surrounded by danger and temptations; and he shrank in fear from the noisy, working, pleasure-loving

world, and crept nearer to God for protection. What, thought he, is this life of ours!—a water-drop, a grain of sand, a mote in the summer air!—but one moment, and it is past! One flash of that mysterious lightning and it is gone; the pale, smitten body is tenantless, and the spirit cleaving the blue expanse of the universe, towards the mercy-seat of the Eternal One, who holds the ocean in the hollow of his hand, and whose word governs the myriads of gigantic orbs which roll throughout immeasurable space. Luther was appalled; he resolved to devote himself to the service of the Almighty, and become a monk.

With these feelings he entered, in 1505, the monastery of St. Augustine, very much to the disappointment of his father, who had hoped to see him a thriving, wealthy man. Luther was very unhappy after he became a monk; he was haunted by the fear that he had incurred the anger of God, and that he would be lost eternally. This gave him so much pain that he became pale and haggard, and so thin and worn, that he feared he should die. But among the idle, worldly-minded monks was one man who gave him great comfort, and restored peace to his wounded mind. He became a preacher, and preached with such holy warmth and eloquence, that his hearers were struck with wonder, and sometimes melted to tears. He was so much liked, that the Elector Frederick, Duke of Saxony, in 1508, desired him to become professor of philosophy at the university of Wittenberg, which had been just founded.

Two years afterwards, in 1510, he went on a mission to Pope Leo X. at Rome; and at that time he had no idea of the great and daring opposition which he was destined to organise against the religion of that magnificent but idolatrous city. When he arrived there, he fell upon his knees, and exclaimed, "Hail, holy Rome! sanctified by holy martyrs, and by the blood which they have here shed!" His mind was soon changed; the enthusiastic Luther was startled at the worldliness and immorality he saw among the priests of Rome. To him religion seemed banished from the world; and he began to think that this great wrong must be set right, and the church re-formed—made over again, upon better and purer principles. But what could he, a poor monk, do against all the power, riches, and authority of the pope and the holy college? It seemed, nothing; but it was to be otherwise; the power of one good, sincere man, working for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, is immense.

In the year 1516, Leo, who was in great want of money to help him to build the cathedral of St. Peter's, thought it would be an excellent means of raising it by selling indulgences for sin. These indulgences were to save all those sinners who purchased them from the pains of purgatory. The price was ten shillings; and, as many persons thought a pardon for their offences was cheap at that sum, large numbers were sold. A Dominican monk, named Tetzel, entered Wittenberg to retail these indulgences. Luther, as yet, agreed with the church of which he was a member, upon all points of doctrine; but the idea of buying from man that pardon which he felt sure only God could grant, distressed and startled him. The more he thought upon the subject, the more sure he was that the pope and friars were guilty of sinful presumption. He was also disgusted by the shameful manner in which Tetzel and his fellow-monks puffed off their pretended pardons; and he first condemned indulgences from his pulpit, and then wrote ninety-five propositions against them, which, on the 31st of October, 1517, he placed on the door of the church of Wittenberg, and offered to defend against all opponents.

Tetzel, the Dominican friar, the agent for the sale of the indulgences, called Luther a heretic, who deserved to be burnt at the stake. Luther retorted by defending his propositions with great warmth; and, in a little while, this quarrel between the two monks was talked of through the whole of Germany. Luther's doctrines soon attracted the notice of the pope; and he was summoned before Cardinal Cajetan, the legate of the pontiff, to answer for his conduct. He attended before the cardinal at Augsburg, when that prelate informed him that he did not intend to enter into any controversy, but that he should propose three things: and he earnestly advised him, "First, to become a sound member of the church, and to recant his errors; secondly, to promise that he would not teach such pernicious doctrines for the future; and thirdly, to take care that the peace of the church was not broken by his means." As the cardinal employed threats instead of reasoning, Luther, after three days' conference with him, secretly left Augsburg, and appealed from the cardinal to the pope himself. The latter decided that he, as the successor of St. Peter, and vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, had power to pardon the guilt of sin, and to mitigate or withhold its punishment. Luther would not submit, even to the pope himself, when he believed him to be in error; and he appealed from the pontiff to a general council, which, he said, possessed greater authority. The pope's nuncio, Miltitz, applied to the superiors of the Augustine monks to reclaim or coerce their disobedient brother, and they begged Luther to conciliate the pope by a respectful letter. Luther consented to write, but his letter was of such a nature that it could only be regarded as an insult. In it he said he had never spoken dishonourably of his holiness, but had called him a Daniel in the midst of Babylon, to denote the

innocence and purity he had preserved among so many perverse men: that the court of Rome was more corrupt than either Babylon or Sodom; and that his holiness was a lamb among wolves, a Daniel among lions, and an Ezekiel among scorpions. These comparisons were looked upon as sarcasms, as they very likely were; but Luther also gave the pope some excellent advice, though of a kind he was sure not to follow. He said that the pope must not prescribe him rules for the interpretation of the Word of God, because it ought not to be limited; and desired him not to suffer himself to be seduced by his flatterers into a persuasion that he could command and regulate all things; or that he was above a council and the universal church, and had alone the right to interpret scripture; but to believe rather the men who debased than those who exalted him.

After receiving this letter, Leo, in 1520, published a bull, denouncing forty-one propositions selected from Luther's works, as false, scandalous, or heretical; and declaring him excommunicated if he did not retract them within sixty days. Luther termed the pope's letter, "the execrable bull of Antichrist;" and published a book, in which he called upon the whole German nation to shake off the pope's power, and reform the church. And then, taking the pope's bull and the writings of several prelates who opposed him, the courageous and resolute monk burnt them without the walls of Wittenberg, before an immense number of people; saying, as he threw them into the flames, "Because ye have troubled the holy of the Lord, ye shall be burnt with everlasting fire."

The pope immediately sent messengers to the Emperor of Germany, desiring two things. The first was, that he would cause all Luther's books to be burnt; and the second, that he would put Luther himself to death, or imprison him, or send him to the pope. Accordingly, Luther's books were burnt in many parts of Germany; but out of respect to the Elector of Saxony, Luther's patron, the emperor would not proceed against the reformer himself.

But the pope was not willing to give up the subject so easily, and he sent a minister, named Aleander, to the Diet of Worms, in the year 1521, who urged the emperor and assembled princes to execute the pope's bull against Luther without delay. The emperor sent an officer from Worms to Wittenberg to bring Luther in safety to the Diet, assuring him that he should not be molested. Luther's friends advised him not to go, and feared that some dark fate would befal him if he did. That brave priest, who seems to have been almost incapable of fear, answered that, "If he knew there were as many devils at Worms as tiles upon the houses, he would go."

When he arrived at Worms, two questions were put to him—"First, whether he owned the books for his that went under his name? And, secondly, whether he intended to retract or defend what was contained in them?" After a discussion, which lasted for some days, the reformer answered, that, unless he was convinced by texts of scripture or evident reason, he neither could nor would retract anything; because it was not lawful for him to act against his conscience. "Here I stand," said he firmly in conclusion: "I cannot do otherwise; God be my aid—Amen!" The emperor then declared that he should proceed against him as a notorious heretic, but honourably permitted him to leave Worms in safety, as he had promised.

The friends of the reformer saw that his life was in danger; they knew that if he remained at liberty, no earthly power could save him from the vengeance of Rome, and from a hideous death by fire. Duke Frederick, of Saxony, resolved to prevent this if possible; and, as Luther was returning to Wittenberg, he was seized by a party of masked horsemen, who carried him off to the strong castle of Wartenburg, where he was placed for safety in an apartment, the staircase leading to which was secured by chains and an iron door. Thus no one knew where he was, and no one could come near him, except two young men who visited him twice a-day to bring him his meals.

He remained in the castle for ten months, during which time he occupied himself in translating the Bible into the language of his own country. In his solitude, he often fancied that Satan was hovering near him in his room. Once he had an attack of illness that brought on a sort of beating in his head and a singing in his ears, and he firmly believed that it was the fiend buffeting him because he was a faithful servant of the Lord. Another time he believed he actually saw the devil. He had been translating one of the Psalms, and was worn out with long labour at his task, and faint from illness and want of food. Suddenly there seemed to rise before him a dreadful-looking phantom, of a hideous but indescribable shape, to forbid him to proceed with his work. But the courageous monk cared not for the fiend: why should he? He knew that he was one of God's creatures; and that the God on whom he relied would protect him. Starting up resolutely, he seized his inkstand and threw it at the spectre, which instantly disappeared. Of course, there was no such appearance; solitude, sickness, and exhaustion made Luther believe that he saw the dark being, the incarnation of all evil, that so often filled his thoughts. Rest, pleasant walks, and smiling faces would have cured him of these illusions; but the incident shows us the bold decision of the man. His fearless disposition was terrified neither by pope nor devil; in the holy cause of truth

he would defy them both. What should he fear except the wrath of God? That he would avoid by a pure and blameless life; for the rest, nothing could much afflict him who had resigned the delights of the world, and looked only for peace and joy in heaven.

Tired of solitude, Luther, in 1521, left Wartenburg Castle, and returned to his duties at Wittenberg, where he was received by the students with delight. He found that King Henry VIII., of England, had written a book against him in Latin, called a *Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther.* The English king had sent a copy of his work to the pope, who bestowed upon him, in return, by a bull issued on the 10th of October, the title of "Defender of the Faith." Luther replied to the book in so severe a manner, that Henry, who had as yet remained attached to the Roman church, disliked the reformed doctrines more than he had done before. The bold preacher said that he did not believe the king had written the book at all; and that whoever had written it was a fool, who did not understand his subject, and whose only merit consisted in being able to write in elegant language.

Pope Leo X. died in 1522; but Luther was not out of danger, for his successor, Adrian VI., was also resolved on sending the reformer to the stake. But, in 1523, Adrian died too; and his successor, Clement VII., was of a more merciful nature.

Luther, at first, only preached against the blasphemous trade of the pope's selling indulgences for sin; but he at length utterly renounced the authority of the Roman church; and, in the year 1524, he married! His wife was an escaped nun, who had adopted his notions of religion: her name was Catharine de Bore. He said, "No words are more odious to my ears than the names of nun, monk, priest; and marriage seems to me a paradise even in the depths of poverty." After his marriage, he felt the poverty he speaks of, and that very bitterly. He was obliged to labour for his bread, and to sell many articles of furniture to buy food; but he and his wife kept up bravely. Once, after speaking of her gentleness and affection, he said, "I would not exchange my poverty for the wealth of Crœsus!"

In the year 1529, a Diet was held at the city of Spires, at which the Emperor Charles presided; and some severe attempts were made to put down Luther and the new opinions in religion. But those opinions had gathered strength, and were spreading rapidly abroad. The Elector and the reformers uttered a solemn *protest* against the decrees of this Diet, or assembly; and from that act they were called PROTESTANTS—a name used ever since to distinguish all Christians who do not belong to the Roman church. To call the Roman church, or, indeed, any other church, by the name of *Catholic*, is absurd; for Catholic means *universal*; and even Christianity itself has not yet extended over more than a fourth part of the whole earth; that is, not more than a fourth part of the people in the world, as yet, believe its divine truths, and receive its blessings.

After the Diet at Spires, the pope issued a severe decree against the reformers; and the Protestant princes, for the sake of defence, entered into a holy league to resist Rome, and enable themselves and their subjects to worship God after their own fashion. All this had been begun by our countryman, Wycliffe, nearly 200 years before; but the great work had slept since. He claimed for all persons the right of reading the Bible for themselves, according to their own judgment. That was the true seed from which the Reformation sprung—the hallowed right of private judgment: that is one of the most precious rights which God has bestowed upon his creatures, and one which, if observed, will ever sustain the religion of our land in freedom and glory.

Luther was better fitted to destroy the dominion of the Roman church than Wycliffe was; for Luther was a bolder and a sterner man. He was less liberal towards those who differed from him than was the good old priest of Lutterworth; and not so kindly or so genial, or so broad in his views, or so free from superstitious errors. But Luther's great courage made him more fit to trample down powerful error, and to establish a better and purer church. He was very fierce: intensely so towards his persecutors, and returned their curses with as much bitterness as they were uttered. One time he said—"They shall never more have a good word from me; I would have them buried to the sound of my thunders and lightnings. I can no longer pray without cursing. If I say, 'Hallowed be Thy name,' I feel myself constrained to add, 'Accursed be the name of papists, and of all who blaspheme Thee.' If I say, 'Thy kingdom come,' I add, 'Cursed be the popedom, and all kingdoms opposed to Thine.' If I say, 'Thy will be done,' I follow with, 'Cursed and disappointed be the schemes of the papists, and of all who fight againt Thee.'" This vindictiveness of spirit must not be harshly judged; for Luther lived in a wild, unquiet time—a time of strife and unsettled opinions; amongst men who thirsted for his blood, and longed to strangle the strong infant truth, which, on its part, threatened to rock their church to its foundations. He died in the year 1546, after a life of storms and dangers, in his sixty-third year. When he felt his last hour approaching, he uttered the following prayer:—"My heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, Thou hast manifested unto me Thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have taught him; I have known him: I love him as my life, my health, my redemption; whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted.—Draw my soul to Thee!"

CHAPTER XLIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.—A.D. 1521—1530.

THE doctrines of Luther had made their way into England, and had spread abroad among the people, as it was natural they should do; for there were many there who still loved the memory and teachings of our noble old reformer, Wycliffe. King Henry, as already mentioned, wrote a book against Luther, and sent it to the pope, who conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith." Henry was vain enough to believe that if he wrote against Luther's doctrines, the English people would at once give them up and keep to the old religion; but he was mistaken: the effect of his book was to make the matter more known, and to spread the principles of the Reformation farther than ever. Cardinal Wolsey had, before this, given orders to the bishops to seize all books written by Luther found in the possession of their clergy or the people; and to give notice in the churches, that all persons having such books, who did not deliver them up within fifteen days, should be excommunicated. On the 12th of May, 1521, the condemned works were burnt in London, before Paul's Cross.

Soon after the publication of Henry's book, Pope Leo X. died, and Wolsey sent a messenger to Rome to try and promote his election to the papal throne; but he was too late; his chance was gone; and a feeble old man, Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, was chosen. Wolsey was vexed, but he trusted that Adrian would not live long, and that he would yet become pope.

It had been agreed that King Henry should be the umpire in any dispute which might arise between the German emperor, Charles, and the French king, Francis. A quarrel had arisen between the two princes, and both of them, in 1522, requested Henry's judgment. The English king made Wolsey arbitrator in the matter; and the cardinal (who was bribed by the emperor with a promise that he would endeavour to raise him to the popedom on the death of Adrian) secretly took part against France, and even begged Henry to join the emperor in a war against that country. Henry had lately exchanged protestations of friendship with Francis at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Still he was ready to enter into a conspiracy and war against him, in the hope that Francis might be conquered, and his kingdom divided between the emperor and himself.

In settling the quarrel between Charles and Francis, Wolsey proposed such terms as he knew the French king would reject. He then deplored the obstinacy of Francis; said that he was the aggressor, and that Henry was bound to assist the German emperor in a war against him. It was soon agreed that Henry should invade the north of France with an army of 40,000 men, and that Charles should attack it on the east and south with the same number. Henry seemed to have forgotten that armies are not to be raised without money; and, after screwing from the people as much as they would pay, he was only able to collect about 15,000 soldiers.

In the month of August, 1522, the Earl of Surrey landed with these troops at Calais, and marched through Artois to the banks of the Somme, burning all the villages and farmhouses they passed, and ruining the poor people. The French would not run the risk of a regular battle—their experience of such conflicts had rendered them cautious—but they hung upon the rear of the English, and prevented them from obtaining provisions. Constant rains fell; and this, with a want of sufficient food, soon brought on sickness in the English army. So that, after having done no mischief except to the harmless country-people, who had nothing to do with the affair, and done himself or his king no good at all, Surrey was obliged, in the month of October, to return to Calais.

An alliance had long existed between the Scots and the French; therefore, when Henry sent Surrey to invade France, the Scottish regent, Albany, raised an army and ravaged the English borders. Scotland, however, was in such an unhappy state, and so many jealousies existed amongst its nobles, that Albany was soon compelled to enter into a truce. The next year (1523) Henry became the aggressor, and sent an army into Scotland, under the command of the warlike Earl of Surrey, who ravaged the Merse and Teviotdale, and burned the town of Jedburgh without meeting with any opposition. A feeble attempt was made on the part of the Scots to retaliate, but it failed through the treachery of their own leaders; and that nation was so distracted with factions at home, that for several years it was unable to disturb the English, who, on this account, had more leisure to make war upon France.

Henry had spent all his money in foolish wars and extravagant pageants; and in April, 1523, he summoned a parliament to grant him some more. It was eight years since he had called a parliament, and he

only required it to vote him a sum of money and retire. Cardinal Wolsey himself attended the house with an immense retinue; and, after making a long speech to the members upon the need the king had of their assistance, he asked them to grant the enormous sum of £800,000, to be collected by means of a property-tax of 1s. in the pound on every income each year, for four years. As such a grant as this was very unusual, the members hesitated; and, although the cardinal talked to them very sternly, they refused to consult upon the subject until he had retired from the house. A debate of several days followed; and, in the end, the Commons granted *half* the tax proposed. Even this was far more easily granted than collected, and nearly produced an insurrection among the people.

About this time Pope Adrian VI. died, and Wolsey was again a candidate for the pontifical throne; but once more he was disappointed, for Cardinal Giulio de Medici was elected, under the title of Clement VII. Nearly all the cardinals changed their names when they became pope, as they had a superstition among them, that those who did not take another name when they were raised to that gorgeous station died shortly afterwards.

Wolsey bore his defeat with patience, congratulated the new pope, and applied to him for a continuation of the legatine power he had before enjoyed. Clement readily assented, and appointed him to be legate, or representative of the pope in England, as long as he should live. Besides this, he gave him authority to reform and suppress some small monasteries in England. The church of Rome had plenty of ignorant monks and to spare; and, instead of them, she wanted learned scholars to defend her doctrines against the fast-spreading principles of Luther and the protestant reformers. Wolsey, therefore, suppressed some smaller monasteries, and distributed the monks in them amongst the larger ones. With the revenues of these houses he built and endowed two colleges—one at Oxford, and another at the town of Ipswich, where he was born.

England, Germany, Spain, the pope, and all the states of Italy, now leagued together against France; and Henry spent the money he had lately wrung from the people in collecting an army for another invasion of that country. The command of the forces was given to the Duke of Suffolk; and, in the August of 1523, he sailed over to Calais. His army consisted of 12,000 English soldiers; and as many more Flemings and Germans, who were led by the Count de Bure. Though the Duke of Suffolk was very expert in feats of arms, and could ride a horse and wield a lance better than any other man in England, he was but a very poor general. A fine intellect, a ready spirit never perplexed by unforeseen accidents, and a genius for military tactics, are far more necessary for a general than even the strength and courage of the Hebrew patriot, Sampson. The strong gigantic Cossacks could not understand how a little man such as Bonaparte, who is said to have ridden like a butcher, could be the first soldier in Europe. They were not wise enough to know, that strength of mind, compared with strength of muscle, is like a sword of finely-tempered steel opposed to one of lead. For want of understanding well how to command as well as how to fight, Suffolk lost time, fell into difficulties, and was harassed by the French, who, though they would not fight him, hovered round his army, and cut off its supplies of provisions. After doing absolutely nothing, bad weather, want of food, and sickness among his troops, compelled the duke to retire in disgrace to Calais.

For four years few events of any interest occurred in England. Henry created a great deal of discontent among his people by the arbitrary manner in which he extorted money from them; for he would not now call a parliament, but levied taxes at his own pleasure. Wolsey also created a great deal of envy by his covetousness and ostentation. It was during this period that he made the king a present of the magnificent palace of Hampton Court, which he had built as a residence for himself; but, fearing to excite the envy of Henry by his grandeur, he pretended that he had designed it for him from the first.

Though England was nearly tranquil, the neighbouring continent was filled with wars and strange transactions. Francis, the French king, notwithstanding the powerful league against him, had invaded Italy; had been defeated at a great battle, fought on the 25th of February, 1525, at Pavia; had been taken prisoner by the German emperor, and had recovered his liberty. Henry had at first intended to attempt the conquest of France; but, as he could not raise the money to do so, he changed his mind, and, as soon as Francis was at large again, entered into a peace with him. But the most remarkable event was the assault and sack of Rome, on the 6th of May, 1527, by the French traitor, Constable Bourbon. The Vatican was plundered; Pope Clement only found safety within the walls of the castle of St. Angelo; many of the cardinals and bishops were murdered; and, for five days, the streets of the city, which the Romanists believed to be the residence of the representative on earth of the blessed Saviour, ran with blood, and resounded with blasphemous oaths and shrieks of terror.

These events had little connection with the affairs of England, where King Henry, who had been married seventeen years to his queen, Catharine of Aragon (who, all that period, was an affectionate and excellent wife), suddenly pretended to be struck with remorse, on

account of his having married his brother's widow—a marriage forbidden by the church, and by the customs of Christians generally. The truth was, that another lady had attracted his fancy, and he wanted an excuse to be divorced from his queen, Catharine, that he might marry again.

The lady who had won the affection of the king was Anne Boleyn, one of the queen's maids of honour. Anne was extremely beautiful, graceful, witty, and cheerful; and, at the time she attracted Henry's admiration (the year 1527), she was about twenty years of age. She had spent some years in France, and had all the gaiety and vivacity of the ladies of that nation. Her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, though descended from a London merchant, had lately been created Viscount Rochford. Her mother, however, was of noble blood—being a daughter of Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. King Henry, at first, made some dishonourable proposals to the young lady, which she instantly rejected; but she gave him to understand that, if he had been single, she would have had no objection to become his queen. Anne acted very properly in rejecting the king's solicitations—though, in so doing, no great praise is due to her; for it is said that Henry had before ruined, and then abandoned, her own sister, Mary. But she acted wrongly—indeed, with shameful ingratitude—in encouraging the addresses of the husband of the kind mistress on whom she attended.

Henry now lived away from his queen, and talked a great deal about his religious scruples concerning the lawfulness of his marriage. Catharine was past her youth—for she was in her forty-third year, and time and illness had robbed her of much of the beauty which she once possessed. Besides this, she had brought Henry but one child, the Princess Mary; and the king longed for a son to succeed him. Henry first consulted his confessor, the Bishop of Lincoln, upon the subject; and the bishop agreed with the king, and felt, or pretended to feel, the importance of his doubts. The Archbishop of Canterbury was next applied to: he consulted the other prelates; and, in the end, all of them, except one, declared that they considered the king's marriage unlawful—as they very well knew that he wished them to do. Wolsey, who was no favourite of the queen, took the same side, and proposed to his master to divorce Catharine, and marry the Duchess of Alençon, sister of the French king. The cardinal knew of the king's attachment to Anne Boleyn, but he had no idea that Henry had any intention of marrying her. The king's fancy, however, proved stronger than the cardinal supposed possible; and Henry, who was very fond of writing, and proud of his skill in argument, even wrote a book to prove, from certain passages in Leviticus, that his marriage with the queen was an unlawful alliance.

Henry soon resolved to apply to the pope for a divorce; and, as Clement was still a prisoner at Rome, and wished for the interference of England on his behalf, he regarded the application favourably. Clement soon afterwards escaped from Rome, and took up his residence at Orvieto. There he signed one paper, granting to Wolsey power to decide the divorce, and another, granting Henry permission to marry any other woman; but he desired them to keep these papers for a time, for fear of the consequences to him from the Emperor Charles, who had caused his imprisonment, and who was the nephew of Queen Catharine.

The impatient English king, who longed for an immediate divorce, that he might at once marry Anne Boleyn, was by no means satisfied with these documents; and he sent Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Fox to the pope, to ask for a more ample dispensation, and for an authority, called a decretal bull, in which the pontiff should promise to confirm the decision that Wolsey might pronounce upon the subject. The pope did not wish to offend Henry by denying this bull, and he did not like to offend the Emperor Charles by granting it: in this situation he acted in a very doubtful manner; but at length he signed the decretal bull, and instructed Cardinal Campeggio, whom he joined in the commission with Wolsey, to show it to the king, but not to let it go out of his possession.

Cardinal Campeggio, who quite understood the views of the pope, did not arrive in England until the month of May, 1529; and was resolved to delay the business as much as possible. On the 31st of May, Wolsey and Campeggio took their seats in the great hall of the Black Friars, to try the question, whether the marriage of the king and queen was lawful, or forbidden by the Scriptures and the church? When Henry and Catharine were called upon to make their appearance in court, a proxy attended for the king, but the queen was there in person. But she had not come to submit to their decision; she protested against the judgment of the cardinals, and appealed to the pope himself. In consequence of this, the court was adjourned until the 18th of June; and, in the meantime, the queen was persuaded to submit to its decision in the matter.

On the 21st of June, Henry and Catharine both attended, and took their seats. When the name of the king was called, he answered "Here," but the queen remained for a little time in silence. On her name being again called she rose, crossed herself, and then kneeling at the feet of her husband, addressed to him a gentle and touching speech, of which the following is an abbreviation:—

"Sir, I beseech you, for all the loves that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right: take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman, and a stranger, born out of your dominion. I have here no assured friend, much less impartial counsel, and I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas! Sir, wherein have I offended you, or on what occasion given you displeasure? Have I ever designed against your will and pleasure that you should put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife; ever conformable to your will and pleasure. Never have I said or done aught contrary thereto—being always well pleased and contented with all things wherein you had delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much; neither did I ever grudge in word or countenance, or show a visage or spark of discontent. I loved all those whom you loved only for your sake, whether I had cause or no, whether they were my friends or mine enemies. The king, your father, was, in the time of his reign, of such estimation through the world for his excellent wisdom, that he was accounted and called of all men the second Solomon; and my father, Ferdinand, King of Spain, was esteemed one of the wisest princes; both, indeed, were excellent princes, full of wisdom and princely behaviour. Also, as me seemeth, there were in those days as wise, as learned, and as judicious men as be at the present, who thought then the marriage good and lawful; therefore it is a wonder to hear what new inventions are brought up against me. Ye cause me to stand to the order and judgment of this new court, wherein ye may do me much wrong; for ye may condemn me for lack of sufficient answer, having no impartial advisers, but only such as ye assign me. Ye must consider, that they who be your subjects cannot be impartial counsellors for me; they have been chosen out of your own council, and they dare not, for fear of you, disobey your will, or frustrate your intentions. Therefore, most humbly do I require you, in the way of charity, and for the love of God, who is the best Judge, to spare me the extremity of this new court, until I be advertised what way my friends in Spain may advise me to take; and if you will not extend to me so much impartial favour, your will then be fulfilled: unto God I commit my cause."

When the queen had finished this appeal to Henry's better nature, she rose, curtsied to him very humbly, and left the court, to which she declared she never would return. Henry then acknowledged that she had always been an affectionate and dutiful wife, and said that the only reason for his desire to divorce her was, that he was disturbed in his mind because she had been his sister-in-law before she was his queen, and, therefore, that he feared his marriage with her was against the commands of the Scriptures.

The cardinals cited the queen to return to the court; but, as she would not do so, they pronounced her contumacious, and went on with the trial without her. Many particulars were then entered into, which it is not necessary to repeat; and it was decided that, as the queen had actually been the wife of the dead Prince Arthur, her subsequent marriage with his brother Henry was unlawful and unnatural. The king then demanded a judgment; but Cardinal Campeggio, after many delays, adjourned the cause on the 30th of July, until the month of October, that he might take the opinion of the pope upon the subject. The truth was, that the pope had not made his peace with the Emperor Charles, and had promised that sovereign not to sanction Henry's divorce; and the cardinal, having lengthened out the proceedings until that event had taken place, took his leave of the English court.

Henry was much disappointed and enraged: he dared not touch Campeggio; but Wolsey was within his power, and on him Henry's anger fell. The beautiful Anne Boleyn, who was now always with the king, entertained a dislike to the cardinal, as she fancied that he had hindered the divorce, and because she was attached to the reformed principles in religion, which he had done his best to put down. Henry was also surrounded by courtiers who hated the proud cardinal that outshone them in magnificence; and the king himself was jealous of the great wealth and power of the man who had so long enjoyed his favour.

Wolsey's ruin was determined on by the fickle monarch; and it was not long before means were taken to effect it. Soon after the trial of the lawfulness of the king's marriage, two bills were filed against the cardinal in the Court of King's Bench, in which he was charged with having broken some old and unused law in fulfilling his duties as legate of the pope. Wolsey very well knew that this was merely a pretence; but he knew, also, the tyranny and absolute disposition of the king; and he pleaded guilty to the charge, in the hope of softening the royal anger by his submission. His humility was as great now as his pride and haughtiness had been before, and he drew up a deed, giving all his immense personal wealth to the king, on condition of his being allowed to keep his rank and property in the church.

The greedy and unjust king seized the wealth thus surrendered to him, and then sent the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk to Wolsey, to say that he must leave his noble palace at York Place, and confine himself to his house at Esher. The dukes also demanded the great seal, which Wolsey held as chancellor; and, in doing so, they could not conceal their animosity and triumph.



The humbled cardinal replied—"My lords, the great seal of England was delivered to me by the hands of my sovereign; I hold it by his majesty's letters patent, which, along with it, have conferred on me the office of chancellor, to be enjoyed during my life, and I may not deliver it at the simple word of any lord, unless you can show me your commission." Henry sent a written order, and then Wolsey, on the 17th of October, 1529, resigned the seal. It was given to Sir Thomas More.

Leaving his magnificent abode, Wolsey sadly entered his barge, and was rowed up the Thames towards Esher. There were many boats full of people on the river, who hooted him as he left his gorgeous palace; but the fallen minister was so utterly spirit-broken, that he did not regard them. Arrived at Putney, he mounted his mule, and rode with his retinue towards Esher. As he was on his way, he was overtaken by Sir John Norris, one of the royal chamberlains, who presented to him a ring which the king had sent him from his own finger, together with a consoling message. The cardinal, who lost all dignity in his misfortunes, dismounted from his mule, and, falling upon his knees, thanked God for the returning favour of the king. The news, he said, was worth half a kingdom; but he had nothing to give Sir John but a little gold chain and crucifix. After bestowing these trifles upon the chamberlain, he added—"As for my sovereign, sorry am I that I have no worthy token to send him; but stay, here is my fool that rides beside me. I beseech thee take him to court, and give him to his majesty. I assure you, for any nobleman's pleasure, he is worth a thousand pounds." The poor jester, who loved his master, refused to leave him, and was obliged to be dragged away by six stout men.

At Esher, Wolsey spent his time in tears and lamentations; he pined away, and his health was soon very seriously injured. His face shrunk up to little more than half its natural size, and he fell ill of a fever. He had written the most humiliating and unmanly letters to the king; but Henry took no further notice of him until it was supposed that the miserable cardinal was dying. Then the ungrateful monarch was a little touched with the sufferings of the man who, for twenty years, had been his friend and faithful adviser; and he sent his own physician to attend upon him. This mark of the royal favour revived the cardinal, and he began to recover. But Henry was fickleness itself; for, having again summoned a parliament in October, 1529, he encouraged it to bring a bill of impeachment, consisting of forty-four articles, against Wolsey. But the fallen minister was not utterly deserted; his late secretary, Thomas Cromwell, opposed the bill with so much earnestness and eloquence, that it was abandoned.

Again did Henry seem to relent towards his old favourite; he granted him a free pardon, sent him some money for his present wants, and permitted him to remove nearer to the court. To grant a pardon for imaginary offences, and to send the cardinal some of his own money, was no very great liberality; but the enemies of Wolsey were alarmed lest he should regain his influence over the mind of the king, and they induced Henry to command him to retire to York and live within his archbishopric.

The humbled cardinal went to Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he became apparently an altered man, and won the affection of all the clergy and gentry of the neighbourhood. He had given up his haughtiness and ostentation, and become meek and considerate. Though he lived plainly, he was still very hospitable to his neighbours, and charitable to the poor, 300 of whom he employed in repairing the churches and houses of his see. Indeed, he was getting to be as much loved in Yorkshire as he had formerly been hated there.

The enemies of Wolsey did not like his becoming so popular, and they would not leave him in peace even in his retirement. He had been writing some letters to the pope and to the French sovereign, and these backbiters persuaded the king that there must be something treasonable in them. Henry listened to their insinuations, and sent the Earl of Northumberland to arrest the cardinal, and bring him as a prisoner to London, in order that he might be placed upon his trial. The earl arrived at York on the 4th of November, 1530. He had been the cardinal's friend, and was received by him with great kindness. Observing that he came very numerously attended, and that many of his followers were old servants of the family, Wolsey exclaimed, "Ah! my lord, I perceive that you observe the precepts and instructions which I gave you when you were abiding with me in your youth—to cherish your father's old servants." He then led the earl affectionately into the house. Northumberland hesitated; his errand was a very painful one: at length he laid his hand on the cardinal's shoulder, and, while the tears started to his eyes, said, "My lord, I arrest you of high treason."

The unhappy prelate seemed stunned, and, for a time, he neither moved nor spoke. Then he shed tears, and vented many exclamations of grief, but made no attempt at resistance, and uttered not one word against the king. The earl set out with him towards London, but Wolsey had received a shock from which he never recovered. When he reached Sheffield Park, the seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, he was taken so ill as to be confined to his bed for a fortnight. As soon as he was able to continue his journey he proceeded as far as Leicester Abbey, where, on the 26th of November, he was again obliged to halt. He was received by the abbot and monks with much ceremony. "Father," said he to the former, "I come to lay my bones among

you." He was taken to his bed, from which he never rose again.

The cardinal fainted frequently; and on the second morning after his arrival at the abbey, it was plain that he was dying. Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, had been sent to meet him and take charge of his person; and calling this officer to his bedside, he addressed to him almost his latest words:—"Master Kingston, I pray you have me commended most humbly to his majesty, and beseech him, on my behalf, to call to his gracious remembrance all matters that have passed between us from the beginning, especially respecting Queen Catharine and himself, and then shall his conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage, and hath a princely heart; for, rather than miss or want any part of his will, he will endanger one half of his kingdom. And I do assure you, I have often kneeled before him in his private chamber, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And Master Kingston, this I will say—had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs. Howbeit, this is my just reward for not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince."

There is something very painful about these words; and we feel inclined to forgive the wretched prelate for the arrogance, subtlety, and exactions of the time of his power. Had he possessed a more noble and manly spirit in his misfortunes (although, perhaps, we might have pitied him less), his memory would have been more respected. He wanted a little of that unbending firmness and untameable courage of which his great predecessor, Thomas à Becket, possessed so much. Yet he had great talents, and many good qualities; and certainly restrained the despotic and savage whims of Henry, which did not break out in their wild fierceness until after his death. He expired at eight o'clock in the morning, on the 29th of November, 1530, in the sixtieth year of his age; and was buried, without much ceremony, in the church of the monastery.

CHAPTER L.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.—A.D. 1530—1536.

SOME time before the death of Wolsey, an obscure priest of the name of Thomas Cranmer, who was secretly attached to the reformed doctrines of religion, happened to be in the company of Dr. Gardiner, the king's secretary, and Dr. Fox, his almoner. The conversation turned upon the subject of the king's divorce, when Cranmer observed, that the best way, either to quiet Henry's conscience or to gain the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe on the subject; for if they were unanimous in approving of the king's marriage with Catharine, his remorse would naturally cease; and, if they condemned it, the pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom.

This remark was repeated to Henry, who approved of the suggestion, and sent for Cranmer. In the interview, the king was so pleased with his learning and his manners, that he desired him to write a book in favour of the divorce. Cranmer did so, and declared in it, that the laws of God, as revealed in the Bible, and confirmed by the ancient fathers of the church, did not permit a man to marry his brother's widow. Agents were then sent to the various universities of Europe, to collect opinions on the subject. The English universities, Oxford and Cambridge, debated the question with a good deal of spirit, and were inclined to favour the queen; but they were at last driven by threats to decide according to the wishes of the king, and declared that they considered the marriage unlawful. Many of the foreign universities came to the same conclusion, though some of them received large bribes from the king to induce them to do so. All the German universities, however, agreed with their emperor, and decided against the divorce; and the pope, in the month of March, 1530, published a breve, threatening Henry with excommunication if he contracted a new marriage, and summoned him to appear, either himself or by proxy, before the tribunal at Rome.

Henry would not appear, either in person or by proxy; but, in 1530, he sent the father of Anne Boleyn, whom he had created Earl of Wiltshire, to explain his reasons for refusing to do so. This only made matters worse; for the earl insulted the pope by declining to kiss his toe, when the latter, according to custom, presented it to him for that purpose. Cranmer, who accompanied the earl, remained at Rome to endeavour

to persuade the pope to decide in Henry's favour. The pontiff was not to be moved, and Cranmer went into Germany, where he departed from the rules of the Roman church by secretly marrying the niece of a protestant pastor of Nuremburg.

The scheme of getting the opinions of the universities of Europe having failed in inducing the pope to decide upon the divorce, as Henry wished him to do, the king became very fretful and impatient upon the subject. There was in the service of Henry a bold, active, talented man, named Thomas Cromwell, who was encouraged by the pope's opposition to the king's will, to attempt to set England altogether free from the dominion of Rome, and to establish the reformed religion. Cromwell's life had been a romantic one: he was the son of a blacksmith at Putney; and, having received a good education, went abroad, and became a clerk in the English factory at Antwerp. He then turned soldier, joined the army of Constable Bourbon, and assisted at the sack of Rome, in the year 1527. On the restoration of peace in Italy, he went to Vienna, where he accepted a situation in the counting-house of a merchant. After this, he returned to England and studied the law; and, by some means, he attracted the notice of Cardinal Wolsey, who made him his solicitor, and employed him in the dissolution of those small monasteries which Wolsey suppressed for the purpose of raising funds to build a college at Oxford and another at Ipswich, as already mentioned. Cromwell showed so much talent that he gained a seat in the House of Commons; and, after the death of the cardinal, was received into the service of the king.

Knowing the unsettled state of Henry's mind on the subject of the church, and his vexation with the pope, Cromwell begged for an audience with the king. On being admitted, he told him, that the great difficulty about the divorce was the timidity of his ministers; and that the best way was to deny the authority of the pope altogether, and to rest his reason for putting away Queen Catharine upon the opinions of the foreign universities and the decision of his own parliament. Cromwell, finding that the king listened, without anger, to this bold advice, went a little further, and advised him to follow the example of the German princes who had adopted the new religion, and declare himself to be the supreme head of the English church. He said that, at present, Henry was only half a king, and that he would never have the full exercise of his royal authority until the bishops and clergy were made entirely dependent upon him, and not allowed to hold anything from the pope.

This advice pleased the absolute Henry so much that he resolved immediately to carry it into practice, and at once throw off the authority of an obstinate pope, who would not permit him to divorce his queen and marry another lady; and be, as far as England was concerned, both king and pope himself. Another advantage was, the prospect of deriving great profits from this new mode of managing the church; for the popes of Rome had always drawn immense sums from England, and these he would put into his own purse. But there was one difficulty in the way of this scheme: it was certain that the bishops and clergy would oppose it as much as they dared; so Henry began by attempting to coerce them into submitting to anything that he, in his selfish and avaricious whims, might please to propose.

The pretence put forward for the ruin of Cardinal Wolsey was, that he had presumed to exercise the functions of legate of the pope in defiance of some old unused law. Henry now (1531) said, that the clergy, in obeying Wolsey as legate, had shared his offence, and he ordered the attorney-general to bring an indictment against them all. The bishops were alarmed; they knew it would be useless to appeal to the reason or justice of the arbitrary king, and to tell him that they would have been ruined if they had not submitted to Wolsey's legatine authority, which had, in reality, been procured by Henry's consent, and supported by his power; therefore they pleaded guilty, and offered to pay a fine of upwards of £100,000 to win the pardon of their sovereign. Henry had no objection to sell his forgiveness for this large sum; but he would not receive it unless he was acknowledged by the bishops as "the protector and only supreme head of the church and clergy of England."

The bishops and clergy did not know how to act: if they refused this request they would incur the anger of the passionate king: if they granted it, they would be separating their church from the pope, and placing the power of the pontiff in the hands of their sovereign. They debated about it for three days, and then answered, that they acknowledged his title as head of the church with a certain limitation, *quantum per legem Christi liceat*—that is, "as far as may be by the law of Christ." When Cromwell (who had been made a privy councillor) brought this answer to Henry, the furious king exclaimed, in a loud and violent manner, "Mother of God! you have played me a shrewd turn. I thought to have made fools of those prelates, and now you have so ordered the business, that they are likely to make a fool of me, as they have done of you already. Go to them again, and let me have the business passed without any quantums or tantums. I will have no quantum nor no tantum in the matter, but let it be done out of hand." On this point, however, the clergy were firm, and Henry accepted the money and his title as head of the church, with the limitation attached to it.

While the king's mind was so unsettled on the subject of religion and church government, it might have been supposed that persecution and burnings for the sake of religious opinions would cease. This was by no means the case; several persons had been burnt during the previous part of his reign; but at this very time, when Henry was himself overthrowing the authority of the pope, he permitted a good and learned man, named Thomas Bilney, to be burned at Smithfield for exposing the errors of the Roman church.

Queen Catharine—from whom Henry had long separated, though they were not yet formally divorced—wrote a letter to the pope, who showed a wish to be reconciled to the English king, on condition that he would take back the queen and abandon Anne Boleyn. Henry treated the proposition with disdain; and as the parliament, in January, 1532, passed an act abolishing the annates, or first-fruits—a sort of taxes hitherto paid to the pope (an act which Henry did not confirm till July, 1533), Clement signed a breve, declaring both Henry and Anne excommunicated unless they should separate. Henry did not trouble himself much about this excommunication; he knew that his clergy had not the courage to enforce it; and taking Anne with him (whom he had created Marchioness of Pembroke), he went to Calais, where they landed on the 11th of October. On the 20th, Francis I. came to Calais; and, amidst the gaieties that prevailed, Henry endeavoured, but in vain, to induce his ally also to throw off the spiritual authority of Rome.

The king, Anne Boleyn, and the royal suite, did not leave Calais till the 13th of November. On arriving in England Henry continued his marked attention to Anne; and he was privately married to her on the 25th of January, 1533. The ceremony was performed by Dr. Rouland Lee, in an unfrequented chamber at Whitehall. The priest naturally hesitated, for he knew that Queen Catharine was yet living; but Henry told him that the pope had decided in favour of his divorce, and that he had the deed in his closet. Dr. Lee did not consider it prudent to inquire further: he took the king's word, the marriage proceeded, and then the party separated.

In February, 1533, Cranmer was made Archbishop of Canterbury; and, although he was strongly attached to the protestant religion, and had a wife in secret, he accepted it as a catholic, and took his oaths of obedience to the pope. Though Henry had thrown off the authority of the pontiff, yet he was so unsettled in his mind, and inconsistent in his conduct, that he insisted on Cranmer's receiving his consecration from Rome. Had that prelate been as good and brave a man as some writers have represented him, he would have refused to take an oath of obedience to the pope which he never intended to keep. But he was timid, loved rank and worldly distinction better than honourable duty, and dreaded the chance of incurring the displeasure of the king. He took the oath with a mental reservation—a detestable mode of equivocation, far worse than open lying. Such conduct is perjury before man, and blasphemy before God; highly criminal in any one, but most criminal in a priest. The result of this duplicity must have been very painful to Cranmer: he, a protestant in heart, accepted a situation as a catholic archbishop, and was compelled, in the execution of his duty, to condemn many better men than himself to perish at the stake by fire, for openly professing those opinions which he secretly held, but had not the manliness to avow.

As Cranmer was in a position which made it especially incumbent on him to set an example of truth, and sincere, unswerving integrity, his conduct must be regarded as most reprehensible. It was not necessary that he should have courted martyrdom himself; no one is required to do that: the ever-merciful Creator wants no such sacrifice from any of his creatures; but the first principles of morality (not to mention religion) demanded that he should not have accepted an office which compelled him to persecute those whom he believed were serving God more faithfully and purely than he himself was doing; and taken an oath which he did not intend to observe. Cranmer certainly expiated these sins, at last, by himself dying for the truth at the stake; but though he died bravely, he lived timidly: in his death he was a martyr; but in his life, unfortunately, a double-dealer and a parasite.

Because Cranmer was one of those who brought about the great Reformation in our religion, his memory has been respected and praised by many good, well-meaning persons; but he was not himself a great, good man; and, had the Reformation depended chiefly upon him, we should still have been worshipping consecrated wafers, and adoring winking pictures and bleeding images, at St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. Many of those who brought about the Reformation were not exactly the sort of men we could wish them to have been; still the Reformation itself was a great blessing. King Henry afterwards did more than any one in England to promote that glorious revolution of opinion; but he himself was a selfish tyrant. Many a bad man is unknowingly doing good work in the world—the unconscious instrument of a holy cause.

Cranmer, who was solemnly consecrated as archbishop on the 30th of March, had to purchase his elevation by, in all things, abjectly performing the will of the imperious king. This was a tacit understanding between him and that monarch; and Cranmer accordingly implored Henry to permit him to proceed to the final

examination of the cause of his divorce, and pass judgment thereon. As this was exactly what Henry wanted, he consented directly. The parliament then passed an act, declaring all appeals to Rome unlawful; and another, which decreed that Catharine should not in future be called queen, but only Princess-Dowager of Wales, the title which she would have enjoyed as Prince Arthur's widow, had she never been married to Henry. Cranmer, in April, assembled a court of bishops at Dunstable, and summoned Catharine to appear in it. That high-minded woman refused to do so; and then the archbishop declared her contumacious, and pronounced her marriage with the king to be unlawful, and therefore annulled. This judgment was given against the queen on the 23rd of May, 1533; and, a few days afterwards, Cranmer publicly declared that Henry had already been married to Anne Boleyn, and that he now confirmed the marriage by his pastoral authority.

On the 1st of June, Anne was crowned queen at Westminster Abbey; and, on the 7th of September, she presented Henry with a little girl, who was named Elizabeth: in after-times she became the famous Queen Elizabeth, the greatest sovereign of the House of Tudor.—From this time the divorced Catharine was treated with great indignity; Henry did not permit her to have any servants that did not take an oath never to call her queen, but only princess-dowager; and as she would not keep any who did not salute her by that title, she was left almost without attendants.

The King of France laboured hard to bring about a reconciliation between Henry and the pope; but neither would either bend or yield; and, in a short time, a final separation of the church of England from that of Rome took place. The pope, when he heard the news of the king's marriage, annulled the judgment of Cranmer, and published a bull of excommunication against Henry and Anne. This sentence had no power, for the English clergy dared not observe it, and the king treated it with contempt; but he took his revenge on the pope nevertheless. Early in 1534, the year following his marriage, the parliament, at Henry's suggestion, passed an act confirming his title as Supreme Head, on Earth, of the English Church; and vested in him alone the right of appointment to all bishoprics, and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes. It also prohibited every kind of appeal to the pope, and every kind of payment to him. This act (the Act of Supremacy as it was called) was a death-blow to the papal power in England. It is, however, one thing to make a law, and another to enforce it; and it cost much cruelty and bloodshed to compel the people to observe the Act of Supremacy; for, as yet, nine-tenths of them were sincere catholics: they regarded the pope as supreme head of the Christian church on earth, and would not acknowledge any one else by that title. Besides the Act of Supremacy, the parliament passed another act, by which they set aside Queen Catharine's daughter, the Princess Mary, as illegitimate; declared that the marriage between Henry and Anne was not only lawful, but that it was high treason to question or speak against it, and settled the succession to the crown on the children of Henry by his second queen. All the subjects of the king were commanded to swear obedience to this Act of Succession.

At this time, the case of Elizabeth Barton attracted great notoriety. She lived at Adlington, in Kent; and was subject to fits which threw her into strange convulsions of the face and body. During the time they lasted she uttered strange incoherent sayings, which made the ignorant people about her think she was inspired, and they declared her to be a prophetess, and named her the Holy Maid of Kent. The rector of the parish, one Richard Masters, encouraged these notions, in order to make a profit by them. In his chapel was an image of the Virgin Mary, for which he wished to gain such a reputation of sanctity as should draw many persons to make a pilgrimage to it, and offer rich presents to gain its favour. To effect this, he persuaded Elizabeth Barton, as early as 1525 or 1526, to make her appearance before the image, and then, after pretending to fall into terrible convulsions, suddenly to get up and declare she was perfectly restored through its grace and power. The design succeeded; the fame of this pretended miracle spread far and wide; and people visited the chapel in great numbers. Another person was connected with this imposture—a monk of Canterbury, named Bocking; and he and Masters began to extend their views, and teach the maid to make sham prophecies about public events, and to condemn the new doctrines as heresy, and displeasing to the Almighty. Gradually getting bolder, she had denounced the king's intended divorce from Queen Catharine, and declared that, if Henry put her away and married the Lady Anne Boleyn, he would forfeit God's favour, and die the death of a villain within seven months afterwards.

The supposed prophetess was countenanced by several persons of rank and education, who ought to have known much better than to have sanctioned such folly; and as her denunciations, and pretended prophecies, became topics of general conversation and comment, Henry caused Elizabeth Barton and several of her associates to be apprehended, and examined before the court of the Star-Chamber. They were brought before that tribunal on the 21st of April, 1534; pleaded guilty; and were sentenced to confess their imposture publicly, on a Sunday, at St. Paul's Cross. This was done; but Henry, considering that this punishment was not sufficient, compelled his parliament to pass a bill of attainder

of treason against Elizabeth Barton, Masters, and Bocking, together with Dering, Gold, and Rich (three ecclesiastics), and one Risby, a gentleman, who had all been connected with her deceptions, or were so foolish as to believe them. Monstrous as it may seem, all these seven persons were condemned and put to death as traitors at Tyburn. When she was brought to the scaffold, the wretched young woman, who seems to have been persuaded into the deception by the rector and the monk, thus addressed the spectators:—"Hither am I come to die; and I have not only been the cause of mine own death, but am also the cause of the death of all these persons which at this time here suffer. And yet, to say the truth, I am not so much to be blamed, considering it was well known unto these learned men that I was a poor wench without learning; but because the things which I feigned were profitable unto them, therefore they much praised me, and bear me in hand that it was the Holy Ghost, and not I, that did them; and then I, being puffed up with their praises, fell into a certain pride and foolish fantasy, which thing hath brought me to this case."

Before the poor girl was cold in her coffin, John Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More, the late lord chancellor, together with two other gentlemen, were charged with listening to and concealing her prophecies—an offence which was said to amount to misprision of treason. The venerable Bishop of Rochester had been Henry's friend, and the friend of his father, and he was much distinguished for learning; but he loved the ancient church, of which he was a prelate; and he objected to take the oath of succession, which declared that Queen Catharine's child, the Princess Mary, should not inherit her father's crown, and approved of the marriage of Henry and Anne. Sir Thomas More was an author of great elegance, and famous for his wisdom, wit, and extensive learning: he also refused to take the oath of succession, because it implied that Henry's former marriage with Queen Catharine was unlawful. In consequence of this, and their having listened to the prophecies of Elizabeth Barton, they were both sent to the Tower, and treated with very great severity. Bishop Fisher, who was in his seventy-sixth year, was left almost without clothes, and with scarcely sufficient food to keep him alive. While in this miserable condition, the pope, Paul III. (Clement VII. died on the 25th of September, 1534), created the aged priest a cardinal out of respect for his virtues; and sent him the scarlet hat worn by prelates of that dignity. "Ha!" said the king, "Paul may send him the hat; but I will take care that he have never a head to wear it on." He kept his word; the venerable bishop was tried before a special commission at Westminster Hall, on the 17th of June, 1535, for denying the supremacy of the king over the church. He was condemned; and, on the 22nd of June, beheaded. The grey head was exposed on a stake at London Bridge, and the body indecently exhibited in a state of nakedness to the people.

Henry trusted that this atrocity would frighten Sir Thomas More into taking the oaths of supremacy and succession; but he was mistaken; for Sir Thomas had determined rather to die than to act against his conscience. On the 1st of July, the commission again sat, and More was brought before it. When asked, whether he would obey the king's highness as supreme head on earth, immediately under Christ, of the church of England? he said he could make no answer. The next question put to him was, whether he would consent and approve the king's highness's marriage with the most noble Queen Anne to be good and lawful, and affirm that the marriage with the Lady Catharine, princess-dowager, was and is unjust and unlawful? He answered, that he did never speak or meddle against the same, but that he would make no further answer. A pardon was then offered him if he would submit to the king's will; but he declined to sacrifice the truth by doing so, and defended himself in a speech of great eloquence. The judges and nobles who conducted the case were abject slaves to the king; the trial was a mere mockery, and More was condemned to death. That bold man denounced the oath of supremacy as utterly unlawful, and declared that his conscience would not permit him to do otherwise. He had no animosity, he said, against his judges; but hoped that even as St. Paul was present at the death of Stephen, and consented to that cruel act, and yet was afterwards a companion saint in heaven, even so he trusted that they and he should all meet together hereafter.

As he was being taken back to the Tower, his daughter forced herself through the guards who surrounded him, and falling upon his neck, wept bitterly. He comforted her with great tenderness; and after bidding her an eternal farewell, moved forward. The poor girl looked after him with a distracted air, and then again bursting through the crowd, convulsively embraced him. The patriot had stood unmoved before his judges, but now the father burst into tears as he gave his last blessing to his child. The people wept too; and tears dimmed the eyes of the stern guards, used as they were to sights of misery and suffering.

When this painful scene was passed, Sir Thomas recovered his usual serenity; and even in his last moments his wit never deserted him. When he was told that the king had mercifully commuted his sentence of hanging, drawing, and quartering into the less revolting death of beheading, he remarked—"God preserve all my friends from such royal favours!" As he was

about to mount the scaffold, it was discovered to be so badly made, that some fears were expressed that it might break down. "See me safe up, Mr. Lieutenant," said this noble martyr to his integrity, "and for my coming down let me shift for myself." When the executioner, according to custom, asked his forgiveness, he readily granted it, and added—"Friend, thou wilt render me to-day the greatest service in the power of man; but my neck is very short; take heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry for the sake of the credit of thy profession." When he placed his head on the block, he told the executioner to wait until he had put aside his beard; for, said he, with a gentle smile, "my beard never committed any treason." The axe then fell, and the head was severed at once. Thus, on the 6th of July, 1535—a year of blood and terror—perished the bravest and most accomplished man in England, because he would not yield to the commands of a vain and exacting king, when they trenched upon his honour and his conscientious belief. If it had not been for some persecutions against the reformers, in which this unhappy gentleman took an active part, on account of his extreme devotion to the Romish church, he would have been considered a perfect character. His head was set up on London Bridge; but, after having been exposed there for fourteen days, his daughter contrived to obtain possession of it. At her death, it was, according to her last request, buried in her arms.

Throughout Europe a sensation of disgust and indignation was excited at Henry's conduct; and at Rome he was freely compared to Caligula, Nero, and Domitian, whose crimes were said not to exceed his. The pope was so incensed, that he signed a bull citing Henry and his adherents to appear in Rome, within ninety days, to answer for their crimes. In case of their refusal, it declared them to be excommunicated, the king dethroned, the country laid under an interdict, and Henry's children by Anne Boleyn to be illegitimate. It also commanded the king's nobility to take up arms against him, freed his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and gave his kingdom to any foreign prince who pleased to invade it. But, whether from fear, or a hope of yet reclaiming Henry, and bringing him back to a submission to the Roman church, this extreme bull, though signed and ready, was not promulgated, but kept back for a time.

The English people, generally, were so terrified at Henry's fierce temper, and the shameful executions of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, that they took the oath, acknowledging the king as supreme head of the church, willingly enough. The bishops, whose duty it was chiefly to resist such an assumption, having all sworn to acknowledge the pope as the head of the church, were the first to abase themselves at the footstool of their sovereign. It was a sort of race between them who first should take an obligation which was a direct violation of one they had previously taken. But, in that age, it certainly is not to bishops and nobles that we must look for public spirit and honourable conduct. The courage and manliness that they should have exhibited, was trodden into the dust by the iron heel of the imperious king. Some of the monks and priests, however, refused to obey the edict, and would not take the oath. During the May of 1535—which was literally a year of terror—many of these honest and sincere ecclesiastics—as we must presume they were, however erroneous their faith and doctrines might be—were hanged, drawn, and quartered for this assumed offence.

But while Henry hanged and mutilated the Catholics, because they would not acknowledge him to be a sort of pope instead of the one at Rome, he was equally merciless to the Protestants, whom he burnt to death for heresy. The very month in which the wretched monks were half hanged, and then hewn into quarters by the knife of the executioner, because they were true Catholics, fourteen poor persons, natives of Holland, were burnt to death, in various parts of the country, because they were Protestants, and denied that the bread and wine in the sacrament was the real body and blood of the Saviour.

These events caused the monks to regard the king with fear and aversion. They looked upon him as the profane despoiler of their ancient religion; and he, in his turn, began to regard them as the boldest opponents of his wild and tyrannical pretensions. On this account he seems to have resolved on a great reduction of their numbers, if not upon destroying them altogether. Thomas Cromwell, now (A.D. 1535) Secretary of State, was an ardent reformer, and hated the monks bitterly; therefore Henry created him, what he called, vicar-general and royal vicegerent of the king, and gave him authority to manage all church business. He soon entered on the duties of his office, and proposed to the king to abolish certain monasteries, convents, and abbeys, and to seize all the property attached to them. Henry was delighted with the idea: he wanted money; and whether he got it by taxing the people, or by robbing the monks, he cared very little, so long as he did get it. Indeed, it seems that he considered robbing the church was the more pleasing way of the two; for it was a sort of tyranny he had not thought of before, and therefore it had the charm of novelty.

It was necessary to make some sort of excuse for this violence and dishonesty; and that excuse the sharp-sighted Cromwell soon invented. He charged the monks with being guilty of immorality and wickedness; and sent commissioners into the convents to inquire into

the lives and manners of those who dwelt in them. No doubt many of the monks were idle, dissolute, ignorant persons: the strange sort of life to which they had devoted themselves was more likely to foster vice than to encourage virtue; to make them narrow-minded, superstitious, and selfish; and to shut out all tenderness and love from their hearts. They had no one whom they could love, and who would love them in return. Still, it is hardly to be believed that they were guilty of all the crimes which Cromwell's agents charged them with—crimes so numerous and revolting, that the nation shuddered at the publication of them.

Whilst these inquiries were in progress, Henry's discarded queen terminated her earthly career. Catharine had been living at Kimbolton; but sorrow, at the cruel indignities she had received, had so preyed upon her mind as to bring on a disorder of which it was evident she was dying. At the close of 1535, feeling her death approaching, she sent a request to the king, that she might be permitted to see her daughter Mary. This natural desire, though repeated several times, the callous-hearted Henry refused to gratify. A little before she expired, she wrote him a letter, calling him "her most dear lord, king, and husband." In this affecting communication she said—"The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot choose, out of the love I bear you, but advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all considerations of the world or flesh whatsoever. For which yet you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary, our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father unto her, as I have hitherto desired. I must entreat you also to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, which is not much, they are but three; and to all my other servants I solicit a year's pay, lest otherwise they should be unprovided for. Lastly, I make this vow—that mine eyes desire you above all things."

That persecuted lady breathed her last on the 8th of January, 1536, in the fiftieth year of her age. It is said that Henry was melted when he received the letter she had written in her last moments, and even shed tears over it. Well he might; for his cruelty had driven a noble, high-spirited, and loving woman to a sad and premature end of a life once splendid and happy. But though Henry grieved, Anne Boleyn rejoiced at the death of the woman whom she had supplanted in her husband's love, and exclaimed, that for the first time she was truly a queen.

Alas! how insecure are we in our happiest moments—how ignorant of the events of the future! Although she knew it not, Anne, though apparently standing in the warm sunshine, was hovering, in reality, on the verge of a gloomy precipice, and wantoning in a luxuriant garden, the clustering roses of which concealed a terribly sharp thorn.

CHAPTER LI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.—A.D. 1536—1538.

DURING the year 1536, King Henry, at the solicitation of Cromwell and Cranmer, permitted the Bible to be translated into English, and read by the people. A translation had been made by the good old reformer, Wycliffe, in the reign of Edward III.; but it appears that was old-fashioned in its style of language, or otherwise objectionable; at any rate it was not printed. The Bible used for the instruction of the people at this period of Henry's reign, was a translation by Miles Coverdale, an English monk, afterwards made Bishop of Exeter. Some people objected to this translation, and Henry ordered several bishops to read it, and then give their judgment upon it. Their answer was, that it possessed many faults. The king inquired if there were any heresies in it? The bishops answered, that they found none. Then said Henry, "In God's name let it go abroad among my people." Some years before, another English translation of the Bible, by William Tyndal, was printed at Antwerp, and the copies brought over and sold in this country. But it was thought better to have a new translation made by authorised persons—one which should be generally used and relied upon. Cranmer, therefore, induced a convocation of the clergy to petition the king to give orders for the preparation of such a translation. Henry consented. The convocation met in 1538; their labours extended into 1539; and the result was the publication, in the latter year, of Cranmer's Bible, or the Great Bible, as it was called, for the sake of distinction.

Though Henry consented that every one should be permitted to read the Word of God, he still doubted



whether more harm than good would not be done by so great an innovation. Cranmer and Cromwell had sufficient influence to induce him to consent to it, especially as they told him that nothing would make the pope and the monks so hateful to the nation, and his own supremacy so acceptable, as his giving to the people the free Word of God; but his own mind was unsettled upon the subject. Those who were attached to the Romish religion, said that the people were so ignorant and stupid as to be unable to form any judgment upon many points of doctrine; and that it was a mockery to give them the Bible when they could not make any proper use of it. It was maintained the church only could interpret the Bible, because God was with it and assisted it; but that if men presumed to rely for help upon their own judgments, they would be led into many errors; and such a multitude of sects would arise, that religion would be at an end, and society thrown into utter confusion. Those, however, who were in favour of the reformed doctrines, contended that it was absurd to conceal the Word of God in the mystery of a language which the people did not understand, and that it was time the practices of the church should be compared with the sacred ground of revelation, upon which they were supposed to rest. Fortunately, for the cause of truth, these latter arguments were successful.

Another change in the domestic life of Henry was now approaching. Three weeks after the death of Catharine, Anne was confined of a son; but the child was born lifeless. This was a great disappointment to Henry, and served to wean his fickle affection from the queen. The truth is, he had already seen another lady who had attracted his fancy; for it would be absurd to call such selfish feelings as his by the name of love. This was Jane Seymour, a daughter of Sir John Seymour, a young lady of great beauty, and one of Anne's maids of honour. The queen had been brought up in the gay court of France, and she indulged in many little levities of manner which were not considered proper in one of her high rank. She was vain of her beauty, fond of admiration, and talked familiarly with persons who were once her equals, but to whom, according to the customs of a court, she should now have behaved with a certain reserve and dignity. There was no great harm in this; but some enemies of the queen, who envied her for her elevation above them, noticing that Henry's attachment towards her had cooled, insinuated that her conduct was not so pure and innocent as it should be. The king's jealousy was soon excited; and, on the 1st of May, 1536, not four months after Catharine's death, as he was with Anne and the court at a tilting match at Greenwich, he was offended in consequence of her dropping her handkerchief, which, he supposed, she purposely let fall that some favoured admirer might pick it up. Rising abruptly from his seat, he left the pastimes, and went moodily to London. Anne wondered at this conduct; but her wonder was soon turned into terror; for the next day she was arrested on a charge of treason. As she was being rowed up the river to the Tower, she was met by her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, and some other courtiers, who told her that she was accused of adultery. The unhappy queen immediately fell upon her knees, and exclaimed, "O Lord! help me, as I am guiltless of that whereof I am charged." On entering the Tower, she burst into fits of hysterical laughing and crying, seeming quite bewildered by the unexpected change in her fortune.

At the same time that the queen was arrested, her brother, Viscount Rochford, together with Henry Norris, William Brereton, and Francis Weston, gentlemen attending on the king, and Mark Smeaton, a musician, were also sent to the Tower, on a charge of sharing in her guilt. There is something very shocking in the supposition that her own brother was her lover, nor was there anything to support such an accusation. The others had all been imprudent enough to express great admiration for the beautiful but flighty queen; but Anne declared that she had never given them any encouragement. On one occasion, she admitted she had laughingly asked Norris why he did not marry, and then told him that he probably expected her, if she should become a widow. Another time, she said she had reproved Weston for his affection towards a young lady who was a relation of her's, and his indifference to his wife; and that he had told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was she herself whom he loved; and that, for this presumption, she had been very angry with him. She declared that her admirers had never said anything further than what she thus confessed; and that she herself had never even any thought of harm.

As Anne's protestations of her innocence were disregarded, and produced no effect, she wrote an affecting and elegant letter to Henry; which, although it is a long one, is so full of interest, that it deserves a place in history. It shows that, with all her frivolity, she had a generous heart—as is evidenced by her urgent request to the king, that, if he believed her guilty, he would not visit others with punishment for her supposed sin. It also has an air of truthfulness; and there can be no doubt, on reading it, that Anne knew very well, the real cause of the king's displeasure with her was, that his fickle mind was captivated by the attractions of another.

"Sir,—Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange unto me, as what to write or what to excuse I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you send

unto me (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favour) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy; I no sooner received this message by him than I rightly conceived your meaning; and if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall, with all willingness and duty, perform your command. But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And, to speak the truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn: with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I, at any time, so far forget myself in my exaltation or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other object. You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If, then, you found me worthy of such honour, good, your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me: neither let that stain, that unworthy stain, of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me receive an open trial; for my truth shall fear no open shame; then shall you see either mine innocence cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure; and mine offence being so lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein. But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God that He will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof, and that He will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at His general judgment-seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment, I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me), mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently cleared. My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burden of your grace's displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request, and I will so leave to trouble your grace any farther, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions.—From my doleful prison in the Tower, this sixth of May.—Your most loyal and ever faithful wife—ANNE BOLEYN."

This touching letter (which, had Anne been a more blameless character in respect of her conduct to Queen Catharine, would bring tears into the eyes of those even who were strangers to her) did not reach the heart of Henry. Her affection, her grace, her beauty, and arch cheerfulness, were all forgotten; and her faithless husband longed for her death, that he might marry the Lady Jane Seymour. Every cruel and unjust means was taken to procure such evidence as would serve for the condemnation of the wretched queen. She was surrounded by spies, who pretended to be her friends, and endeavoured to draw her, during conversation, into admissions which could be used against her. Those who had been arrested as her lovers were tampered with, and offered their lives if they would confess their guilt and accuse her. All of them refused, save one—Smeaton, the musician, who, from a hope of life, and a fear of being put to the torture, confessed that he had received guilty tokens of her affection. Such a witness as this was, of course, not to be believed.

The grand jury of Middlesex, on the 10th and 12th of May, had the cases of Norris, Brereton, and Weston before them, and returned "true bills." Smeaton was also arraigned, with the same result. The charge against them was high treason: they were tried in the afternoon of the 12th; found guilty, and executed on the 17th; the king refusing to pardon Smeaton, who had expected to escape death in consequence of his treachery to the queen. Viscount Rochford was tried at the same time by his peers, and found guilty. His lordship and the four commoners all suffered on the same day.

Two days previously, on the 15th, the queen had been put upon her trial before a jury of peers, on the charges of treason and adultery. Her own uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, who greatly disliked her, was the presiding judge. She had no counsel; but she defended herself in such a manner that quite convinced the spectators of her innocence. It is very likely that the peers also believed her to be guiltless; but they were

the slavish instruments of the king's will: they knew that he desired her to be found guilty; and they were mean and wicked enough to bring in a verdict to that effect. She was sentenced to be burnt or beheaded, according to the king's pleasure. On hearing this dreadful doom, she raised her hands towards heaven, as if imploring that justice which she could not obtain upon earth, and exclaimed—"O Father! O Creator! Thou who art the way, the truth, and the life, Thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate."

At first Anne thought that her sentence would not be executed, but that she would be permitted to live in banishment. This hope faded as she beheld the preparations for her death. Then she resigned herself to the cruel fate that awaited her; but, in spite of all her efforts at patience, she frequently fell into fits of hysterical laughter and tears. Her execution was appointed for the 18th of May, but it was cruelly deferred until the next day. Sending for the lieutenant of the Tower, she said, "I hear I shall not die before noon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain." The lieutenant told her it would be no pain, it was so subtle. Anne laughed as she put her hands round her delicate, white neck, and exclaimed, "I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck."

The next day, the 19th of May, 1536, she was led to the scaffold on the Tower Green. Before laying her head upon the block, she addressed this short speech to the nobles and citizens who had been admitted to witness her death:—"Good Christian people, I am come hither to die according to law; by the law I am judged to die, and therefore will I speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that whereof I am accused. I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler or more merciful prince was there never. To me he was ever a good, gentle, and sovereign lord; and if any person will meddle with my cause, I require them to judge the best: and thus I take my leave of the world and of you all; and I heartily desire you all to pray for me." It may seem strange that Anne, with her last breath, praised her husband for mercy and gentleness: it looks like dying with a lie upon her lips; for she knew her own fate to be a fearful instance of his savage and remorseless nature. But it has been supposed that she flattered her destroyer in the hope that he would be a kind father to her infant child, Elizabeth, whom, in a few minutes, she was about to leave motherless. Having finished her speech, she put aside her beautiful hair, and laying her head upon the block, repeated the words—"Christ have mercy upon my soul!" until the axe fell, and at one blow her head was severed from her body. She had been a queen three years and about four months.

The very next morning after Anne's death, the king married Jane Seymour! Haste like this was as indelicate as it was unfeeling; but Henry had become so disgustingly selfish and tyrannical, that he was capable of anything. Not contented with Anne's death, he ordered Archbishop Cranmer to declare that the marriage with her also was illegal, as there was a sort of contract existing between her and some other person. Cranmer knew that the marriage was perfectly lawful—he himself had very lately declared it to be so; but he had not the courage to speak the truth in the face of danger. He trembled, and obeyed.

After having divorced his first wife, murdered his second, and married his third (all within the short space of three years), Henry met his parliament, which assembled on the 8th of June. His majesty—[the title "Your Majesty," was first applied to Henry by Francis I., at the meeting on the Field of the Cloth of Gold. It has since been constantly used by the English sovereigns]—addressed the members in a speech, in which he said, that notwithstanding the misfortunes attending his former marriages, he had been induced, for their good, to enter on a third. The parasite Speaker, Rich, replied, that the people were very grateful for the kindness of the king, whom he compared, for justice and prudence, to Solomon; for strength and fortitude, to Sampson; and for beauty and comeliness, to Absalom! Henry, who had then become very corpulent, smiled at these ridiculous compliments, and said, that if he really were possessed of such graces, he ought not to be proud of them, as they were the gift of Almighty God. He then desired the parliament to pass an act, by which he should be enabled to leave the crown to any children whom he might have by Jane Seymour, or any other wife; or that he might bequeath it by his will to any one whom he thought proper. Such an act changed the nature of the English government; but the servile parliament passed it.

Henry's mind had been for some time diverted from the subject of the church and the doctrines of religion; but he now resolved on breaking all connection between the churches of England and Rome. Cromwell had persevered in the inquiry into the lives and conduct of the monks; and so many strange charges were brought forward, that a general sensation of anger was created against them in the minds of the people. This was just the thing for Henry's purpose; and he compelled the parliament to pass an act, by which all the small monasteries in England, with revenues of less than £200 per annum, amounting to 376, were suppressed, and their revenues, plate, and jewels made over to the

king. The Commons hesitated at first at this startling measure; but the tyrant told them that he would have the bill or their heads, and then these unworthy Englishmen assented. The members of a few of these establishments, when they discovered the determination of the king, voluntarily surrendered their revenues, and received a trifling pension out of their own property. Small pensions were also given to some of the principals of the other monasteries; but the monks and nuns, who lived in them, were turned out to do the best they could. Thousands wandered about the country, begging in a state of starvation; for most of them were so unacquainted with the ways of the world, that they were unfit to earn their bread by any employment. The king was quite indifferent to their sufferings, and he occupied himself in settling what the people were in future to believe with respect to religion. He reduced the number of sacraments from seven to three; namely—baptism, the Lord's Supper, and penance. He abolished a number of saints' days, or holidays, and declared that the Scriptures, the Apostolic, Nicene, and Athanasian creeds were to be the sole standards of faith. He insisted on the necessity of confession; permitted people to believe in purgatory, or not, just as they pleased; but declared that any one who denied the presence of the actual body and blood of the Saviour in the consecrated bread and wine, was a heretic, who should be burnt to death at the stake. These tenets show that the king was neither a Catholic nor a Protestant, but something between the two.

The indignation which had been excited against the monks was soon turned into pity when it was seen what they had to endure. The great mass of the people were still attached to the Catholic church; and they felt that the suppression of the smaller monasteries, and the ruin of their inhabitants, was a violation of the ancient religion of the country, and an act of cruel oppression. The slumbering spirit of Englishmen was at length aroused, and in October, 1536, a formidable insurrection broke out in Lincolnshire. It was headed by Dr. Mackrel, prior of Barlings, who disguised himself like a mechanic, and assumed the name of Captain Cobbler. Twenty thousand men obeyed his orders; but, although they committed some excesses, they did not seem inclined to proceed to extremities against the king. In reply to a demand by the Duke of Suffolk, as to what were their complaints, they answered, that they acknowledged the king to be the supreme head of the church, but they complained of the suppression of the monasteries; of his evil counsellors; of mean persons being raised to great dignities; of the danger to which the jewels and plate of their churches were exposed; and they prayed the king to consult the nobility of the realm concerning the redress of such grievances.

Henry gave a severe and contemptuous reply to these complaints; but he afterwards sent a milder answer, saying that he would pardon the treason of the rebels, if they would surrender their ringleaders, and disperse. Whether through fear or treachery, the Lincolnshire men surrendered Captain Cobbler and fifteen of their leaders, and then broke up their army, and went to their homes. Dr. Mackrel, the prior (or the captain, as he was called), was hanged, together with his associates. During the progress of this insurrection, a priest and a butcher were hanged at Windsor, without any trial. Their only offence was, that they had spoken some discontented words. The butcher was offered a low price for some of his meat, and he replied, indignantly, that sooner than sell it for such a price as that, he wished the good fellows in Lincolnshire might have it; the priest, who was standing near, added, that he too wished them to have it, for they had need of it.—When men were thus put to death for thoughtless words, no one was safe from the gibbet; and a terror of the tyrant reigned throughout the land.

Still, the insurrection in Lincolnshire was no sooner put down, than, in 1537, another and much more extensive one broke out in the northern counties. Again, 40,000 Englishmen rose in arms, and chose a Yorkshire gentleman, named Robert Aske, for their leader. They called their rebellion "The Pilgrimage of Grace;" and all engaged in it took an oath to stand by each other, for the love of God and of the church. Some priests marched before them, carrying crosses in their hands: they wore upon their sleeves the emblem of the five wounds of the Saviour, and the name of Jesus; and on their banners was painted a figure of Christ in his dying agony. The rebels threatened with death all who would not join them; and Lord Darcy, the Archbishop of York, and other distinguished persons, went over to their ranks.

Henry sent an army to the north, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk and other noblemen; but Norfolk, who feared to fight such a multitude, again demanded to know what were their grievances. The rebels sent in a paper, making much the same complaints as the men of Lincolnshire did; but also adding some others. The most important of these additions showed that the people still loved the ancient religion of the country; and that the Protestants were as yet but a very small part of the nation. The rebels desired that the heresies, as they called them, of Wycliffe and Luther should be rooted out, all heretical books destroyed, and the spiritual supremacy of the church restored to the pope.

The king sent a reply, in which he said that he was

astonished the people should take upon themselves to instruct him how to govern after he had been so long a king; and he ended by only promising to pardon their rebellion, on condition of their giving up to him ten of their leaders for punishment. The rebels refused these terms, and prepared to attack the royal army; but they were prevented from doing so by a great fall of rain, which rendered the river Trent impassable. Though Henry was obstinate, yet he was much alarmed; and he sent large sums of money, to be used in buying over some of the leaders of the people. This produced quarrels and suspicions; the rebels soon lost all trust in their own captains; and having also failed in several sieges which they undertook, they despaired of success, and began to disperse. Lord Darcy, Captain Aske, and many other gentlemen, were taken prisoners, and sent to the scaffold as traitors. Henry then commanded Norfolk to proclaim martial law, and take vengeance upon the inhabitants of all the towns and villages that had been concerned in the insurrection. He was also particularly directed to hang all monks who had encouraged the rebels; and these savage orders were so strictly obeyed, that for miles corpses were hanging from the branches of trees; and ghastly heads and blackening limbs were fixed upon the gates of every town throughout the disturbed districts. When the king thought sufficient blood had been shed to satisfy the calls of justice, he proclaimed a general pardon.

Soon after this sign that the spirit of Englishmen was not utterly extinguished, and that they had not learnt to submit to tyranny in passive stupor, Queen Jane Seymour presented Henry, on the 12th of October, 1537, with a son. But the gift was fatal to the mother, who died two days after her confinement. The king was so delighted at the birth of a boy, that he soon forgot the loss of his queen. Perhaps it was fortunate for her she died naturally before she lost the favour of her stern husband: had she outlived his liking, he might have got up some charge which would have sent her to the same cruel fate as that which befel poor Anne Boleyn.

Henry suspected that the insurrection in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire had been encouraged by many of the abbots and clergy, and he now resolved on the suppression of those large and wealthy monasteries which he had hitherto spared. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and many of the abbots, knowing that they could not resist the will of the tyrant, gave up their houses and estates to him, in order to secure their own safety. Others, however, refused to surrender what they said was not theirs to give, but had been devoted to the glory of God and the cause of charity. They were, in consequence, thrown into the public prisons, where they died so rapidly, that it was suspected they were killed by some quicker means than ill-usage.

To reconcile the people to the destruction of the monasteries, stories were everywhere circulated about the immoral lives of the monks and nuns, and their frauds were publicly exposed to the people. A great crucifix, called the Rood of Grace, was brought up from Boxley, in Kent, and broken to pieces before the people at St. Paul's Cross. The figure of the Saviour, extended upon this crucifix, used to roll its eyes, bend its brows, and shake its head, when it was supposed to be displeased with those who prayed or made offerings before it; but when it was gratified, then it would bend its body forward in a kind of bow. The ignorant people thought that this was done by divine power; but the image was discovered to be set in motion by machinery, which was shown and explained to the crowd before it was destroyed. Another supposed miracle, thus detected and exposed, was a crystal phial, kept at Hales, in Gloucestershire, and said to contain some of the blood of the Saviour. This sacred blood, the monks said, could not be seen by any sinful person, even when it was placed before them, until they expiated their offences by presenting rich gifts on the altar of the monastery. The trick was managed in this way: one side of the phial was made of thin, transparent crystal, and the other of thick and opaque glass. In this was placed the blood of a duck, which two of the monks, who were in the secret, renewed every week. When a rich pilgrim came, they showed him the dark side of the phial, until he had made sufficient offerings and paid for masses enough to expiate his sins, or until he would give nothing more; and then they turned the phial round, and the blood became visible.

The relics also of saints and sacred things were taken from the monasteries, and exposed to the ridicule of the people. Some of these were, indeed, so absurd, that it seems hardly possible they could ever have been regarded with veneration even by the most ignorant persons. Amongst them was an angel with one wing, which was said to have brought over, with the spear-head that pierced the side of our Saviour, some of the coals used in burning St. Lawrence; the parings of St. Edmund's toe-nails; the penknife, shirt, and boots of St. Thomas à Becket; eleven different girdles of the Virgin Mary; and as many pieces of the wood of the true cross as would have been enough to make several crosses. There were also an immense number of relics, which were supposed to be useful for particular purposes: relics to procure rain; relics to prevent too much rain; relics to make corn and fruit grow; and relics to kill weeds.

It was quite right to expose all this absurdity and fraud, which disgraced the name of religion: Henry's motive in doing so, however, was not to promote the

truth, but to wean the respect of the people away from the monks and monasteries, that he might be able to plunder them without opposition. Not content with stripping the shrines and altars of all the gold and jewels which had been lavished upon them, under the pretence of putting down the worshipping of images, the imperious king proceeded to take revenge upon the bones of the famous Thomas à Becket. The prelate had been made a saint in consequence of his zealous defence of the privileges of the church against the king; and for this reason his memory was especially loved by the priests. His body was raised once a year from the grave; and that day was held as a general holiday. Every fifty years a jubilee, which lasted for fifteen days, was celebrated in his honour. So many offerings were made at his shrine, that it was perfectly gorgeous with gold and precious stones; and at Canterbury Cathedral, the devotion towards him had even made that of the Deity himself almost forgotten. During one year, £3 2*s.* 6*d.* were offered on the altar of the Lord; while the offerings on St. Thomas's altar amounted to £832 12*s.* 3*d.*

The same reason for which the monks so reverenced the memory of Becket was the cause of the king's indignation and displeasure. Henry had no idea that an archbishop should dare to oppose a king; and though Becket had been dead nearly 400 years, Henry had his tomb broken open, and a criminal proceeding filed against him. The king actually summoned the dead man to appear in Westminster Hall within the space of thirty days, and answer to the charge against him. Of course the dry bones of the archbishop remained motionless in the silence and darkness of his coffin: the tyrant could violate the sanctity of the grave, but he could not make the dead conscious of the petty insult. As Becket did not appear, he was pronounced contumacious; found guilty of rebellion and treason; and his bones were sentenced to be burnt as those of a traitor. This was a lesson to living men not to oppose the will of the king. All the wealth which adorned the shrine of Becket was considered as his personal property, and forfeited to the crown.

After this, the king proceeded to seize all the abbeys and monasteries throughout the land. Colleges, chapels, and hospitals alike fell beneath the hand of the spoiler. Shrines were robbed of everything that was valuable; statues mutilated; pictures rent into shreds; mosaic pavements torn up; and magnificent, painted windows shattered into atoms. The zealots who acted as the king's commissioners spared nothing that was connected with the religion which they hated. Horses were stabled in the noble old cathedrals and abbeys, and the valuable manuscript libraries belonging to these places were sold for waste paper. All this was very barbarous and pitiable; but violence seems to attend all great revolutions. This work of spoliation continued for more than two years; and then all the abbeys in England, except where they were parish churches also, were left bare and ruined.

The people, generally, were shocked at these proceedings, and murmured loudly; and, no doubt, to many of them it seemed more like the extinction of religion than its reformation. To reconcile them to such wild proceedings, they were told that the king would never, in future, have occasion to levy any taxes, but would be able to pay all the expenses of government from the profits arising from the abbey lands. But the wealth so dishonestly obtained was squandered in the most shameful manner; and the king, soon afterwards, had the confidence to demand from the parliament a supply of money to meet the expenses he had incurred in reforming the religion of the state.

Though the suppression of the monasteries was a necessary step in the progress of the Reformation in religion, every one must condemn the violence and injustice with which that suppression was accompanied. The immediate result was very disastrous. The schools kept in the monasteries were suppressed; and, as there was nothing to supply their place, education, even such as it had been, declined rapidly. The people were left almost without religious instruction; the rural parishes were attended to by persons of no education; for noblemen, on whom church lands had been conferred, presented their servants with livings as a payment for their wages. These men frequently spent their time at the ale-house, and sometimes even kept one themselves, to eke out the living which the discharge of their clerical duties did not afford them. Crowds of starving and desperate beggars travelled along the roads, not knowing where to get a shelter or a crust of bread. They had been fed daily at the doors of the monasteries (for the monks were exceedingly charitable to the poor), and now they were left without any resource whatever. Many of the monks were beggars like themselves. The abbeys, with all their frauds and abuses, had also served as hospitals, where the sick were tended and restored; and as places of refuge, where the benighted traveller got refreshment and a night's rest. All this charity and hospitality was at an end; and a purer religion had not yet arisen from the ruins of the old. Night had fallen upon the church; and the darkness was greatest just before the dawning of a brighter and a better day. Priestcraft, deception, and superstition grovelled in the dust; but for a time, all that was venerable, true, and good in the old system of religion lay prostrate with it.

When Henry's conduct was known at Rome, the rage of the pope and the sacred college of cardinals was

almost beyond description. The pope issued the bull of excommunication against the king which he had long kept in reserve, and publicly delivered his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader. The time when a sentence of excommunication would throw an English king into terror and submission was past; still Henry felt a little nervous; for he feared that the wrath of the pope might stir up foreign princes to unite in a war against him. His strong-minded minister, Cromwell, however, removed his fears.

CHAPTER LII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.—A.D. 1538—1542.

THE fires of martyrdom continued to blaze throughout the kingdom; for although, in the eyes of the pope, Henry was the greatest and worst heretic in England, yet he spared none who, whilst they followed his example in differing from the pope, had the misfortune to differ from him also. Though he had overthrown the authority of Rome in this country, he still, as we have seen, held many of the doctrines of the Roman church; and he condemned, as detestable heretics, all who would not agree with him.

Not long after the plunder of the monasteries, there was a schoolmaster living in London, named John Lambert, who had embraced the reformed religion. He had been a priest, and also been imprisoned on a charge of heresy. This, however, did not prevent him from still teaching what he considered to be the truth. Having heard Dr. Taylor preach a sermon, in which he declared that, in the sacrament, the bread and wine were transformed into the actual body and blood of Christ, Lambert went to that minister, and presented to him a written expostulation upon the subject. Dr. Taylor showed the paper to a certain Dr. Barnes. This man, though himself a reformer upon some points, yet did not exactly agree with Lambert; and he was so intolerant as to accuse the schoolmaster, before Archbishop Cranmer, of heresy. Cranmer held the same doctrine in secret, but he dared not avow it; and he tried to make Lambert recant his opinions. He refused to do so, and appealed from the judgment of the archbishop to that of the king.

Henry was pleased with this opportunity of exercising his assumed authority as supreme head of the church, and also of showing his learning. He consented to listen to the appeal of the schoolmaster: and ordered scaffolds to be erected in Westminster Hall, for the accommodation of such of the bishops and nobles as pleased to attend. On the appointed day he took his seat upon the throne, accompanied with all the pomp of majesty, and surrounded by bishops, nobles, judges, and lawyers.

After looking sternly at Lambert, the king told the Bishop of Chichester to declare to the people the reason for the meeting of that assembly. The bishop then made an oration, in which he said that the king would have all persons admonished at his pleasure; and that no one must suppose, because he had utterly abolished the authority of the pope, that he would also extinguish religion, or give liberty to heretics to trouble the church of England. That they were not met to dispute upon the heretical doctrine, but only that the heresies of Lambert should be refuted or condemned in the presence of them all.

When the bishop had finished speaking, the king rose from his seat, and leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, he turned to Lambert with a stern countenance, and exclaimed in a loud voice—"Ho, good fellow! what is thy name?" The schoolmaster knelt humbly, and replied—"My name is John Nicholson; although by many I am called Lambert."

"What!" said the king; "have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother!"

"O, most noble prince," said Lambert, "your bishops forced me to change my name." He then commenced his address with some compliments to the king; but Henry interrupted him by saying—"I came not hither to hear mine own praises thus pointed out in my presence; but briefly go to the matter without any more circumstance."

This interruption abashed the poor schoolmaster; and he stood silent for a time, considering. The king then said, angrily—"Why standest thou still? answer me as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say that it is the body of Christ, or wilt thou deny it?" To this Lambert replied—"I answer with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner."

"Answer me not out of St. Augustine," said the king, "neither by the authority of any other; but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ, or not?" "Then," said Lambert, "I do deny it to be the body of Christ." "Mark well," continued the king, "for now shalt thou be condemned, even by Christ's own words—'This is my body!'" Lambert answered, that there was no evident place in Scripture in which the Saviour said that he would change the consecrated bread into his body; but that it was merely a figurative speech, the same as many hundreds of others used in the sacred writings.

When the king had browbeaten Lambert until he was tired, Cranmer and nine other bishops harassed the poor man with arguments; and, after standing and occasionally replying to them for five hours, he was almost exhausted. Twilight was now coming on, and torches were brought into the hall, upon which the king (who wished to go home to his dinner) again turned towards Lambert, and inquired—"What sayest thou now, after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men? Art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? What sayest thou? Thou hast free choice."

"I yield and submit myself," answered Lambert, "wholly unto the will of your majesty." "Then," said the king, "commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine." "My soul," continued the reformer, "I commend unto the hands of God; but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency." "Then," said the inexorable monarch, "if you commit yourself to my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron to heretics;" and turning to Cromwell, he commanded him to read the sentence. Lambert was accordingly condemned to be burnt to death at the stake. He met his fate in Smithfield with great fortitude and resignation. His sufferings were extreme; but, so long as he remained sensible, he lifted up his hands amidst the flames, and cried continually—"None but Christ! none but Christ!"

While Henry was making every one submit to his tyranny at home, there was one man abroad of whom he stood in fear. This was Cardinal Pole, a son of the Countess of Salisbury, daughter of that Duke of Clarence who was said to be drowned in a butt of wine in the Tower. Pole, in his youth, had been a favourite of the king; but having quarrelled with him, he had retired to Italy, from whence he wrote and published works condemning Henry's shameful rapacity and tyranny, in an eloquent and bitter manner. Having failed in several attempts to get the cardinal into his hands, Henry at length arrested his two brothers, Lord Montague and Sir Geoffrey Pole, together with the Marquis and Marchioness of Exeter, Sir Edward Neville, brother to Lord Abergavenny, two priests, and a sailor; all of whom were tried on the last day of 1538, on a charge of treason, they having conspired to place Cardinal Pole, the king's enemy, on the throne. The peers were tried by some members of the House of Peers, the commoners by juries. All were found guilty, with the exception of Sir Geoffrey Pole (who was base enough to turn "king's evidence"), and condemned to death. On the 9th of January, 1539, Lord Montague, the Marquis of Exeter, and Sir Edward Neville, were beheaded on Tower Hill. The Marchioness of Exeter, who had not been tried, remained in prison.

This was not enough to satisfy Henry. The hatred which he bore towards Cardinal Pole extended to all the relatives of that prelate, and particularly to his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, who was seventy years of age. He had also a mean jealousy of her, because she was the last direct descendant of the royal House of York. Suddenly, he caused that venerable lady to be arrested on several frivolous charges. One was, that she had written to her son; another, that she had secretly received bulls from Rome; and a third, that she had employed her authority in preventing her servants from reading the new translation of the Bible. Even these accusations, Henry's ready tool in matters of tyranny, Cromwell, was unable to prove; but the king had resolved on shedding the blood of the countess, and he would not be baffled. He commanded Cromwell to ask the judges whether parliament might convict persons of treason *without any trial or confession?* The judges were astonished at this monstrous tyranny; but they dared not speak their minds. They replied, that it was a dangerous question; that the high court of parliament ought to be an example to inferior courts; that no inferior court *could* act in that manner; and that they thought the parliament never *would.* Cromwell pressed for a more decided answer; and the judges then replied, that, as the court of parliament was supreme, such a condemnation would be good in law.

Having extorted this reluctant sanction for an act of gross injustice from the judges, parliament was summoned for the 28th of April, 1539, to pass a bill of attainder against the countess. Cromwell produced a banner in the House of Lords, which, he said, had been found in her mansion. Upon this banner was embroidered a representation of the five wounds of the Saviour, the symbol of the northern rebels; and this was considered to be sufficient evidence to convict the aged lady of high treason. A bill of attainder was, in consequence, passed against her; and also against the Marchioness of Exeter, Sir Adam Fortesque, Sir Thomas Dingley, and a little boy, the son of Lord

Montague, and the grandson of the countess, who had all been arrested with her.

The two gentlemen were beheaded on the 10th of July; the marchioness was imprisoned for six months, and then pardoned; and perhaps the unoffending boy was pardoned also, for no further mention is made of him. Far different was the fate of the venerable countess herself. After having been kept nearly two years a prisoner in the Tower, she was, on the 27th of May, 1541, dragged forcibly to the scaffold. When told to lay her head upon the block, the high-spirited woman, in whose veins ran the proud blood of the Plantagenets, replied—"No! my head never committed treason; if you will have it, you must take it as you can." The executioner tried to force her down upon the block; but she ran round the scaffold, and moved her head from side to side. The guards struck at her with their weapons, and her streaming grey hair was covered with blood. At length this scene of horror ended by her being overpowered, held down by force, and so beheaded. If the brave spirit which actuated this noble old lady and her talented son had been more common in England, Henry would not so long have disgraced its throne by his tyranny and murders.

After having shed the blood of the guiltless countess, merely to satisfy his capricious revenge, Henry resolved to do away with all differences of opinion among the people on subjects of religion—a thing as difficult as the ancient Danish King Canute undertook to do, when he commanded the waves of the sea to stand still, and not presume to wet his feet. Henry was not content with tyrannising over the bodies of his subjects—he longed also to fetter their souls. To do this, he sent a message to the parliament, desiring it to choose a committee to draw up certain articles of faith, which every one should be commanded to believe. The committee was elected; but, after eleven days of discussion, was unable to come to any conclusion.

The king then went to the parliament-house, and took the matter into his own hands; and a bill, called the Bill of the Six Articles, or the Bloody Statute, was passed into law, and was to become effective from the 12th of July, 1539. These articles all favoured the doctrines of the Romish church, and were opposed by Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by Bishops Shaxton and Latimer: the two last resigned their sees on the day before the act came into operation, rather than go against their consciences; but the timid, worldly Cranmer yielded to the passing of a law condemning people to believe what he thought not only detestable, but dangerous to their salvation. These Six Articles were—that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper were really changed into the body and blood of the Saviour; that the communion in both kinds was not necessary for salvation; that it was sinful for priests to marry; that vows of chastity must never be broken; that private masses should be continued, as being agreeable to God's law; and that confession was expedient and necessary, and must be retained.

Any one denying the first article was to be burnt to death as a heretic, and his property to be forfeited to the king; and even if he recanted he was to be burnt all the same. All persons offending against any of the other articles were to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and to forfeit their property for the first offence, and be put to death for the second. These articles Henry supposed would produce a unity of the church. "What unity followed?" asks an old writer; and replies, "The groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruel death of many, both in the days of King Henry and of Queen Mary, can so well declare, that as I pray God the like may never be felt hereafter."

It seemed as if the parliament did not know how to humble itself sufficiently at the feet of the despotic king. No sooner had the members passed the Six Articles into law—a law which punished with a cruel death all who dared to think for themselves—than they passed an act, declaring that, in future, "all the king's proclamations should have the same power and authority as acts of parliament!" and that any person offending against these proclamations might be punished just as the king pleased! Thus parliaments were made a mere idle mockery: the whole power of the state was placed in the hands of the king, and the lives and property of all his subjects laid at the mercy of his caprice. It also declared, that if any person attempted to leave the country, in order to escape the penalties incurred by disobeying any of the king's proclamations, he was to be put to death as a traitor.

The national slavery was now complete; the disgrace of England was full to overflowing; the ancient spirit of its once bold sons was prostrate beneath the feet of its tyrant; and the genius of liberty trampled into the dust. It is painful to reflect upon the depth of humiliation into which our ancestors of that age were plunged: the good and the heroic were mostly sent to perish on the scaffold or at the stake, while the mean lived on and submitted. It seemed as if the nation would become a crowd of intolerant or hypocritical priests; crouching, slavish nobles; and trembling, astonished people. It was the unhappy fate of most men, that, instead of uniting to hurl the tyrant from his throne (as their ancestors would have done, and as, in after-times, their descendants did), they occupied themselves in quarrelling about the opposing forms of religion. Instead of resisting the gigantic

and still growing tyranny which was placing fetters both upon their souls and bodies—which would not even permit them to worship their God according to the dictates of their consciences—which spread uncertainty and terror throughout the land, and made the most innocent persons fear that perhaps they might perish by the hands of the executioner—they were disputing as to whether a wafer or a morsel of bread was the Son of God; whether priests might marry, or whether they could not be saved without confession of their sins to erring men like themselves; as if a repentant outpouring of their hearts to God were not the readiest way of obtaining pardon for their offences against His laws.

The same year in which the parliament passed the Six Articles, and the slavish act about making the tyrant's proclamations equal to laws (the dark year 1539), it also confirmed the surrender of the monasteries. Henry's robberies of the church were thus made lawful; and no one had the courage to question them. The abbey lands also were confirmed to him and to his successors for ever. A few abbeys had yet been left: these Henry now despoiled; and he put three abbots to death for hiding away the plate and ornaments which had adorned the abbeys over which they presided.

Henry had been a widower more than two years, and for some time he had wished for another wife. Indeed, he had made several unsuccessful attempts to get one: he had proposed to the Duchess-Dowager of Milan, who replied sarcastically, that if she had two heads, she might think of the match; but, as she had but one, she would rather decline the honour. Then he thought of marrying the French princess, Mary of Guise; but that lady was already engaged to the King of Scotland. Henry wished the engagement to be broken off; but the French king, Francis, would not consent to such a proposal: still, as he wished to please Henry, he offered him either of the two sisters of that princess. The English king proposed that he and Francis should have a meeting at Calais, on pretence of business, and that the latter should bring with him the two ladies, that he might choose which he liked best. But Francis declined to carry ladies of high rank to market, as if they were sheep or oxen; and the affair came to nothing.

Cromwell, who had been made a noble, saw that Henry was still leaning to the doctrines of the church of Rome, rather than to those of the reformed religion; and, observing the king's desire to marry again, he was very anxious to get him a Protestant wife. For this reason he proposed to Henry to marry Anne of Cleves, the sister of the Duke of Cleves, one of the princes of the Protestant confederacy. The lady, he said, was amiable and beautiful; and a fine large woman—a great point with the king, who had grown so stout, that he thought none but a fat beauty suitable for him.

Anne of Cleves had no objection to become Queen of England; and Henry sent his painter, Hans Holbein, to take her likeness. Holbein painted a flattering portrait of the Flemish princess; and when Henry saw it, he was very pleased. He thought Anne would exactly suit him: the match was arranged to take place, and the lady invited over to England. She landed at Deal on the 27th of December, 1539. As soon as she arrived, the king, all impatience, rode privately to Rochester (as Anne passed through that town on her way to London), and obtained a secret view of his bride. She was certainly a tall, large woman, but coarse-featured and unattractive. Henry was not only disappointed, but at once conceived a feeling of dislike for her. He could not, at first, prevail upon himself to meet her; and when he did, he treated her with geat coolness. Returning in a very melancholy humour to Greenwich, he commanded Cromwell to invent some way of breaking a match with a woman whom he rudely called "a great Flanders mare." Cromwell, and the rest of Henry's council, represented to him that there were strong political reasons why the marriage should not be broken off. It was feared that the great Catholic countries might yet unite against him, to revenge the injuries he had inflicted upon their religion; and that, if he also irritated the princes of the Protestant confederacy, the consequences might be extremely dangerous. This reflection had great weight with Henry; and, after inquiring, "Is there, then, no remedy? must I needs, against my will, put my neck into this noose?" he consented that the marriage should take place.

On the 5th of January, 1540, Anne and Henry were wedded: but he disliked her more after that event than he had done before, and he complained bitterly of his hard fate to his courtiers. Sir Antony Denny tried to comfort him by saying, that his was a misfortune common to him and all kings, who could not, like private persons, choose for themselves, but were obliged to take their wives upon the judgment and fancy of others. This was but cold comfort; and Henry declared that his life would be a burden to him if he were compelled to pass it in the society of such a wife. The Catholics rejoiced at the event, and supposed that Cromwell would be deprived of his offices, in consequence of his having brought about a marriage so disagreeable to the king; but Henry concealed his dislike, and even bestowed on his active minister the Order of the Garter, and created him Earl of Essex and Lord Chamberlain.

Henry had not been long married when he saw the beautiful little Catharine Howard, who, like poor Anne

Boleyn, was a niece of the Duke of Norfolk. That nobleman was an extreme Catholic, or papist; for that is a more correct name, and now began to be used. Norfolk's niece was of the same principles, and he made use of her attractions to ruin Cromwell in the favour of the king. That minister was generally disliked: the Catholics hated him for the part he had taken in the ruin of the abbeys and monasteries; for his cruelties towards the poor monks; and for the bitter spirit he had shown to their religion. The Protestants disliked him because he had consented to their persecution, and had not stood between them and the anger of the king. The nobility hated him, because, although he was of mean birth, he had been raised to a level with the proudest of them. Henry was captivated by the charms of Catharine Howard, and he frequently met her at Bishop Gardiner's house, where a cabal was forming for the destruction of the Protestant minister.

Cromwell was in the full height of his power, and vigorously persecuting the Catholics, when he was suddenly arrested, and imprisoned in the Tower, on a charge of treason and heresy. The accusations against him bear the appearance of having been got up by his enemies. They alleged that he had received bribes; had encroached on the royal authority; had protected preachers of heresy, and assisted in the circulation of heretical books; and that, during a private conversation about the new opinions in religion, he had unsheathed his dagger, and affirmed that he would maintain the cause of the Reformation even against the king himself. These charges may have been true, although the last seems scarcely probable; but they would never have been brought against him if he had not had the misfortune to contract the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Cromwell was ensnared in the pit which he had dug for others; for he was condemned without a trial, by that very attainder of parliament he had devised for procuring the execution of the innocent Countess of Salisbury. The oppression which he had so cruelly dealt out to others, he himself shrank from with terror. From the Tower he wrote the most humble supplications to the king to spare him; but he wrote in vain. He was beheaded at Tower Hill, on the 28th of July, 1540.

Cromwell was a man of great abilities, and did much to forward the cause of the Reformation; but he was destitute of noble and generous principles, and a slavish tool in the hands of the imperious king. His principal object—that of purifying the church from superstition and idolatry—was a noble one; but he promoted it by dishonest and cruel means: and his character was disgraced by a merciless intolerance towards those who differed from him. Still he was not without virtues: his charity was great; and 200 people were fed every day at his expense.

Though Henry had married the Lady Anne of Cleves, he would not live with her. A few months after the wedding, he ordered her to remove to Richmond; and then said, that as she had been previously contracted to the Duke of Lorraine, her marriage with him was not legal. He gave also another absurd reason—namely, that the ceremony had taken place without the inward consent of his own mind. Frivolous as these objections were, a convocation of the clergy decided that they were sufficient causes for annulling the marriage; and it was annulled by the parliament on the 9th of July. The lady was of an easy temper, and offered no opposition. She might have been terrified into compliance; but she seems to have possessed a happy indifference. She wrote a submissive letter to the king, consenting to the divorce, and begging him to receive her as a sister; and she amused herself at Richmond with dressing, every day, in new clothes, made in odd fashions. Pleased with her docility, Henry gave her a settlement of £3,000 a year; and this simple, but insulted lady remained in England, and seems to have lived tolerably happy. At Henry's desire she had written a letter to her brother, the Duke of Cleves, saying that she was very well treated, and desiring him to live on good terms with the English king.

Having thus got rid of his fourth wife, Henry, almost immediately afterwards, was married privately to Catharine Howard; who, on the 8th of August, was introduced at court as his acknowledged queen. The Catholic party were in high spirits in consequence of this event, and thought that they would be able to revive the ancient form of religion. The Duke of Norfolk and Bishop Gardiner directed the council of the king; a fierce persecution commenced against the reformers; and the law of the Six Articles, which the people called the whip with six strings, was put in force with great rigour.

The first that suffered was that same Dr. Barnes who had been the cause of Lambert's death by accusing him of heresy before Archbishop Cranmer. Barnes had offended Gardiner; and that bitter, unforgiving man got him condemned, without the form of a trial, as a heretic. Two other reformers, named Gerrard and Jerome, were burnt along with him. That Henry might not be thought to favour the old religion too much, he caused three Catholics to be dragged to Smithfield on the same hurdles, and there to be hanged and quartered for denying his supremacy. A foreigner, who was at that time in London, inquired how people contrived to live in a country where Catholics were hanged and Protestants were burnt. Henry's cruelty increased as he got older; and a month after those executions, he caused

the prior of Doncaster, and six other persons, to be hanged for defending a monastic life.

Early in the next year (1541), another attempt at insurrection was made in the north of England; but it was soon put down, and the leaders of it executed. Henry then made a royal progress to York, partly to reconcile the people in that district to his authority, and partly for the purpose of having an interview with the King of Scotland, whom he wished to bind more closely to the interests of England. The meeting, however, did not take place; for the clergy of Scotland persuaded their king to break the appointment. They feared that Henry would induce James to follow his example of robbing the monasteries, and persecuting their ancient religion.

Henry was very fond of his new queen; for her beauty and fascination had entirely captivated him. Indeed, so happy was he with his fifth wife, that he publicly returned thanks to God for his felicity; and desired the Bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of prayer for that purpose. This happiness was of very short duration: the queen was a woman of profligate habits, and had been guilty of an improper familiarity with a servant of the Duchess of Norfolk, in whose family she had been educated. Within a year after her marriage, her conduct was revealed to Archbishop Cranmer by a person named Lascelles. Cranmer was astonished: he scarcely knew what to do; but having taken the advice of the chancellor, he resolved to communicate to the king the guiltiness of his beautiful wife. At first, Henry disbelieved this strange accusation; but having caused Lascelles, and other persons acquainted with the queen's transgressions, to be arrested and examined, he became convinced of its truth. It seems that he had really felt more affection for that guilty woman than could have been expected from his antecedents. After reading the examinations, he remained silent for some time, and then burst into tears; though his after-conduct showed that there was much selfishness in his sorrow.

When the queen was taxed with her guilt, she at first denied it; but on being told that her lover, Francis Derham, had confessed his participation in it, she admitted that she had been criminal before her marriage; but affirmed she had been faithful to the king since that ceremony. That might have been true; but as she had lately taken Derham into her service, and as a gentleman of the privy chamber, named Culpepper, had remained one night for some hours alone with her and Lady Rochford, a woman of infamous character, Henry gave no credit to her statement.

The king's affection was soon turned into anger; and once angry, he never forgave. Derham and Culpepper were, on the 31st of November, 1541, tried for treason at Guildhall; found guilty on very defective evidence, and executed at Tyburn on the 10th of December. Catharine's grandmother, the old Duchess of Norfolk; her uncle, Lord William Howard, and his lady; together with the Countess of Bridgewater, and nine other persons, were also attainted of misprision of treason, because they knew the queen's wickedness before her marriage, and had concealed it. Even the tyrannical Henry, however, seems to have been aware of the cruelty of punishing the near relatives of Catharine, merely because they did not reveal her shame and blast her character; and he afterwards pardoned most of them—not, however, before they had suffered severe imprisonment.

A confession had been extorted from the wretched queen, on a promise that the king would spare her life; but it appears that he never had any such intention. In January, 1542, the parliament passed a bill of attainder against her and Lady Rochford, charged with having encouraged the queen in her dissolute conduct. On the 13th of February both were beheaded within the Tower walls. They died with patience and in penitence; and Catharine, with her last breath, protested, by her hope of salvation, that she had never been guilty since she had been queen. Though undoubtedly erring before her marriage, this unhappy woman was treated not only with severity, but with injustice. Her crime did not amount to treason: she had no trial; but was condemned, without a hearing, by a slavish parliament; and the principal witness against her was a female servant, who, there is some reason to believe, had been discharged from her service.

The year before Catharine's execution, Henry had raised Ireland to the rank of a kingdom, to the entire satisfaction of the native Irish, many of whose chiefs he created peers. The English kings had hitherto been called only Lords of Ireland.

CHAPTER LIII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH.—A.D. 1542—1547.


ENRY tried to forget the mortification his queen's misconduct had caused him, by again turning his attention to the religious disputes which harassed both his clergy and people. Every liberty or benefit to which a nation has not been accustomed is sure to be abused at first. The immediate consequence of the Bible being generally read was, that an immense number of strange sects and opinions in religion had sprung up. There were Anabaptists, Antinomians, Fifth-Monarchy-men, Davidians, or Members of the Family of Love; Predestinarians, Arians, Unitarians, Libertines, and many others. The disorders thus produced, and the licentiousness which prevailed in religious matters, were very great; and it was some time before the establishment of the Anglican church in any degree checked the evils.

After the lapse of 300 years we can talk sensibly enough about the effects of the Reformation; but King Henry and his councillors did not understand them then. They regarded the spread of many sects and opinions as pernicious heresies, dangerous to the cause of religion; and the king set to work, as he had done before, to make all his subjects think alike on this sublime theme—a result which appears to be unattainable, though it is so much to be desired; for that the difference of opinion amongst Christians upon important points of doctrine greatly strengthens the cause of infidelity, cannot be doubted. With a view to produce unanimity, the king, soon after the publication of the English edition of the Bible, had ordered the bishops to write a book, in which they were to inculcate all his ideas on the subject of religion. This work appeared, and was called *The Institution of a Christian Man; or, the Bishop's Book*. It leant towards the principles of the Reformation; and the whole nation was to receive it as an infallible standard of faith. But, in 1543, he ordered another book to be written, called *The Erudition of a Christian Man*. The new volume favoured the doctrines of the Romish church; but, without observing his own inconsistency, or perhaps without caring about it, he commanded this also to be received as an unerring rule of faith. Thus people knew not what to believe; and the parliament had even gone so far in its miserable degradation, as to pass a law that all the tenets agreed to by a commission of bishops, chosen by the king, should be received as binding on the nation.

In 1541, a dispute had arisen between Henry and James V., King of Scotland; and the former had the absurdity to revive the claim of the English monarchs to the sovereignty of that country. After several border skirmishes, Sir James Bowes, with a small army, entered Teviotdale; but he was stopped at Haddenrig by the Earl of Huntley and Lord Home. There a battle took place, and the Scots were the victors. King Henry was very much mortified at this disgrace; and having raised an army of 40,000 men, he sent it to invade Scotland, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk. That nobleman, in 1542, crossed the borders, burnt twenty villages on the banks of the Tweed, and continued to desolate the country, till King James collected an army of 30,000 men, and marched to meet the English invaders. Awed by his approach, Norfolk and his army retreated back to their own country. James immediately gave an order for pursuing them; and thus carrying the war into English ground. But winter was approaching; the Scottish nobles were disaffected towards their king, and they refused to follow him.

James was compelled, for the time, to give up the war, and return to his capital; but a month afterwards, he sent forward an army of 10,000 men, who crossed the English borders at Solway Moss; while he himself prepared to follow. Suspecting the fidelity of Lord Maxwell, to whom he had entrusted the command of this army, he sent his favourite, Oliver Sinclair, to take the place of that nobleman. He arrived at the camp on the 25th of November; and having mounted a platform, raised on the shoulders of the soldiers, he read his commission to the army. No sooner had he concluded than a violent contention took place: the haughty Scottish chiefs declared that they would not serve under any such leader; and the troops broke out into mutiny and confusion. While this was going on, it so happened that a body of not more than 300 English horsemen, who had been sent forward to reconnoitre, approached on a neighbouring height, and saw with astonishment the riot and disorder of the Scottish camp. Having resolved to take advantage of it, they rushed suddenly on the Scots, who, taking them to be the van of Norfolk's army, were seized with a sudden panic, and fled without striking a blow. Numbers were killed, and many others, including several nobles, taken prisoners. When King James heard of this disgraceful defeat, he was a broken-hearted man. He

shut himself up in his palace at Falkland, and passed hours without speaking a word. He had been a strong, healthy man; but he pined away, and died soon after the battle, of a slow fever, brought on by extreme grief.

When Henry heard of the death of his nephew, James, he thought of uniting Scotland to England by marrying the little fatherless Princess Mary to his son, Prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI. This was an excellent plan, and might have succeeded; but the greedy and absolute English monarch wanted to get instant possession of Scotland; and, by so doing, he overreached himself, as people who grasp at too much frequently do. To further his purpose, he released the Scottish nobles who had been taken prisoners at the rout at Solway Moss, on condition of their seconding his views with respect to the marriage; and he also bought the assent of other nobles of that country. These gentlemen, however, disagreed amongst themselves. After the death of James, Cardinal Beaton produced a will, by which he was declared regent during the minority of the infant princess. This will was pronounced a forgery; and the Earl of Arran caused the cardinal to be arrested, and then assumed the regency himself. Beaton and the people of Scotland generally, who were mostly Catholics, were opposed to any alliance with the heretical King Henry; but the new regent, who was inclined to the principles of the Reformation, favoured the views of the English monarch.

The Earl of Arran assembled the Scottish parliament, which proposed to enter into a treaty with England. By this agreement the estates of the northern kingdom consented to the marriage, but would not allow the little princess to be sent into England until she was ten years of age; and they made some jealous regulations for preserving the independence of their country. Before it was finally concluded, the cardinal obtained his liberty, and opposed the measure so skilfully, that the proposed treaty ended in a new quarrel between Scotland and England, in which the Scots were assisted by their old allies, the French.

For this and some other reasons, Henry resolved to make war on France; and for that purpose he sought a reconciliation with his old enemy, Charles, the Emperor of Germany. That monarch consented to forgive and forget the insults which had been offered to his aunt Catharine, Henry's first wife; and Henry, by an act of parliament, restored her daughter Mary, and Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth, to their right to succeed him on the throne. An alliance was then formed between Charles and Henry against France. It was agreed that each of them should invade that country with an army of 25,000 men. These forces were to march from different points, and meet at Paris, where the two monarchs arranged to dispose of the French monarchy between them. Though he had promised to head his army, Henry broke his word on that occasion, as he had so frequently done before. He sent only a small force to assist the emperor, and staid at home to marry his sixth wife. This lady, whom he wedded on the 12th of July, 1543, was Catharine Parr, the widow of Neville, Lord Latimer. She was a matronly and prudent woman, exceedingly well educated, and greatly inclined to the reformed religion. The reformers hoped that this marriage would induce the king to regard their principles more favourably; but it was impossible to reckon on the whims of this capricious tyrant; and, a fortnight after his wedding, he caused three Protestants to be burnt to death at Smithfield, as heretics.

The next year (1544) Henry roused himself from his loving fit, and resolved once more to take part in a military campaign. Always in extremes, though he had but little money and few soldiers, he resolved upon conquering both France and Scotland at once. By great efforts he contrived to raise an army of 30,000 men. With these he sailed over to Calais; and, marching to Boulogne, laid siege to that city. He also sent an English fleet, and an army of 10,000 men, into Scotland, under the command of Viscount Lisle and the Earl of Hereford. After a two months' siege, Boulogne surrendered, on condition that its garrison should be permitted to march out with bag and baggage. Henry then rode into the town to the sound of trumpets, and thought himself as great a conqueror as Alexander or Julius Cæsar. He was soon, however, to discover his mistake. His ally, the Emperor Charles, made peace with the French king, and left Henry to conduct the war by himself. This the latter did not relish; so, after having gone to an immense expense, and done nothing more than take Boulogne, he returned into England with more disgrace than honour.

The army that had been sent to Scotland took and plundered Leith, attacked Edinburgh, and set that town on fire; but was compelled to retreat by the well-directed artillery of the castle. The instructions to the English were, to destroy as much as possible, to burn every town and village in their way, and to spare neither man, woman, nor child. In consequence of these barbarous orders, they burnt all the towns and villages round Edinburgh, and laid the country desolate; but they were at length stopped by a Scottish army, under Cardinal Beaton. Then these men—who must be deemed marauders, not soldiers—retreated to their ships, and sailed away, after having destroyed every Scotch vessel they could lay their hands upon.

The next year (1545), Sir Ralph Evre ravaged the Scottish borders with merciless fury: Scotland was

rent by factions at home, and many of its chieftains were secretly in the pay of Henry. The unhappy people, therefore, had no trust in their leaders, and fell ready victims to the English, whose ferocious excesses roused the national spirit of the Earl of Angus, and made him, for a time, true to his country. Collecting all his vassals, he joined the regent, Arran, and opposed the invaders at Ancram Moor. A brief but fierce battle took place on the 17th of February, which ended in the defeat of the English, and the death of their leader.

The French king was anxious to get back the city of Boulogne, which Henry had so lately taken, and he collected a great fleet for that purpose. Besides laying siege to Boulogne, he attacked the Isle of Wight, and attempted to take and destroy Portsmouth. Henry was alarmed: the banks of the Thames were fortified, together with the coasts of Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; and a fleet of sixty English ships of war was collected at Portsmouth. The French fleet, consisting of 136 vessels, sailed triumphantly about the Channel, insulting the English, and burning villages and farm-houses along the coast. King Henry himself went to Portsmouth; and the French admiral, sailing up to the harbour, challenged the English to come out and fight him. At Henry's command they did not accept this challenge; but a distant cannonading took place between the fleets, which ended in the sinking of a large English vessel, called the *Mary Rose.* The French, however, would not attack the English while under the shelter of the land-batteries of Portsmouth, but returned to Brest; and all this expense and preparation on both sides ended in nothing.

All that Henry did by his wars was to get into difficulties; and, therefore, he summoned a parliament to grant him more money. After voting him a certain sum, this slavish body of men actually bestowed upon the king all the revenues of the universities, chauntries, free chapels, and hospitals. Henry smiled graciously at their contemptible humiliation, but told them that he had no intention to rob learning of all her endowments; and he informed the universities that he did not mean to touch their revenues.

The king's strength was now failing him: he got more unwieldy and incapable of exertion, and he desired repose. In this condition he was glad to make peace with France. An arrangement was, therefore, entered into between him and Francis, called the treaty of Campes, by which Henry agreed to give up Boulogne, and Francis promised in return to pay him a large sum of money. The French king, who had also entered into an alliance with the Scots, insisted that they should be included in the treaty. Henry's wars, therefore, left matters exactly as they were when hostilities commenced.

As the king's health declined, he became (1546) subject to violent gusts of passion, which made it dangerous to offend him ever so slightly, even by accident. He suffered great pain from his infirmity, and became very gloomy and morose. His only amusements were gluttonous eating and drinking, and talking upon disputed doctrines in religion. His queen frequently discoursed with him, and ventured, in the warmth of conversation, to speak her mind freely, and dispute some of his opinions. Henry was greatly offended. "A good hearing this," said he, "when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife." The crafty Bishop Gardiner did his best further to incense the king; and Wriothesley, the chancellor, received orders to prepare articles of impeachment against the queen.

Catharine Parr found out what was going on, and she shaped her conduct accordingly. The next evening the king entered on his usual subject of conversation, and seemed to invite her to argue with him on divinity. In a submissive manner she declined, saying that such profound topics were not suited to the natural weakness of her sex. "Not so! By St. Mary," replied the king, "you are now become a doctor, Kate; and better fitted to give than to receive instruction." With assumed humility, the queen answered, that she knew how little she was entitled to these praises: that though she usually entered on any conversation, when proposed by his majesty, it was only to give him a little momentary amusement; that she found the conversation apt to languish when not revived by some opposition; and she had ventured sometimes to feign a contradiction of sentiment only to give him the pleasure of correcting her. She also purposed, by this innocent artifice, to engage him to talk upon subjects from which she reaped both profit and instruction. Henry was soothed and convinced. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "is it so, sweetheart? Then we are friends again; and it doth me more good to hear these words of thine own mouth, than it would have done had I heard that £100,000 had fallen unto me." The next day, when Catharine and Henry were talking together in the garden, Wriothesley, the chancellor, approached with a guard of forty men to take the queen into custody. Bursting into anger against the officious chancellor, the king called him a knave, a fool, and a beast, and dismissed him from his presence.

Although Catharine thus escaped the wrath of the king for her secret attachment to the reformed doctrines of religion, there was another lady, younger and more heroic, that was not so fortunate. This was Anne Askew, the daughter of a country gentleman, who was arrested and brought before Bishop Bonner on a charge

of heresy. The bishop intimidated her into a sort of recantation; but, after being released from prison, she felt she had acted timidly, and continued to teach the reformed religion to her friends. Being again arrested, she was sent to the Tower, and examined by Wriothesley, the chancellor, and Rich, one of the council, as to whether any of the ladies of the court held her opinions; but she bravely refused to criminate any one. Then they ordered her to be put on the rack to make her confess, and kept her stretched upon that dreadful instrument for a length of time. But the suffering and heroic girl would not even cry out on account of the anguish she felt, much less speak any word that should involve others in her sad fate. The lieutenant of the Tower went to release her from the engine of torture, but the chancellor and his companions interfered, and commanded him to rack the unhappy girl again. Used as he was to sights of misery, the lieutenant was touched, and refused to obey. On this, the chancellor and his companion applied their own hands to the instrument, and wrenched it so severely that the poor girl's limbs were all dislocated, and she was obliged to be carried away on a chair in a state of insensibility. As her cruel tormentors could not make her conform to their opinions, they condemned her to perish at the stake. Still her noble constancy remained unshaken; and as she was yet unable to stand, on account of the frightful manner in which she had been stretched upon the rack, she was carried to Smithfield in a chair, and with three other victims burnt to ashes.

The last act of the tyrant's reign was the arrest of the old Duke of Norfolk and his accomplished son, the Earl of Surrey. To gratify a jealous whim, the king caused them to be tried as traitors; and although their only crime was that of having offended him, the slavish nobles condemned them to death. The Earl of Surrey was beheaded on the 19th of January, 1547, and the day also fixed for the execution of the father. But before that morning dawned, a great blessing had descended upon the country. In the course of the night the tyrant breathed his last; and this long reign of horror was at an end!

When informed that his last hour was at hand, the king regretted the news, but expressed himself resigned to what was inevitable. Looking back on his past life, he greatly condemned it; but he declared the mercy of Christ was able to pardon him all his sins, even had they been greater than they were. In this faith he died, on the 28th of January, 1547, in the 56th year of his age, and after a reign of thirty-seven years and nine months.

There is no English sovereign whose character it is so difficult to describe as that of Henry VIII. By some it is depicted in colours so repulsive that it seems scarcely human; but they appear to have brought all his vices, his bad qualities, and his unjust and wicked acts prominently forward, and to have completely ignored what few virtues he possessed. Good and evil were, however, mixed up in Henry as they are in most persons, though there can be no doubt that the latter greatly predominated. Much of the difficulty of rightly appreciating the merits or demerits of this sovereign, arises from the position in which he was placed by his breach with Rome. By the Protestant writers he is praised for many things, and his amiable propensities are put prominently forward: whilst the Roman Catholics vilify him without scruple. He certainly was violent, cruel, rapacious, tyrannical, and unjust; and also insincere. In religious matters, no doubt, he was frequently dishonest: he quarrelled with the Pope, not because he dissented from the doctrines of the Romish church, but because the exercise of the Pope's authority interfered with his own; and he could not induce the pontiffs to sanction acts which they deemed irreligious and unjust. But, as a modern historian (Charles Duke Yonge) observes, "the great, the ineffaceable stain upon his memory is the ruthless manner in which he shed blood, and the blood which should have been dearest to him, for the gratification of his most trifling caprices. No tyrant in modern history has approached him in this respect." On the other hand, as the author of *The Student's Hume* affirms, he was, at times, "open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of temporary friendship and attachment." He had, also, "great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men;" and "he had great political ability, though he can hardly be called a successful statesman." His exterior qualities were attractive. "In his manners," remarks Mr. Yonge, "especially in the early part of his reign, he was courteous, generous, and affable; and so engaging are these qualities, and even the recollection of them, that to the end of his life he was popular with the generality of the nation." With posterity, who are strangers to his urbanity, courtesy, and good-nature, it is different; no English king is, in the opinion of moderns, so unpopular as Henry VIII. They mostly agree with Sir Walter Raleigh, that, "if all the patterns of a merciless tyrant had been lost to the world, they might have been found in this prince." Before closing these few remarks upon the subject of Henry's character, it is right to add, that he possessed a talent for literature and the arts, both of which he encouraged and patronised. In 1540, he established Trinity College, Cambridge, which he amply endowed; and he also finished what Wolsey left incomplete with respect to Christ Church, Oxford.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE SIXTH.—A.D. 1547—1549.



DWARD VI. was little more than nine years old at the death of his father. No son could be more unlike a parent than he was to the late king; indeed, he was so gentle and amiable, so fond of his studies, and so forward in them, that he has been described as a perfect prodigy of learning for his age. Great care had been taken with his education; and, before he was eight years old, he is said to have written letters in Latin to his father. He was also very religious, and greatly attached to the reformed doctrines; for Archbishop Cranmer had taken care to appoint him tutors of sound Protestant principles. His love and reverence for the Bible were remarkable; and, at one time, he was extremely offended because a person about him, in order to reach something hastily, laid a Bible on the floor to stand upon.

The late king had, in his will, named sixteen persons as his executors, to whom he entrusted the care both of his son and the kingdom, until the former should have reached the age of eighteen. Amongst these executors were Archbishop Cranmer, Wriothesley (the chancellor), and Edward's uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford. The latter was a man of great ambition and considerable talents; and he got one of the sixteen executors to propose that he should be chosen protector of the realm and of the king's person, though without the power to do anything except with the sanction of the council. This proposal was opposed by the chancellor, who hoped to get the chief power of the state into his own hands. Hertford, also, was looked upon as the head of the Protestant party, and Wriothesley as that of the Catholic one; so there was a natural enmity between them. But the courtiers knew very well that the young king had been educated to love the reformed doctrines; Protestant opinions, therefore, suddenly became very fashionable: Wriothesley stood alone in his opposition, and the Earl of Hertford was made protector, until the young king should come of age.

The protector and the executors then proceeded to reward themselves for the trouble they had taken in the affairs of the kingdom. The late king, in his will, required them to make good all his promises; but what these promises were it seems the executors did not know. In this difficulty, they called Sir William Paget, Sir Antony Denny, and Sir William Herbert, gentlemen with whom Henry had been accustomed to converse with familiarity, and questioned them upon the subject. These parties said, that the promises the late king had mentioned, referred to some pensions and titles which, in his last illness, he desired should be given to such as he named to them. Accordingly, the Earl of Hertford was made Duke of Somerset; his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, was made Baron Seymour and Lord-Admiral; Wriothesley, the chancellor, became Lord Southampton; and many other titles and pensions were bestowed without any apparent reason for the gift. The people were discontented with these proceedings: they said the courtiers had drained the dead king of his treasures, and that the first step in their new trust was to provide honours and estates for themselves. Some even declared that the whole story was a forgery, and that Henry had never left any such directions at all.

The body of the deceased king, which had been lying in state at Whitehall, was buried at Windsor, on the 16th of February, 1547. It was deposited near that of Jane Seymour; the funeral service being read, and the sermon preached, by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. The funeral of the late king was succeeded by the coronation of the new one, which took place four days afterwards. On this occasion the ceremony was shortened, that it might not fatigue the young monarch; and some alterations were made in it, to suit the great changes which had taken place in the religion of the country. After the coronation, all state prisoners were released except a few. The old Duke of Norfolk, who had committed no crime at all, was one of the exceptions, and he remained in prison until Queen Mary ascended the throne.

Wriothesley, the chancellor, now Lord Southampton, determined to ruin the protector if he could; but his zeal led to his own fall. Having committed some irregularity in his office, the council decided that the great seal should be taken from him, and that he should be for a time committed to prison. The Duke of Somerset had then no one to oppose him, and he first turned his attention to the affairs of Scotland.

A peace had been concluded between England and that country during the latter part of Henry's reign; but it had never been strictly observed. The protector, Somerset, was resolved, by fair means or foul, to carry out Henry's wish of uniting the two kingdoms by marrying the infant Princess of Scotland to the young

King of England. For this purpose he collected an army and a fleet for the invasion of Scotland; but before he proceeded to hostilities, he sent a manifesto to the nobles of that country. In it he said that nature seemed originally to have intended this island for one empire; and having cut it off from all communication with foreign states, and guarded it by the ocean, she had pointed out to the inhabitants the road to happiness and security. That the people of both countries had the same language, laws, and manners; that everything invited them to an union; and that an incident had occurred which would enable such an union to be effected, without any jealousy or dishonour on either side. The crown of Scotland having fallen to a princess, and that of England to a prince, who were of a very suitable age for each other, their marriage would end all ill-feeling between the two nations, and unite them in a state of happy tranquillity unknown to their ancestors.

These arguments had no effect upon the Scots, who were resolved to marry the young Princess Mary to a French prince, and who regarded the English as a nation of heretics, and their natural enemies. Somerset, therefore, on the 2nd of September, crossed the borders with an army of 20,000 men, which he had previously collected at Newcastle; and placed a fleet, consisting of sixty-five vessels, under the command of Lord Clinton.

The Scots had summoned an immense army, double in number to that of the English, and taken up their ground on the banks of the Esk, about four miles from Edinburgh. On the 8th of September, the English had advanced to Preston-pans, and encamped between that place and Edinburgh, the distance between the two armies being little more than two miles.—On the 9th, a skirmish took place between the Scottish and English cavalry, which was very fatal to the former; for while 1,300 of them were killed, the loss of the English is said to have amounted to no more than four! After this engagement, Somerset and 300 horsemen rode out to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, which was a remarkably strong one, as it was protected by the ridge of Falside, which ran between the two armies. The Scottish army consisted of four long rows of troops, not unlike, says an eye-witness who wrote an account of the battle, "to four great ridges of ripe barley." On returning to his own camp, Somerset was overtaken by a Scottish herald and a trumpeter. The herald said that he came from the governor of Scotland, who, wishing to avoid the shedding of Christian blood (which must result if a battle took place), was willing to allow the English to return home, if they would retreat without doing any further injury. Then the trumpeter stepping forward, said that his master, the Earl of Huntley, had directed him to say that he was ready to encounter the Duke of Somerset, twenty to twenty, or ten to ten, or, if he preferred it, in single combat.

Somerset rejected both offers. To the herald, he said, he had not come so far to march back without doing anything, and that his object was to obtain a lasting peace for both countries. He added, that his quarrel was just, and God would prosper it; and since so many conditions had been offered in vain, it must now be decided by an appeal to arms. Then, turning to the trumpeter, he said, haughtily—"Tell thy master that he seems to be somewhat wanting in discretion (seeing that he is himself so much inferior in dignity), to send his challenge to one who has the whole government of a kingdom placed in his hands; though, if I had been my own master, and not the bearer of so important a charge, I would not have refused a personal encounter. Meanwhile, there are many in my army who are equal in nobility and rank to Huntley; whom, if he thinks fit to challenge, he will find, perhaps, readier to fight than he wishes."

Somerset, not approving of his position, on the 10th of September led his army towards the sea, his fleet being at anchor near Leith. The Scots, supposing that he wished to escape them, left their strong position, crossed the river Esk, and approached rapidly to encounter him. As they advanced they were fired upon by the English ships; many Scots were killed, and the Highland archers thrown into confusion. Lord Grey, on seeing this, thought, by attacking the Scottish infantry with his heavy-armed horse, that he should decide the day, and gain the honour of the victory. In this he was fatally mistaken: the Scottish infantry presented an impenetrable bank of bristling spears; about 200 of the English were thrown from their horses, and despatched with the daggers which the Scots carried in their girdles; Lord Grey himself was wounded in the mouth, and his standard nearly taken. The rest of the English were glad to save themselves by galloping back again. At that moment the whole army was in extreme danger; and had not great efforts been made to restore it to order, a defeat would have followed.

The coolness of the English saved them. A body of Spanish carabineers advanced, and fired their pieces in the faces of the Scots: the English harquebussiers followed their example. The ships, also, galled the Scots with their broadsides; and the English archers shot amongst them so thickly, that the arrows fell like hailstones. Such steady, combined, and murderous attacks threw the Scots into confusion; which was increased by the want of discipline among the Highlanders, who, being unused to obey, had broken from their ranks, robbed the dead, and then, believing the day to be lost,

fled to secure their plunder. In a very short time the panic became general; the Scottish army dispersed and fled, pursued hotly by the English cavalry, eager to avenge the disgrace they had experienced in the early part of the day. The flight lasted from one o'clock P.M. until six in the evening; and for five miles the ground was thickly strewed with mangled bodies, and the river Esk looked as if it had been turned into blood. Some tried to save themselves from death by standing up to their necks among the rushes in the water; but many of them were discovered, dragged out, and butchered. The number of those slain in the Scottish army has been differently estimated—some saying 10,000, others, 13,000; very few were spared and taken prisoners; altogether, not more than 1,500. The Scotch artillery, baggage, camp, and many standards of colours, were also taken by the victors. The loss of the English was comparatively trifling; for the fearful massacre took place not so much in the fight as in the pursuit.

Thus ended the famous battle of Pinkie—the greatest defeat that Scotland had suffered since the fatal conflict at Flodden Field. It was fought on Saturday, the 10th of September, 1547—a day that was long afterwards remembered by the Scots as the Black Saturday.

After the battle, the English occupied Leith, which was burned; and, in other quarters, several castles were captured, and the country ravaged in the most cruel manner. These barbarities were put a stop to by the information Somerset received, that his younger brother was conspiring to overthrow his authority. On the 18th of September, therefore, he ordered his army to commence its march back to England. Thus his great success in Scotland was not followed up; and the only result of this shocking sacrifice of human life, was to incense the Scots still further against the English, and to destroy all hopes of the marriage between the young King of England and the Scottish Princess Mary—to bring about which, the campaign had been entered upon. Even those of the Scots who were inclined to think an alliance with England would be an advantage, objected to having that alliance forced upon them. The Earl of Huntley said it was not that he disliked the match, but that he hated the manner of wooing. To protect themselves against the further attempts of the English, the Scots very naturally entered into a closer friendship with France, and sent the young Princess Mary for safety to the court of the French king, where she was, in August, 1548, betrothed to the dauphin, the son of the then King of France, Henry II.; Francis I. having died on the 31st of March.

On the protector's return to England, he summoned a parliament, which met on the 4th of November, and sat till the 24th of December. It passed the Act for the Repeal of certain Acts concerning Treasons, Felonies, &c.—a piece of legislation which abolished the act giving to the king's proclamation the same power as a law; that of the Six Articles, or the Bloody Statute; and all the harsh enactments on the subject of treason. Unhappily, the cruel, unjust law which condemned heretics to death by fire was still retained. Other useful laws were passed, and also one which was both useful and merciless. It was called "An Act for the Punishment of Vagabonds, and for the Relief of the Poor and Impotent Persons." When the monasteries were put down, feeble old people and beggars were left without any means of support. They had been fed daily by the monks; and, in the latter years of the reign of Henry VIII., they swarmed about the country, starving or thieving, and became a terrible nuisance. The new law declared, that all the helpless and aged poor should have houses provided for them at the expense of the parish in which they were born, or where they had lived for the last three years—a humane provision, accompanied with others that were both cruel and tyrannical. All persons who loitered about the country, and had no honest means of getting a livelihood, were to be branded on the breast with a hot iron as vagabonds, and condemned for two years to be the *slaves* of the person who informed against them. Their masters were not required to give them any better food than bread and water; and, if they would not work, were allowed to beat or chain them up like dogs. Should any poor wretch run away from this severity, he was to be burnt on the forehead, and condemned to be a slave for the whole of his life. If he ran away a second time, he was to be put to death.

Since the death of Henry, Cranmer, being enabled to act more in accordance with his own views, took some decided steps in the cause of the Reformation. He was supported by the protector Somerset; the young king himself was favourable to the Protestant doctrines; and several of the bishops wished the Reformation to be fairly completed: but Cranmer was a prudent man. He saw the danger of great and sudden changes, and resolved to proceed by degrees, and to explain the reasons for every advance so fully, that he hoped to convince the nation of the justness of it, and to prevent that dangerous opposition which might otherwise be expected.

Acting in unison with the council, the archbishop began by appointing visitors to all the dioceses in England, like those which had been nominated by Cromwell in the last reign. The duty of those visitors was to enforce the Protestant doctrines, and examine any clergyman, or even bishop, upon the points of his belief. To prevent the clergy from preaching the doc-

trines of the Roman church, a book of homilies, or sermons, was written, and given them to read in their pulpits. From this arose the present practice of the clergy reading their sermons: before that time discourses from the pulpit were generally delivered extemporaneously — that is, they were composed and spoken at the moment, and not delivered from a written paper. In these homilies the people were taught to disregard the superstitions of the church of Rome; to depend, instead, on the sufferings of the Saviour; and to lead their lives according to the rules of the Gospel.

The visitors were also to see that a copy of the Bible was placed in every church; for although Henry had recommended this to be done, the priests, who were attached to the ancient form of religion, had neglected to do it. They resolved that their parishioners should not read the Bible if they could help it; but they could help it no longer, and were obliged to submit. Besides the Bible, a paraphrase of the New Testament, by a famous Dutch scholar, named Erasmus, was placed in the churches, to enable the people to understand the Scriptures. Directions were also given for a stricter observance of the Sunday: it was explained to the people, that it was not sufficient for them to hear mass in the morning, and then spend the rest of the day in drunkenness and revelling, as was commonly practised; but that the whole of the day should be occupied in acts of devotion or charity. Besides this, the visitors were ordered to remove all idolatrous images out of the churches; and a great number of absurd-looking wooden saints were chopped to pieces, and burnt for firewood.

Bonner, the Bishop of London, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, stood out against the visitors. Bonner said that he would obey the injunctions if they were not contrary to the laws of God; and Gardiner declared that he would not have the homilies preached in his diocese; and that, if he must either quit his bishopric or sin against his conscience, he resolved to choose the former. In consequence of this, they were both committed to the Fleet prison, and thus the two greatest enemies of the Reformation were kept out of the way. This was but a mild form of persecution for those days; but still it was imprisonment for opinion's sake; and shows that the Catholics were not the only people who persecuted those who differed from them.

The parliament broke up on the 24th of December, having passed an act for the liberation of state prisoners; under the provisions of which, Bishops Bonner and Gardiner were liberated on the 5th of January, 1548. The latter bishop, however, was an active, troublesome man; and he offered so much opposition to the reformed religion, that many complaints were made against him. He was accordingly summoned before the council, and there offered to explain himself openly in a sermon before the king. He was ordered to do so at St. Paul's Cross, on St. Peter's Day, the 29th of June, 1549. On that occasion, he had the candour to approve of many of the changes that had been made; but when he came to speak of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he contended so strongly that the consecrated bread was actually turned into the body of the Saviour, that a great disturbance took place; and the affair ended by his being, on the 30th, again sent to the Tower, where he remained during the rest of Edward's reign.

The prorogation of parliament was till April, 1548, but it did not reassemble for more than twelve months. Cranmer, during that time, induced the council to issue an order forbidding candles to be carried about on Candlemas Day; ashes, on Ash Wednesday; or palms, on Palm Sunday. These, he said, were superstitious customs, contrary to the simplicity and dignity of the Christian religion. The people, especially in the country, very much regretted this change. They loved the cheerful shows, and looked for them as holidays. Many other gay ceremonies were put down, to the grief of great numbers of ignorant people, who understood so little of the real nature of religion, that they thought going to church merely to pray to God, and be instructed in their duties towards Him, was a very dull affair. The elevation of the host, or consecrated wafer, was forbidden. The host had been originally held up to remind the people of Christ's elevation and sufferings on the cross; but it came at last to be raised that it might be worshipped. The council also decreed that the service of the church should be read in English; and Cranmer published an English catechism, for the instruction of the people in the principles of their religion.

A great part of the year 1548 was occupied by petty wars in Scotland, in which the English got by no means the best of it. To relate all these little skirmishes and sieges is very tedious and uninstructive; for they are nearly all alike. The English ravaged the borders of Scotland, and took some castles; while the Scots and French retook, and, in their turn, ravaged the northern counties of England. Thus many people were murdered and ruined; many a village left a smoking heap of rubbish; and no one gained any advantage by it. Wars to resist an invader, or defend a nation's freedom, are defensible and just; but paltry, irritating, meaningless wars, like that then carried on between England and Scotland, are infamous national crimes. Somerset, who had begun the war as a means of enforcing the treaty of marriage between King Edward and Mary, certainly wished for peace, and offered to enter into a

ten years' truce; but, as the Scots would not consent to it unless he restored all the places taken from them by the English, the proposal ended in nothing.

The protector, Somerset, had for some time been much annoyed by the conduct of his brother, who had been made Baron Seymour and High-Admiral. The baron was a bold, ambitious, profligate, and reckless man, who wished to supplant his elder brother's power. He was remarkably handsome; and within a very short time after the death of the late king, had married his widow, the Lady Catharine Parr. Somerset and the council were much offended at this match; but the admiral paid no attention to them. He had obtained great wealth and consideration by it, and also a familiar access to the young king, whose affection, and that of those around him, he endeavoured to win by making presents, and other means. His aim seems to have been the ruin of his brother, and the attainment of the chief power of the state for himself. He represented, that formerly, during the minority of a king, the office of governor of his person had always been kept separate from that of protector of the kingdom, and that it ought to be so now. His brother held both those offices, and one of them, at least, Admiral Seymour resolved, if possible, to obtain for himself. Somerset and the council expostulated with him on his conduct: but he treated their expostulations with contempt; and it was not until they threatened to send him to the Tower that he submitted, and promised to give up his turbulent practices. A hollow reconciliation then took place between the two brothers; but it was not destined to last long.

On the 7th of September, 1548, the queen-dowager, Catharine, the wife of Admiral Seymour, died, after giving birth to a daughter. She had married her second husband for ambition, and her third for love; but she had not been happy with either. She complained, on her death-bed, that the admiral had ill-treated her; and no sooner was she laid in her grave than he turned his attention to the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen Elizabeth, who was then a fair, cheerful, high-spirited girl, in her sixteenth year. The princess seems to have been attached to him; and a sort of flirtation had been carried on between them even during the life of Catharine: indeed, so much so, that that lady was occasionally jealous of her daughter-in-law; and it seems not without some reason.

Parliament met on the 2nd of January, 1549. Soon after the two houses assembled, the young king—led to take that step, no doubt, by the persuasions of Seymour—sent a letter to both houses, requesting that the admiral might be appointed his governor. Somerset was enraged at his brother's ambition; and taking advantage of his advances to the king's sister, the protector threatened that if he presumed to follow the Lady Elizabeth, he should be sent to the Tower. The late king had declared, in his will, that if either of his daughters married without the consent of the council, they should be excluded from the succession to the crown. This was much against the admiral's wishes; for, in becoming the husband of the princess, he looked forward to the possibility of some day being the husband of the English sovereign. As he could never expect to obtain the consent of the council, and as he did not abandon his pursuit, it was rumoured that he was endeavouring to accomplish his design in a treasonable manner; that he intended to seize the young king and carry him away to his castle in Denbighshire; that he had brought over many nobles to his purpose; and had surrounded himself with so large a number of followers, that he could raise an army of 10,000 men. Seymour met these rumours against himself by accusing his brother of endeavouring to enslave the nation, and of engaging foreign troops to put down its liberties, and to make himself master of everything. Whilst the dispute between the two brothers was at its height, Sharington, the Master of the Mint in Bristol, was arrested on a charge of clipping the coin of the realm. The admiral, who was in Sharington's debt £3,000—a debt from which he would have been liberated by his creditor's conviction—nevertheless defended him. But the prisoner, to save his own life, impeached Seymour, whom he charged with employing him to coin money, in order that he might raise an army, carry off the king, and change the government. In consequence, Seymour was arrested on the 16th of January, 1549, on a charge of high treason, and sent to the Tower.

The proceedings against the admiral were irregular. Thirty-three articles were drawn up; and he was several times privately examined by deputations from the council, and urged to make a confession of his guilt, and submit to the mercy of the protector and his colleagues. He protested that he had committed no treason; refused to answer questions put for the purpose of criminating him; and demanded a fair and open trial by his peers. On the 23rd of February, the council went in a body to the Tower, but failed in making any impression on the prisoner. The council then proceeded to the king, and requested that a bill of attainder might be presented to parliament. Edward, under the advice of Somerset—who professed that "it was a sorrowful business to him," but "he must prefer his majesty's safety" to any regard for those of his own blood—gave his consent; and the thirty-three articles were made the basis of the measure. Seymour again demanded to be brought face to face with his accusers, but the demand was refused; the Lords examined witnesses in support of the charges, and then passed the

bill. The Commons, when it came before them, objected to condemn a man in his absence, and unheard; but after the witnesses who had been examined in the upper house (chiefly members of that house), had given their evidence, the bill was passed—not unanimously, but with a very trivial minority.—On the 5th of March, the royal assent was given; and on the 20th, the ambitious admiral, the uncle of his sovereign, and the favoured lover of the Princess Elizabeth, was led to a scaffold upon Tower Hill, and publicly beheaded. He was attended, in his last moments, by the eccentric preacher and sturdy reformer, Bishop Latimer; and died courageously, protesting to the last that he had never meant any treason against the king or kingdom.

The parliament which condemned Seymour to the scaffold, made another blow at the existence of the Catholic religion in England by permitting the clergy to marry, the same as other people, instead of condemning them to live a single, solitary life, as they long had done. It was justly said, by the supporters of this measure, that the priests mentioned in the Old Testament were not only married, but that the sacred office descended by inheritance from father to son; while, in the New Testament, marriage was declared honourable in every one; and that to be the husband of but one wife, was reckoned as one of the qualifications of bishops and deacons. Other reasonable changes were made; most of the peculiar doctrines and practices of the Catholic churches were abolished; and that gigantic revolution, so famous under the name of the Reformation, was almost complete.

CHAPTER LV.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE SIXTH.—A.D. 1549—1553.

IN the summer of 1549, insurrections among the populace broke out in many counties of England; and a cry was raised against the Reformation, against the use of the new church service, and against the gentry.

There is an old proverb which says, "where there is smoke there is fire;" and, in the same way, we may say, that where there are insurrections there is generally a substantial grievance. The people were in a state of great poverty: the price of food had risen; while the price of labour remained the same, or even sank lower than it had been; for so much ground was turned from arable to pasture, that a number of labourers were thrown out of employment. The English people knew very little about manufactures, which were not much followed among them; and as hands were constantly increasing, while employment for them was at a standstill, there was of course a great deal of misery. All these evils were greatly increased by the depreciation of the coinage during the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII.; and although the act for the punishment of vagabonds, and the relief of the poor, had a good effect as far as the helpless and aged were concerned, who were relieved by their parishes, it was so harsh with respect to the wanderers, that it increased the discontent during the two years it remained on the statute-book. Besides this, people's minds were in a state of great excitement: they did not understand the many rapid changes which had been made in their religion: some few were violently in favour of the new doctrines; but the majority loved the old religion, and regretted not only the suppression of the monks, but also the holidays, shows, and ceremonies they had been deprived of. This excitement on the subject of religion had also the effect of unsettling men's minds, and preventing them from quietly following their usual occupations.

The protector, Somerset, loved popularity; and although he had acted so cruelly towards his own brother, he was generally kind to the people. A complaint had long been made by them that gentlemen had railed round the commons and waste lands, and converted to their own private uses what had been meant for the general benefit of all. Pitying the sufferings of the people, and wishing to obtain their love, Somerset issued a proclamation "against enclosures, and taking-in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open for the behoof of the inhabitants dwelling near to the same." Commissioners were also appointed, and sent about the country, to hear and decide all causes concerning such enclosures. Instead of pacifying the people, this only added to the mischief; for they were encouraged by the proclamation to take the matter into their own hands; and mobs of ignorant, riotous men set to work to break down the fences and hedges of gentlemen's estates, to kill the deer in their parks, and commit many other outrages.

These petty riots were soon followed by open rebellion. Historians differ as to the county in which the insurrec-

tions first took place; but, in a very short time, the people were in arms over more than half England. At first, complaints against the gentry and the enclosures only were made; but, in Devonshire, a cry arose for the restoration of the ancient religion. Humphrey Arundel, a gentleman, and governor of St. Michael's Mount, was the leader of the insurgents; and they had a number of Catholic priests also for their captains. On the 20th of June (Whit-Monday), these Devonshire rebels rose to the number of 10,000 men, and formed themselves into a regular army. Lord Russell was sent against them; but, as his troops were too few to risk any encounter, he kept at some distance, and sent word to know what were their complaints, which he promised to lay before the government. Arundel and the rebels drew up their demands in writing: the chief of them were, that the statute of the Six Articles should be restored; that the mass should be said in Latin; that the host should be held up, and those who refused to worship it, punished as heretics; that images should be set up again; that the Bible should no longer be permitted to be read by the people; that holy bread, holy water, holy candles, holy palms, and holy ashes should be again used; and that half of the abbey lands should be restored to the church. It is obvious that the priests were at the bottom of this insurrection; and their influence over the people is evident from the nature of the demands.

Cranmer wrote a long letter in reply to the insurgents; and a message was sent to them by the young king, commanding them to disperse immediately, and granting his pardon to all who should do so. But the men of Devonshire were too much excited to submit so quietly; and they marched towards Exeter, carrying before them crosses, banners, holy water, candlesticks, the consecrated host, and other things used in the ceremonies of the Roman church. The people of Exeter shut their gates, and refused to admit the rebels, who were so much enraged, that, on the 2nd of July, they laid siege to the city. The inhabitants were reduced to great distress; but the besiegers were foiled in their attempt. After five weeks of delay, the town was saved by the king's troops, and the rebels attacked and defeated. Numbers were slain in the encounter, and a great many taken prisoners. Amongst the latter was Humphrey Arundel, their leader, who was sent to London, and there executed. Many of the captives were hanged on the spot without any trial; and the vicar of St. Thomas, a sort of captain among them, was suspended by the neck, on the top of his own steeple, dressed as a Romish priest, with his beads hanging at his girdle. About 4,000 of these poor ignorant wretches perished either in the fight or by the hands of the executioner; and thus the insurrection in Devonshire was put down.

The rebellion in many other parts of the country was extinguished without much bloodshed; but that in Norfolk was very formidable. It broke out in July, and was headed by a tanner, named Robert Ket, who, in a short time, collected no less than 16,000 men around him. He exercised great authority amongst them, and summoned those who had committed any offence to take their trial. On these occasions he sat beneath the broad branches of a noble old oak-tree, which stood on Moushold Hill, near Norwich. This tree, from its being the place where justice was administered, obtained the name of the Tree of Reformation. The rebel orators addressed the people from beneath its shades; and the mayor of Norwich and other persons were also permitted to speak from it, and urge them to give up their foolish enterprise, and go peaceably home.

As the protector, Somerset, did not at first interfere, the rebels became very bold. They demanded that there should be no gentlemen at all; and proceeded to rob the wealthy houses and parks in the neighbourhood. They not only killed all the deer they could find, but drove away herds of cattle, flocks of sheep, and immense quantities of poultry, with which they made themselves merry in their camp. At length a herald came from the king, and standing before the Tree of Reformation, proclaimed the royal pardon to all that would disperse to their homes; but threatening death to those who refused to do so. The rioters told the herald to go about his business, for they did not require any pardon. The Marquis of Northampton, with a small army, was then sent against them. Taking up his quarters in Norwich, he drove all the rebels out of the town; but the next day they came back, and returned the compliment by driving him out, and setting Norwich on fire. The action was a fierce one; many of the royal troops were slain, and Lord Sheffield amongst them. The beaten marquis hurried back to London; and then the Earl of Warwick, a very brave and skilful soldier, was sent against the rebels with an army of 6,000 men. After several skirmishes, Warwick, on the 27th of August, made a fierce attack on them in a valley called Dussingdale, and routed them utterly. Ket and the rebels took to their heels; but they were pursued by the horsemen for more than three miles, and massacred in heaps. The roads were covered with the corpses of these unhappy men, and it was calculated that as many as 3,500 of them perished. Ket was found, the next day, hid in a barn; and being tried and condemned as a traitor, he was hanged in chains on the top of Norwich Castle. His brother also shared his fate; and nine of the other leaders were hanged on the nine branches of the Tree of Reformation. The rebels in Yorkshire were so discouraged by this sad

ending of the insurrection at Norfolk, that they accepted the royal pardon and dispersed. Thus, after a fearful sacrifice of human life, the rebellion was extinguished, and peace restored.

These troubles in England had drawn the Duke of Somerset's attention away from Scotland; indeed, there was no longer any reason for carrying on hostilities against that country, now that the young Princess Mary was safely lodged in the court of France. The French king had also taken advantage of the disturbed state of the English, and endeavoured to recover Boulogne. Somerset wished to enter into an alliance with the Emperor of Germany; but Charles declined an alliance with heretics, and the protector was then anxious to make peace with both France and Scotland, finding he could not collect a sufficient force to carry on the war with success, the Scotch having recovered many of their strong places, including Haddington, which had been taken by Lord Grey de Wilton in 1548. To make peace was the wisest thing the protector could do; but that step was violently opposed by the members of the council.

A conspiracy had been formed in that body against the protector, who, since he had risen to the lofty situation which he occupied, had been extremely arrogant, and paid no attention to the opinion of his colleagues. All the councillors who were not entirely devoted to his service were sure to be neglected; while whoever opposed him was treated with anger and contempt. This conduct made him many enemies, who were secretly headed by the Earl of Warwick, a clever and ambitious man, who wished to ruin Somerset and obtain his place. The protector had been building a magnificent palace in the Strand, upon the ground on which Somerset House now stands; and, to complete it, he had pulled down several churches merely for the sake of the materials. Many of the sacred monuments in these churches were broken to pieces, and the bones of the dead treated with disrespect. This increased the envy and bitter feeling against him, and his ruin was determined upon.

Accordingly, the Earl of Warwick, and some other members of the council, met, towards the end of September, at Ely Place, in London, and represented Somerset as the cause of every public misfortune that had lately occurred. They wrote letters to the chief nobility and gentry in England, informing them of their intentions against him, and desiring their assistance; they also sent for the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, and for the lieutenant of the Tower, and enjoined them to obey their commands, without paying attention to any contrary orders that might be given by the duke. The mayor, the aldermen, the citizens of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, all deserted the cause of the protector, and promised obedience to the council.

When the news of these proceedings reached Somerset, he issued a proclamation on the 1st of October, calling upon all the king's subjects to repair, armed, to Hampton Court, where Edward then resided, to defend him, "and his most entirely beloved ruler, the lord protector," from a dangerous conspiracy. This appeal met with no response. On the 6th of October, the protector removed the young king to Windsor Castle, where, for a few days, he maintained his power. But his enemies were too strong for him. Finding resistance useless, on the 12th of October he consented that his household should be broken up. On the 13th he was arrested, and the letters patent appointing him protector and governor of the king's person, were revoked; and on the 14th he was brought to London, and imprisoned in the Tower, where he remained till February 6th, 1550, when, his estates being partly confiscated, and a fine of £10,000 imposed, he was released. The king forgave him the fine; and, soon after, he again became one, though not the most prominent, of his majesty's councillors.

Somerset in prison, the Earl of Warwick became the chief man in the state, very much to the joy of the Catholics, who hoped that the ancient religion would be restored. But Warwick cared nothing at all for religion, either of one kind or the other; and finding that the young king was strongly attached to the Protestant doctrines, he embraced them himself; and though he was supposed rather to favour the Catholics in his heart, became, apparently, as zealous a Protestant as any one in the kingdom. On the 4th of November, 1549, the parliament again met, when the act by which beggars and vagabonds were permitted to be seized and sold for slaves, was repealed, because it was found too severe to be put into practice. Acts were also passed to prevent unlawful assemblies of the people; and—the late insurrections having been greatly promoted by some mischievous and impudent prediction that there should soon be no king in England, and that all the nobility and gentry would be destroyed—to forbid pretended prophecies respecting the king or his council. Foreign affairs also called for the attention of Warwick. He and the council had violently opposed Somerset when he wished to conclude a peace with France; but they soon found themselves in exactly the same difficulties that had puzzled the late protector. Though the insurrection had been put down, the people were still discontented, and the treasury was empty. Warwick and the council, therefore, agreed to sell Boulogne to the French king for 400,000 crowns, and to abandon a claim for tribute which they had upon that monarch. Scotland, also, was included in this

treaty; and peace was made, chiefly because all parties were too poor to go to war.

Meantime the work of reformation in the church proceeded favourably; but it is very sad to reflect that the Protestants were tainted with that intolerant and persecuting spirit which had disgraced the church of Rome. Some persons in London were accused of holding heretical opinions, because they had said that a regenerate man (that is, one born anew by grace to a Christian life) could not sin, and that the body of Christ was not born of the Virgin Mary, but that the *word* of God was made flesh. This notion seems as harmless as it is unintelligible; but the council did not think so. Those who held it were arrested; but as they consented to abjure their opinions, they were dismissed. Shortly afterwards, a young woman named Joan Bocher, and commonly called the Maid of Kent, was arrested for holding the same heresy. Joan was a young woman of some education, and exceedingly zealous on behalf of the strange doctrine she entertained: she was arrested in 1549; and as neither arguments nor threats had any effect upon her, she was condemned to be burnt to death at the stake, as an incorrigible heretic. The execution of the sentence was delayed a year, in hopes of her conversion; but as she remained firm in her belief, on the 27th of April, 1550, the council issued a warrant to the Lord Chancellor, directing him to make out a writ to the sheriff of London for her execution, which took place on the 2nd of May. Foxe, in his *Book of Martyrs*, states, that the delay in the execution of Joan was on account of the compassionate scruples of Edward, who was extremely reluctant to sign the warrant, though repeatedly pressed to do so by Cranmer. At last his majesty complied, saying, "with tears, to the archbishop, 'If I do wrong, since I do it by your authority, you must answer for it to God.'" The minutes of the council, brought to light since Foxe's time, prove that there is no foundation for this statement. It is very probable, however, Cranmer approved of the burning of Joan, though he was not present at the council on the 27th of April; and does not appear to have interfered on the subject.

At the period of the cruel martyrdom of Joan Bocher, a Dutch surgeon, named George von Paris, who had been living in London, was burnt in Smithfield for saying that Jesus was not the Son of God. Paris appears to have been a crazy enthusiast; for he not only seemed to despise the horrible torture to which he had been condemned, but even hugged and caressed the burning faggots which were consuming him.

Although the nation, generally, received the Protestant religion, there was one person of high rank who refused to conform to it. This was the Princess Mary, the king's eldest sister. In the beginning of Edward's reign, she had written to the protector, that it was proper no further changes should be made in religion until her brother was of age. Somerset, in reply, said he believed some mischievous person had set her on to write that letter, and implored her not to "esteem true religion and the knowledge of the Scriptures to be newfangledness and fantasy," but to examine the subject fairly, and without prejudice. This answer had no effect on the princess; and she continued steadily attached to the Roman form of religion. At last, the council sent her word that they could not permit mass to be performed, even in her own private chapel. Mary resented this interference, and wished to leave the country, and take refuge in the court of her cousin, the Catholic Emperor of Germany; but the council sent a fleet to sea, to prevent her escape; though, if she had gone, and never come back, it would have been a great blessing for England.

In the December of 1550, two of Mary's chaplains were indicted for performing mass; and, on the 18th of March, 1551, the princess appeared before the council and her brother, the king, who were unable to shake her faith in the doctrines of the ancient religion. On he 19th of March, the emperor's ambassador sent a message to the council, from his master, to the effect that, if the Princess Mary were interfered with on the subject of religion, he should declare war against England. This message, as the country was not prepared for war, led to a temporary suspension of proceedings against Mary's household; and a mission was sent to the emperor to remonstrate against his interference in the internal concerns of England. But liberty of conscience was not long permitted to the princess. Again the officers of her household were commanded to prevent the use of the Roman Liturgy in her family; and, on refusing to do so, they were sent to the Tower. Several members of the council (in August) visited the princess, to reason with her on religion; but they were unable to make the least impression. She told them that when the king came to be of age, so that he could order these things for himself, she would obey his commands in religion: for though he—good, sweet king—had more knowledge than any of his years, yet he was not a fit judge in religious matters; for if ships were to be sent to sea, or any matter of policy to be determined, they would not think him fit for it; much less could he be able to resolve points of divinity. As for her chaplains, if they would say no mass, she could hear none; and for her servants, she knew they all desired to hear mass. Her chaplains might do as they would; it was but a short imprisonment: but, for the new service, it should never be said in her house; and if any were forced to say it, she would no longer remain: and so things continued.

Though Somerset, after his release from prison in February, 1550, was a very insignificant person, in comparison with what he had been, he still enjoyed favour at the hands of his nephew; and, before March expired, he was made a lord of the bed-chamber. He had also been so far reconciled to Warwick, that, in June, one of his daughters, Lady Anne Seymour, was married to Lord Lisle, the earl's eldest son. Much of his former grandeur was also regained; for, in the following December, whilst Warwick and other nobles were permitted to have only fifty guards, he had 100 assigned him. In 1551, however, there were quarrels between the retainers of Somerset and those of Warwick; and some of the former were sent to the Tower. Peace again prevailed for a time; and on the 11th of October, Percy, Duke of Northumberland, having died without heirs, his title and estates were conferred on Warwick, who will hereafter be called by this title. A few days after this accession of rank and wealth to his enemy—on the 16th of October—Somerset was a second time arrested, and sent to the Tower, on a charge of conspiracy and high treason. He was charged, on the authority of Sir Thomas Palmer (who had acted as a spy on him), with having intended to seize the person of the king; to raise an insurrection in the north of England; to attack the royal troops on a muster-day; to seize the Tower; to raise a rebellion in London; and to invite the Duke of Northumberland, with his friends, the Earls of Pembroke and Northampton, to a banquet, and there murder them. These charges, except the last, are generally supposed to have been got up against him, or, at the worst, to have been founded on some thoughtless expressions. As no proper record of the trial exists, it is impossible to say how far he was really guilty.

On the 1st of December the fallen duke was placed on his trial at Westminster Hall, before a jury of twenty-seven peers, amongst whom were Northumberland, Pembroke, and Northampton—the very persons he was accused of designing to murder; so that they were both complainants and judges also. Somerset defended himself so well from the charges of treason that were brought against him, that he was acquitted on that head. He confessed, however, that he had spoken about murdering the Duke of Northumberland and the rest; but that, on reflection, he had abandoned his wicked intention; and he begged their pardon for the malice he had borne towards them. This was considered sufficient; and, though acquitted as a traitor, he was condemned to death as a felon. The unhappy duke was guilty of a great offence in the sight of God, in contemplating murder; but as he had never committed it, he had not broken the laws of man; and to sentence him to a violent and ignominious death, was a flagrant injustice. But, in those cruel times, the favourites and ministers of kings played a desperate game, in which failure too often led to the scaffold.

Northumberland had convinced Edward that his uncle was guilty; and the young monarch made no effort to save the life of his near relative. Indeed, he seems to have spent a more than usually merry Christmas, while his mother's brother lay in the Tower, waiting for the sad morning that should consign him to the darkness of a blood-stained and dishonoured grave.

On the 22nd of January, 1552, the duke was led to the scaffold on Tower Hill, where an immense crowd of people had assembled to see him die. Somerset, who loved popularity, had always been kind to the poor; and now that he had fallen into such trouble, they implored blessings on him, and trusted that he would receive the royal pardon. He himself was composed, and seemed perfectly resigned to his fate. After he had delivered a speech to the multitude, a great noise was heard, which some said was like a violent storm, or an explosion of gunpowder Others thought it was like the tramp of a multitude of horsemen; but nothing was to be seen. The people were alarmed, and cried, "Jesus, save us!" while others, seeing a gentleman, named Sir Antony Brown, riding towards the scaffold, shouted—"Pardon! pardon is come! God save the king!" The duke himself calmly told them they were mistaken, and continued his dying address, which he thus concluded:—"If there be any who hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness; but especially Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended; and all others, whosoever they be, that have offended me, I do, with my whole heart, forgive them. Now, I once again require you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep yourselves quiet and still, lest, through your tumult, you might trouble me. For, albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering; and through your quietness, I shall be much more composed. Above all, I desire you to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same unto my end." Having finished this address, and spent some time in prayer, he laid his head upon the block, and, while he was uttering the name of Jesus, it was at one blow struck from his body. Many of the spectators rushed forward, and dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood, which they preserved as a sacred relic. Though very far from being a blameless character, Somerset was, without doubt, unjustly put to death; and his memory was revered by the people. The worst act of his life was the unnatural part he took in the death of his own brother, Lord Admiral Seymour. Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Michael Stanhope,

Sir Miles Partridge, and Sir Ralph Vane, friends of the unfortunate duke, were condemned, as being sharers in the offences imputed to him, and put to death. They all protested their innocence of any design either against the king, or the lives of any of the council; and Vane declared, that as often as Northumberland laid his head upon his pillow, he would find it wet with their blood.

The day after the execution of Somerset, the parliament again met, and discovered some symptoms of a returning love of justice and liberty. It passed an act for enforcing the Book of Common Prayer, as amended by a committee of bishops and divines; it altered the law against treason, and declared that no one should be convicted of that offence, unless it was proved by the oaths of two witnesses confronted with the prisoner. It also made some regulations for the use of the poor, and for the stricter observance of fast-days and holidays: and confirmed the act of a former parliament, declaring it lawful for priests to marry.

This parliament, also, acted in a very resolute and manly way, in opposing an attempted tyranny of the Duke of Northumberland. Tunstal, the Bishop of Durham, though attached to the old religion, was much respected as a learned and pious man. He had always opposed all changes in the church; but submitted to them when they were made. His high character had protected him from any severity during the rule of the late Duke of Somerset; but when Northumberland gained the chief power of the state, Tunstal was sent to prison. Northumberland's object was, to seize the revenues of the bishop; and, for this purpose, he brought in a bill of attainder against that prelate, on a pretence that he had possessed a guilty knowledge of the treasons charged against the Duke of Somerset. The House of Lords passed the unjust bill; only Archbishop Cranmer and one nobleman opposing it. But the Commons desired that the witnesses against Tunstal should be examined in his presence, and that he should be allowed to defend himself. This was merely an act of simple justice; Northumberland refused it, and then the Commons very properly rejected the bill of attainder. English parliaments, during the reign of Henry VIII., had been so base and grovelling, that the tyrannical Northumberland was astonished at the independent spirit of this one; and dissolving it in disgust, resolved to call another.

The duke exerted himself to the utmost to get a parliament which would be merely the instrument of his ambition. He even induced the king, who knew no better, to send a circular letter to the sheriffs, commanding them, where the privy council "recommended men of learning and wisdom," to see that "their directions were regarded and followed!" and sixteen of his courtiers were expressly nominated and returned as the "knights" of eight counties. The parliament thus elected was devoted to the views of Northumberland, who induced it to suppress the bishopric of Durham, and turn it into a royal property, which he intended, soon afterwards, to beg from the king.

Edward was a lad of very delicate health; and, in the spring of the year 1552, he had been attacked, first by the measles, and then by the small-pox. From that time he had gradually declined; and in the beginning of 1553 he was seized with a troublesome cough, which no medicines could cure. It was commonly suspected that some slow poison had been given to him; and the Duke of Northumberland was so much hated by the people, that they said, in low whispers, he was the would-be assassin of their king. But the accusation was unjust; the hectic flush, the unnatural brightness of the eye, the wasting form, and the precocious intellect of the young king, betrayed the presence of that curse of our climate—consumption. During his illness, Bishop Ridley preached before him, and spoke very eloquently of charity, and the duty of the great to be eminent in good works. Edward was touched with the sermon; and when it was over, sent for the bishop, and desired his opinion how he should do his duty on that point. Ridley took some time to consider; and, after consulting the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, he suggested that the king should build three hospitals;—one for the recovery of those who were ill or had met with accidents; another for the correction of wilfully-idle and vicious people; and a third for the maintenance and education of poor orphan children. Edward joyfully took the bishop's advice; and, without delay, endowed St. Thomas's Hospital for the first, Bridewell for the second, and Christ's Church, or the Blue-coat School, as it is called, for the third. These three institutions are still in existence, and flourishing; though, it must be confessed, that the governors of the last—the Christ's Church, or Blue-coat School—appear to have sadly forgotten for what class of boys it was intended. The benevolent Edward, languishing in illness, and feeling the slow but sure approach of death, wished not to descend to the grave before he had given to his country some benefits which should bless and cheer the friendless and suffering, even of unborn generations of his people. The death-smitten prince thought of the future *orphans* of the greatest city of England: he was himself an orphan, and had never known a mother's love; for she had died in the hour which gave him birth; and his sympathetic heart yearned to cast some stray flowers across their rugged, weary path of life. He wished to rescue them from that lonely desolation of the spirit which breeds despair, and to snatch them from ignorance, misery, and crime. So he raised a noble building, which should be at once a college and a home for the

orphans of London. Alas! how little are the intentions of the generous dead respected: the school and home, built for the orphans, have been usurped, to a large extent, by the sons of wealthy tradesmen and retired citizens! The youthful king had, before his illness, taken an interest in the education of youth. Between 1551 and 1553 he founded twelve grammar schools, in twelve of the most important cities and towns of that day. These institutions still exist, and are known as King Edward's Schools.

The ambitious Duke of Northumberland resolved to profit by the illness and expected death of Edward; and to forward his purpose, he was constantly about the king's person; and endeavoured, by every kindness and attention, to win his affection. He had lately married his fourth son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to the beautiful and accomplished Lady Jane Grey; and, by this alliance, he hoped to place his family upon the throne of England; that lady being of royal descent.

The Princess Mary, sister of Henry VIII., was first married to Louis XII., King of France; and, after his death, to her handsome and chivalrous lover, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. She left two children, both daughters; the eldest of whom was married to the Marquis of Dorset, and she and her husband became Duke and Duchess of Suffolk. Lady Jane Grey was their daughter, and consequently great-grand-daughter to Henry VII. Thus, after the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and the daughter of Margaret Tudor, the widow of James VII. of Scotland, the Lady Jane would have the right of succeeding to the crown. She was, it will be seen, a lineal descendant from Henry VII.; but the Princess Mary, the Princess Elizabeth, and Mary Queen of Scots, stood before her in the line of succession.

Northumberland, after marrying his son to the Lady Jane, sought to induce the dying King Edward to settle the crown upon that lady. He drew a terrible picture to the feeble and susceptible young monarch, of the dangers to which the Protestant religion would be exposed, and the persecutions to which the reformers would be subjected, if the Princess Mary, an avowed papist, became sovereign of England. He reminded him, that both she and her sister Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by acts of parliament, which had never been repealed; and that, as it would seem insulting and irregular to pass by one and not the other, on that account, the better and safer way would be, to exclude them both from royalty, and to declare his cousin, the Protestant Lady Jane, as his successor. As to the Queen of Scots, he said she was excluded by the late king's will, and being an alien, had lost all right of inheritance to the regal power of England; not to mention, that as she was betrothed to the dauphin of France, she would make England merely a province of that country.

Edward was convinced by this reasoning, and himself wrote out a rough draft of the legal instrument necessary for the purpose. Sir Edward Montague, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, two other judges, and the attorney and solicitor-general, were summoned to the council. The minutes of the intended deed being read, the king desired them to draw it up in a proper legal form. The judges were astonished, hesitated to obey, and desired time for consideration. An act of parliament already existed which settled the succession; and they said, unless that act were repealed, no deed, such as the king wished, would have any power.

After having consulted together for some days, Montague and the judges returned, and said, that upon examining the statutes, they found that such a deed would not only be entirely useless, but that it would subject the judges who drew it, and every member of the council who signed it, to the risk of being proceeded against as traitors. They added, that the only proper way of changing the succession, and giving a lawful sanction to the new settlement, was by summoning a parliament, and obtaining the consent of that assembly. The king was still resolute; and Northumberland, rushing into the room where the judges were, flew into a violent passion; called Montague a traitor, and said that he was ready to fight any man in so just a cause as that of Lady Jane's succession. In the end, the judges were bullied into drawing up the deed, the king telling them that he intended to have it confirmed by the parliament as soon as it met, agreeing to give them a warrant under the great seal to do it, and a pardon for having done it. After this, it was signed by all the lords of the council, and most of the judges.

This deed of settlement, or will, was signed on the 21st of June, 1553; and early in the following month, it was evident that Edward was dying. When his physicians declared that they were unable to save him, he was confided to the care of an ignorant woman, who undertook to restore him to health. As might have been expected, he got worse under her treatment, and the fatal symptoms of his disease increased. He breathed and spoke with great difficulty; his pulse seemed scarcely to beat; his legs swelled; and his complexion became livid. The foolish old quack was then dismissed, and the doctors recalled; but the time when medical skill could have saved him was past: he sank gradually, and expired at Greenwich on the 6th of July, 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age.—He had reigned six years and a-half.

An account of his last moments is very affecting. Just before his death, he prayed fervently that God would release him from this wretched life; that He

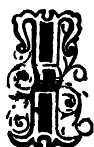
would bless the people of England, preserve the country from popery, and maintain His true religion in the land. Then, after a pause, he turned his face towards his attendants, and said, "Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off." Dr. Owen answered, "We heard you speaking to yourself; but what you said, we know not." The patient sufferer smiled faintly, as he murmured, "I was praying to God." His last words were, "I am faint;—Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." Sir Henry Sydney supported him in his arms: the poor lad rested his head on the bosom of the courtier, and sighed gently. For some moments he remained motionless. Sir Henry guessed what had occurred, and raised him tenderly. His suspicion was too true; the silver cord was loosed; the bowl was broken at the fountain; the royal boy was dead.

It is pleasant to speak of the character of this good young king; a virtuous mind being always a beautiful and improving thing to contemplate. Had Edward VI. lived till he became a man, he would, most likely, have been one of the best of our English kings. His love of learning and his actual accomplishments were wonderful. Some of his Protestant admirers called him the wonder of his age; others named him their Josiah, or Edward the Saint; and others, again, the phœnix that rose from the ashes of his mother. He was acquainted with several languages, with the general outlines of science, and with the state of his kingdom. He kept a journal, in which he wrote an account of many of the events of his reign; and he took notes, in Greek, of all he heard that interested him. His love for religion, and his zeal for the Protestant form of it, were remarkable: nor did he, like his father, constantly talk about religion, and act in forgetfulness or opposition to its precepts. He was gentle and merciful; as his conduct, in so long refusing to sign the warrant for the death of Bocher, will show. He was also honest and prudent; careful to have his debts paid; and anxious that his people should not be oppressed by heavy taxes. He certainly ought to have shown more concern for the fate of his two uncles, each of whom he suffered to be executed on an unjust charge. It would have been more in unison with the natural tenderness of youth, if he had interfered to spare their lives; but when his uncle, Lord Admiral Seymour, was condemned, he was very young; and when the Duke of Somerset shared his fate, Northumberland wickedly made the still youthful king, who trusted in his adviser's wisdom and truth, believe that the duke was a dangerous and guilty man.

Generally, his disposition was mild, even to sweetness, and his affability of manner endeared him to his people. He was commonly distinguished by a gravity and quietness not often to be found in one so young; but sometimes he would be both cheerful and playful, as the following anecdote will show. One St. George's Day, after he had returned from hearing divine service, he suddenly said to the noblemen by whom he was surrounded, "My lords, I pray you, what saint is St. George, that we here so honour him?" It seems that none of these learned courtiers were able to give any information upon the subject; and they looked at each other in a rather stupid sort of silence. Well they might do so! for a day was expressly set apart in honour of the memory of St. George; and these very noblemen had just come from a service instituted to keep alive a remembrance of him, and yet none of them knew who he was, or whether there was ever such a saint at all. At last, the treasurer answered, "If it please your majesty, I never read in any history of St. George, but only in *Legenda aurea*, where it is thus set down: 'St. George out with his sword, and ran the dragon through with his spear.'" At this odd description the young king laughed so heartily, that for some time he was unable to speak; but on recovering his breath, he humorously inquired, "I pray you, my lord, and what did he with his sword the while?"

CHAPTER LVI.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.—A.D. 1553, 1554.


IN order to get the crown for Lady Jane Grey, the Duke of Northumberland concealed the death of Edward, and sent messages to the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth to hasten them to court. His object was to make them prisoners: but in this he was disappointed; for both the ladies were secretly informed of their brother's death, and of the duke's sinister intentions.

Mary, who was living at Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, had arrived within half a day's journey of the court when she heard of this conspiracy against her, and hurried away to Framlingham, in Suffolk; from which

place she could easily embark and escape to Flanders, in case of her being unable to obtain the crown. Elizabeth, who was also in Hertfordshire, very wisely remained where she was. Though Mary had fled, it was not from fear, but for safety; and she immediately sent letters to the nobility and the principal gentlemen of the country, commanding them to help her to obtain that crown which had descended to her from her father. She also, on the 9th of July, wrote to the council, telling the members of that assembly that she was aware of her brother's death, promising a pardon for their present conduct, and giving them directions for proclaiming her as queen.

For two days the ambitious Duke of Northumberland and his friends debated what was best to be done. On the 8th of July, the duke summoned the Lord Mayor, six aldermen, and many of the principal citizens, and showing them the king's will, by which Lady Jane Grey was declared his successor, induced them to swear allegiance to her as their queen. All this had been done without the knowledge of Jane, who was one of the most retiring and least ambitious persons in the world. She had no wish to be a queen, and was perfectly happy in the society of her young husband, and the enjoyment of her books. She had been educated with the late king; and though not yet seventeen, had made an astonishing progress in her studies. She was familiar with the Greek, Latin, French, and Italian languages, and well acquainted with all the elegant literature then esteemed. Much of her time was passed in intellectual pursuits; and she was quite indifferent to the little frivolities with which so many young ladies chiefly occupy themselves. A famous scholar, named Roger Ascham, having paid her a visit at Bradgate Hall, a residence of her father's, when she was but fourteen years of age, was astonished to find her reading Plato's *Dialogue on the Immortality of the Soul*, in the original Greek, while the rest of the family were out hunting. On expressing his surprise at her choice, she told him that she received more pleasure from reading Plato than the others could reap from their sport and gaiety.

When Northumberland and her father, the Duke of Suffolk, saluted her as queen, she wisely refused to accept the title, and reminded them of the superior right of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. She even expressed her fear of the consequences of an act which, she observed, was dangerous, if not criminal; but in the end she was overcome by their entreaties, and consented to their wishes. She was, in consequence, on the 10th of July, proclaimed in London and other places as Queen of England; but no shouts were raised: the people looked coldly on, and many feared that this important act might lead to a civil war. Some of the spectators even expressed their contempt; and a young man, named Gilbert Pot, a vintner's apprentice, was nailed by both his ears to the pillory, for some insulting words uttered on the occasion. This punishment was ordered by the Duke of Northumberland, and it helped to destroy the little favour with the people which his daughter-in-law possessed. In the meantime the Earl of Bath and many other noblemen joined the Princess Mary, and the governing council secretly favoured her cause; but they could not declare for her, because the rough-fighting Northumberland kept them all like prisoners in the Tower, where the Lady Jane held her court. Ridley, Bishop of London, who was a zealous Protestant, preached from St. Paul's Cross, to convince the people of the justice of Jane's title; but he was unable to make any impression upon them.

Mary had become very powerful: the people of Suffolk declared for her; the nobles and gentry daily joined her with their retainers; and a small fleet and a body of troops raised by Northumberland had deserted to her. When she had written to the council to demand the throne, they were compelled by Northumberland to answer, that her claim was opposed by her illegitimate birth, by custom, by the will of the late king, and by the general voice of the people: but now they saw how powerful she was getting, they regretted having done so, and watched for an opportunity of declaring for her.

That opportunity soon presented itself; for it was necessary for some one to lead the troops to oppose the Princess Mary. Northumberland wished the Duke of Suffolk to perform this hazardous enterprise, while he himself remained with Lady Jane to uphold her authority. The council wanted Northumberland to go, that they might be rid of his tyrannical domineering, and they worked upon the fears of Jane by telling her of the great danger to which her father would be exposed; so that lady, with many tears, implored that he might be permitted to remain with her. They then represented to Northumberland that he was the bravest and most experienced soldier in the country, and by far the fittest to command an army. As he knew Suffolk was a man of no talent at all, he consented to do so; and having reminded the council of their oaths of allegiance to the Lady Jane, he left London, on the 13th of July, with a little army of 6,000 men. As he led his forces through the city, he was discouraged by the coldness of the people, who thronged the streets to gaze on his soldiers, but uttered no shout, and spoke no word of encouragement. "Many," said he to Lord Grey, "come out to look at us; but I find not one who cries, 'God speed you!'"

Northumberland had forced the council into pro-

claiming Jane; but no sooner was he gone than they contrived to get out of the Tower, and declare for Mary, whom, on the 19th of July, they proclaimed as queen in Cheapside, to the great satisfaction of most of the people. A few Protestants shook their heads with mournful forebodings; but the citizens generally shouted with joy at the triumph of their rightful hereditary queen; who, with her sister Elizabeth riding by her side, entered the metropolis on the 3rd of August, amidst the enthusiasm of the citizens. This expression of feeling was so general and decided, that even Lady Jane's father, who commanded at the Tower, thought further resistance useless; and throwing open the gates of that fortress, declared for Queen Mary himself. He then entered his daughter's apartment, and told her that she must be a queen no longer. That amiable young lady, who had worn the crown only ten days, expressed no regret, but said that she trusted her willing abandonment of the honour that had been thrust upon her, would procure a pardon for the error she had committed.

Northumberland, whose grasping ambition was the cause of this conspiracy, had gone to Cambridge, where he learnt that the council had declared for Mary. Seeing that his troops also were continually deserting, and that the cause of Lady Jane was unpopular everywhere, he became alarmed for his own safety. So—though he had gone out with an army to fight Mary, and, if possible, take her a prisoner—when he found his cause hopeless, he turned with the rest, and, on the 20th of July, actually proclaimed her as queen in the market-place at Cambridge. This hypocrisy did him no good; for a stern message was sent to him from the queen and council, commanding him to lay down his arms. As he hesitated to do so (for he scarcely knew whether to trust to the queen's mercy or to fly for his life), he was arrested by the Earl of Arundel, on a charge of treason, and conveyed to the Tower. This blustering lord, the moment that he found himself in trouble, behaved in a very undignified and cowardly manner, and even fell on his kness before the earl and begged his life. It would have been better to have spared himself this humiliation; for Arundel was his bitterest enemy, and rejoiced in his fall.

Had Northumberland himself been the only victim of his insane ambition, few or none would have regretted it; but it too often happens that the innocent are punished with the guilty. The amiable Lady Jane and her youthful husband were also sent as prisoners to the Tower, as well as the other sons of the duke, and several of his friends. On the 18th of August, Northumberland, his eldest son, the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl of Northampton, were placed on their trial at Westminster Hall as traitors. The duke said, very truly, that all he had done was with the consent of the council, and under the warrant of the great seal of England; and he asked, whether those who had acted with him could properly sit in judgment on him for offences in which they had shared? The members of the council replied, that they had been compelled to act as they did through fear of him; and they condemned him to death all the more readily for reminding them of their inconsistency. He tried, by submissive conduct, and by hinting that he was ready to return to the Catholic faith, to procure the royal pardon; but the stern Mary was not the woman to forgive one who had offended her so deeply. The Earls of Warwick and Northampton received sentence with him; and, on the following day, Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Palmer were also condemned.

On the 22nd of August, these two unfortunate gentlemen and the Duke of Northumberland were beheaded on Tower Hill. The duke made a long and penitent speech upon the scaffold, in which he prayed that it might please God to grant Mary a long reign; and declared that he died in the Catholic faith. So much was he disliked, that some of the bystanders insulted him while he stood upon the scaffold, holding up handkerchiefs stained with the blood of the Duke of Somerset, and reproaching him as the murderer of that nobleman. Northumberland, once so bold, seemed utterly humbled and crushed in spirit, and declared, that if he had a thousand lives he deserved to lose them all. Then laying his head upon the block, the axe fell, and the bleeding, quivering head fell with a dull, hollow sound upon the boards. Sir John Gates was the next victim; and after him Sir Thomas Palmer suffered. He was a man of great nerve and courage, and beheld the companions of his misery die before his face without showing any sign of agitation. In his dying speech, he thanked God that He had caused him to know more in his cell in the Tower, than he had learnt in all his travels. "There," said he, "I have seen what God is and what I am: I have beheld the bitterness and vanity of the world, and learnt to despise death." He added, that not even that violent end, nor the sight of the blood-stained axe, could impress him with fear: then, desiring their prayers, he submitted himself to the headsman.

A short time before these executions, the body of the young King Edward had been committed to the earth. He was buried at Westminster Abbey, according to the rites of the Protestant church, on the 9th of August; though Mary, on the same day, had his obsequies performed at the Tower, in the Catholic fashion, a dirge being sung in Latin, and mass performed for the good of his soul. Her intention of restoring the ancient religion had been shown on her first arrival in London,

by the liberation of all the state captives who had been imprisoned for their attachment to the Roman church. Among them were Tunstal and Bonner, the late Bishops of Durham and London, and the old Duke of Norfolk, who had been in prison ever since the death of Henry VIII.

On the 1st of October, the coronation of Mary took place at Westminster Abbey. It was celebrated with great magnificence, and with all the ancient ceremonies. In the procession, after the queen's chariot, came another, covered with white cloth of silver, and containing the Princess Elizabeth and Anne of Cleves, the good-tempered Flemish princess, whom Henry had married and then so contemptuously cast off. Mary was no longer a young woman: she was thirty-seven years of age at the time when she became queen. This with many ladies would be still the flower of life but persecution, disease, ill-temper, and a bigoted attachment to a gloomy, superstitious form of religion had made Mary much older in mind and person than in years. She remembered that Cranmer and the Protestants had driven her mother to an early grave, by annulling her marriage with King Henry. She herself, also, had been declared illegitimate; had been kept in fear of her life, and worried by the Protestant preachers to abjure the religion in which she had been educated; and she hated the Protestants with an intense bitterness.

Mary had been good-looking; but at the time of her coronation the bloom of youth was utterly gone. She was pale and sickly; and a few wrinkles, caused more by sorrow than by time, were to be seen upon her forehead. She was rather short and thin, but had a loud harsh voice—a thing which seems to have been common to Henry VIII. and his family. Though very short-sighted, her eyes were remarkably piercing, and when she was angry, seemed to glare like those of a tigress.

Mary, on her accession, wished to acquire the attachment of her people; and issued a proclamation that all persons should be permitted to worship God in the manner in which they thought best; and she very properly commanded her subjects not to irritate each other by the use of such offensive names as heretic and papist. She had, however, no intention of permitting the toleration she talked about; but she had been advised to proceed cautiously in restoring the old form of religion, lest she should drive her subjects to rebellion. As might be expected, Archbishop Cranmer was the earliest to feel the rod; but it was his own indiscretion that first brought him into trouble. A report having been spread that he was ready to desert the reformed religion, and had offered to restore the rites of the ancient church, he published a manifesto in his own defence. In it he said, that as the devil was a liar from the beginning, and the father of lies, he had stirred up his servants to persecute Christ and His true religion; that this infernal spirit was endeavouring to restore the Latin satisfactory-masses (a thing of his own invention and device); and that, the better to effect his purpose, the fiend had made use of his (Cranmer's) name and authority: that the mass was not only without foundation, either in the Scriptures or the practice of the primitive church; but was also a plain contradiction to antiquity and the inspired writings; besides being full of horrid blasphemies.

It is strange how the generally timid Cranmer had the courage to publish such a declaration as this; but perhaps he thought his case was desperate, and could not well be made worse. Some have said that he did not make it public himself, but merely wrote it to keep by him, and that some treacherous person contrived to obtain and show it to the queen. However that may be, Mary did see it; and she caused the archbishop to be arrested on the 14th of November, and sent to the Tower, to take his trial for favouring the views of Lady Jane Grey, and opposing the queen's accession. Of this he was no more guilty than all the rest of the council had been; yet he was condemned to suffer the death of a traitor. But Mary pardoned his treason, as it was called, and sent him back to the Tower on the still more fearful charge of heresy, where he remained for more than two years a prisoner.—Bishop Latimer had been sent to the Tower the day before Cranmer was imprisoned; and Bishops Bonner and Gardiner were liberated, and restored to their sees. The latter was made chancellor.

The parliament assembled on the 5th of October, and was opened by a celebration of the mass of the Holy Ghost in Latin. When the host, or consecrated wafer, was raised for the adoration of the members, they all fell down upon their knees before it. One man only had the courage to refuse to do what the whole of that assembly had lately declared to be impious and unlawful: this was Taylor, the Bishop of Lincoln; and he was instantly hustled, as if he had been among a gang of thieves, and violently thrust out of the House of Lords. This parliament abolished every sort of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III., and every sort of felony not in the statute-book before the time of Henry VIII.; for, since those periods, a number of trifling and frivolous offences had been declared to be treasons and felonies. It then pronounced the queen to be legitimate: ratified the marriage of Henry with her mother, Catharine; and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer, whom they severely censured for his conduct in that matter. Then, with one vote, they repealed all the statutes made in the reign of King Edward with respect to religion. But the queen still kept the title of Supreme Head of the Church—a title

very shocking to the ears of Catholics; and although she declared herself willing to restore all the church land which had been forfeited to the crown, she did not press her nobles upon that tender point.

After the parliament met, a convocation of the clergy also assembled, in which the Catholic bishops had it entirely their own way; for the Protestant ones scarcely dared to utter a word. The new Book of Common Prayer was voted an abomination; the reformed English Catechism was declared to be equally wicked; and it was recommended, that all clergymen that would not turn their wives out of doors, and believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation, should be severely punished. In consequence of these measures of both parliament and convocation, the old form of religion began rapidly to reappear over the land, and great numbers of priests returned to their holy wafers, holy water, holy candles, confession, and mass. But there were many sincere good men in the church, who preferred ruin to apostasy; and some of these were thrown into prison, and others driven out of their livings, to beg or starve upon the highways. Of the bishops, about half of them consented to return to the rites of the Romish church; and most of those who did not, were deprived of their sees, and sent to prison: others voluntarily resigned. Holgate, the Archbishop of York, was sent to the Tower, for being married; Ridley, of London, for preaching in favour of the title of Lady Jane; Poynet, of Winchester, for having a wife; Taylor, of Lincoln, for not believing properly about the holy wafer; Hooper, of Worcester and Gloucester, and Harley of Hereford, for marriage and heresy; Ferrar, of St. David's; Bird, of Chester; and Coverdale, of Exeter, for no heavier offences.

The church service was, soon after the parliament and convocation met, performed in Latin throughout the kingdom; and the queen hit on a plan to put an end to the preaching of the reformed doctrines. Under pretence of discouraging disputes and bitterness on religious subjects, she issued a proclamation, forbidding any one to preach without a licence. Of course, no one suspected of any leaning to the Protestant opinions was able to obtain one. The inhabitants of Suffolk, who were the first to recognise her as queen, when she was but a fugitive, ventured to address a remonstrance to her upon this point; but they received an insulting answer; and one, who was bolder than the rest, was set in the pillory. Judge Hale, who had resolutely contended for the queen's title, was also thrown into prison for opposing this illegal conduct, and treated with such severity that he became insane and destroyed himself.

The queen, at an early period, turned her attention to the question of her marriage. First she thought of her young and handsome cousin, Edward Courtney, the Earl of Devonshire, to whom she gave many proofs of her favour and attachment. But the earl was not tempted by her grandeur; and he preferred her more lively and pleasing sister, the Princess Elizabeth. Disappointed of the earl, she turned her attention to another kinsman, the eloquent Cardinal Pole, who, as he had never taken priest's orders, was at liberty to marry, had he wished to do so. But the cardinal had no idea of the kind; and was living in pleasant retirement with his books, in a lovely Italian monastery, declining to quit it when the pope appointed him his legate. He was also fifty-three years of age; and, upon reflection, Mary seems to have thought that she would like a younger husband. She then cast her eyes towards Philip of Spain, the eldest son of the powerful emperor, Charles V. The ambitious emperor was very anxious that this match should take place; for he hoped, by that means, to make England a province of Spain. His son Philip was a widower, and eleven years younger than the queen; but that Mary was not likely to object to. The emperor, therefore, sent ambassadors to England; and Mary, who wanted very little persuasion, consented, even without the knowledge of her council, to marry the Spanish prince.

As soon as this proposed match was known in England, there was a general outcry against it: the Catholics were displeased, and the Protestants thrown into a perfect fury. The former feared that England was to be subjected to Spain, and the latter that the dreaded and infamous tribunal of the Inquisition would be introduced into this country. At that time Gardiner was averse to this marriage, and joined the council in remonstrating against it. The House of Commons, also, sent their Speaker, and a deputation of twenty members, to present an address, praying her majesty not to marry a foreigner. The address was presented on the 17th of November. The queen rebuked the deputation for presuming to dictate to her on the subject of her marriage; those of her predecessors having always been free—a privilege she was determined to maintain, while she would make such a choice as would contribute to her own and her people's happiness.

On the 6th of December the queen dissolved the parliament; and soon after an embassy left Brussels for London, where it arrived on the 2nd of January, 1554: its purpose being to arrange the terms of the matrimonial alliance between Mary and Philip.—On the 11th of January, the chancellor, Bishop Gardiner (who had withdrawn his opposition), met a numerous assembly of nobility, prelates, and courtiers, in the queen's presence-chamber, to explain the terms of the treaty which had been entered into; and which were very fair and moderate. Though Philip was to have the title of King of England, the royal power was to rest entirely in the

hands of the queen. It was agreed that no Spaniard should possess any office in this country; that no alterations should be made in the national laws, customs, or privileges; that Philip should not take the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; and that if the queen outlived Philip, she should receive a jointure of £60,000 per annum, secured on lands in France and Flanders. It was also arranged, that if the queen had a son, he should inherit, besides England, both Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that, if Don Carlos, Philip's son by his former marriage, should die, Mary's children, whether male or female, should inherit Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip. The courtiers approved of these articles, as a matter of course, but the aversion of the people was not to be overcome. They said that the Spaniards were the most tyrannical and cruel people in the whole world; and that Philip was a sullen, proud, overbearing barbarian, whose object was to make England merely a province of Rome. They admitted the conditions were reasonable enough; but they would not believe that Philip had any intention of observing them after he had obtained the title of king.

These feelings were so strong and so general throughout the country, that insurrections broke out, at the same time (January, 1554), both in Kent and Devonshire. The one in Kent was headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt; that in Devonshire by Sir Peter Carew. Their object was to resist the landing of Philip in England, and thus prevent his marriage with the queen. Carew's insurrection was soon suppressed by the Earl of Bedford; and he himself was glad to save his life by escaping into France. Wyatt was a bolder and more able man, and a great multitude flocked to his standard. The queen sent the old Duke of Norfolk against the rebels, who had taken Rochester Castle. When the duke reached Rochester Bridge, he found it so well defended, that instead of fighting, he sent a herald with a proclamation of pardon to all who would go quietly to their homes. But Wyatt was too wise a leader to permit this proclamation to be read; and Norfolk ordered his troops to advance to the assault. Amongst them were 500 Londoners, led by Captain Brett, who, when his troops had reached the bridge, suddenly stopped short, and thus addressed them:—"Masters! we go about to fight against our native countrymen of England, and our friends, in a quarrel unrightful and wicked; for they, considering the great miseries which are like to fall upon us, if we should be under the rule of the proud Spaniards, are here assembled to make resistance to their coming; for the avoiding of the great mischiefs likely to alight, not only upon themselves, but upon each of us and the whole realm; wherefore I think no English heart ought to say against them."

This speech had the intended effect: the Londoners shouted, "A Wyatt! a Wyatt!" and went over in a body to the rebels. The old duke was so much astonished at this unexpected desertion, that he turned and fled, while many of the royal troops followed the example of the Londoners, and joined the insurgents.

In the meantime Sir Thomas Wyatt marched on towards London, in hopes that the citizens would rise in his favour. The rebels reached Deptford on the 1st of February, and advanced to Southwark on the 3rd, where they rested, and did no mischief except plundering Bishop Gardiner's house there. The people were kindly disposed towards them; but the Londoners drew up the draw-bridge, and would not admit them into the city. The queen then, with great courage and determination, went to the Guildhall, attended by a numerous train, and declared, before the Lord Mayor, and a body of the citizens, that she had no intention of marrying in any other way than her council should consider honourable and advantageous to the country; and therefore she hoped all her true subjects would enable her to repress any rebellion on that account.

After the rebels had remained two days in Southwark, the Tower guns opened a fire upon that place, and the people implored Wyatt to go somewhere else. Not wishing them to be hurt on his account, he led his followers, on the 6th of February, to Kingston, and crossing the bridge there, turned back to London on the left bank of the Thames. Many of the rebels, despairing of success, deserted him and returned to their homes; and by the time he reached Hyde Park, a royal army had been collected there to oppose him. This force was greatly superior to Wyatt's, whose men were fatigued and dispirited. Still he determined to fight his way through the queen's troops, and get to London, the inhabitants of which city he yet vainly hoped would declare in his favour. He and about 400 of the rebels succeeded in this bold attempt, but the rest fled; and notwithstanding that he fought with the courage of desperation, he was taken prisoner, and his followers put to flight; though some hundreds of them were afterwards captured.

Wyatt was executed as a traitor, but not till the 11th of April. The saddest part of the business was, that no less than 400 other persons were hanged for being concerned in this rebellion. A number of others were led into the presence of the queen, with halters round their necks; but her thirst for revenge was satisfied, and she pardoned them. It had been rumoured that the Princess Elizabeth and the Earl of Courtney were secretly connected with this insurrection, and Mary gave orders for their arrest. Perhaps, as no evidence could be obtained against the former, and Sir Thomas Wyatt declared, upon the scaffold, that she had no share

or knowledge of his rebellion, it was thought better to restore her to liberty; but she had to remain a long time at Woodstock, under surveillance. Courtney, after an imprisonment of some weeks in the Tower, was removed to Fotheringay Castle.

Though Elizabeth escaped, this rebellion sealed the doom of Lady Jane Grey and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley. This hapless young couple had been tried as traitors, on the 13th of November, by a special commission at Guildhall. Cranmer was tried at the same time, and all pleaded guilty. Condemned to death, Mary granted them a respite, and Dudley and Lady Jane were treated with lenity and even kindness. Indeed, their lives would, no doubt, have been spared, but that Jane's incapable and foolish father, who had been released from the Tower and pardoned by the queen, had the folly and ingratitude to rise in arms the moment he heard of Wyatt's rebellion. His object was to depose Mary and restore his daughter to the throne; but he was soon captured, tried, condemned, and finally executed. The rebellion, instead of raising his daughter to the throne, sent her to the scaffold; for Mary now thought that Jane's death was the only means of preventing insurrection and disorder upon her account. Accordingly, the queen signed a warrant for the execution both of her and her husband. Lady Jane received the warning to prepare for death with heroic resignation: she had been expecting it, and was prepared. The bigoted Mary sent Fecknam, afterwards Abbot of Winchester, to disturb the last hours of her victim, by attempting to convert her to the Catholic church; but Jane argued with him with much sense and spirit, and was not to be moved. Fecknam at last left her, saying he was sorry for her fate, for he was sure that they would never meet in heaven. The spirited girl replied, that was certainly true, unless it pleased God to turn his heart.

The 12th of February, 1554, was the day appointed for the execution; that of Lady Jane being directed to take place within the walls of the Tower, on account of the compassion it was expected her fate would excite among the people. On that sad morning her husband desired to see her, that they might speak to each other for the last time. Jane would not consent to this interview; but sent him word that the pain of parting would overcome their fortitude. She added, that their separation would be but momentary, and that they would soon rejoin each other in a place where neither death, disappointment, or misfortune could disturb their eternal happiness.

Lord Guildford was first led to execution on Tower Hill: he was taken past Jane's window, from which she handed him some little token of affectionate remembrance. She even beheld his dead body brought back in a cart, not only without fear, but without apparent emotion: for her the bitterness of death was past; and she longed for that repose which was only to be reached through the dark passage of the grave. Sir John Gage, the constable of the Tower, then led her to the scaffold prepared for her death on the green within the walls of the fortress. The ladies who attended her wept bitterly; but she was calm. Sir John shared in the general sympathy for her fate, and begged some little present, which he might keep as a memorial of her. She gave him her table-book, in which she had just written three sentiments, on seeing the headless body of her husband; one in Greek, another in Latin, and a third in English. The meaning of them was, that though human justice was against his body, divine mercy would be favourable to his soul; that if her fault deserved punishment, her youth and her inexperience were excuses for it; and that God and posterity, she trusted, would show her favour. After ascending the scaffold, she addressed the spectators in a brief speech, making no complaint against any one; but declaring that she was innocent of any treasonable desires. She said she had sinned in loving herself and the world, on which account she was brought to so sad an end; but she thanked God, who had given her time for repentance, and desired the people around to assist her with their prayers. She then tied a handkerchief over her eyes, and groping forward to the block, exclaimed, "What shall I do? where is it?" An attendant guided her to it, when she laid down her beautiful head, and had just time to say, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit," when the axe fell, and her troubles were at an end for ever. She had not completed her seventeenth year. "Her death," says an old writer then living, "was as much lamented as her life had been admired. It affected Judge Morgan, who had pronounced the sentence, so much, that he became insane, and thought she perpetually followed him. The queen herself was troubled at it; for it was rather a reason of state than private resentment that induced her to sign the death-warrant of one whose virtues she must have envied and admired."

Other executions arose out of Sir Thomas Wyatt's fatal insurrection, which it is not necessary to particularise; and it also led to an act of great tyranny. A certain gentleman, named Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who had been a friend of Wyatt's, was tried on the 17th of April, at Guildhall, on suspicion of being concerned in the rebellion; but he defended himself so well that the jury acquitted him of the charge. The servile judge who sat upon the bench knew that the queen desired to put Throckmorton to death, and he refused to receive the verdict; and even when the jury confirmed their verdict, notwithstanding the threats of

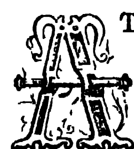
the judge, that wicked officer, instead of liberating the prisoner, sent him back to the Tower, to see if something else could not be got up against him. The upright jury were then summoned before the arbitrary court of the Star-Chamber, to answer for having honestly discharged their duty as Englishmen. Four of them having been terrified into asking pardon, were permitted to depart; but the other eight, after having been kept six months in prison, were fined, six of them, £1,000, and the other two, who spoke more boldly than the rest, £2,000 each. These fines were afterwards reduced, because the victims were unable to pay them; but it seems wonderful that such wicked injustice and extortion did not provoke another insurrection.

All this violence did not make the people submit quietly to the queen's approaching marriage with Philip of Spain, or to her arbitrary proceedings in restoring the Romish church. The feeling of the nation broke out in various ways. One morning, a cat, with its head shaved, and dressed in imitation of a priest ready to say mass, was discovered hanging on a miniature gallows at the Cross in Cheapside. The two forefeet of the animal were tied over its head, and a bit of round paper, like a consecrated wafer, placed between them, as though it were in the act of elevating the host. This silly, ridiculous, and useless frivolity, made the queen and bishops very angry: and Mary offered twenty nobles for the arrest of the offender, but without discovering him. Shortly afterwards, one Dr. Pendleton, a Catholic priest, was shot at and nearly killed while he was preaching at St. Paul's Cross; but no one would reveal the offender. Another strange event happened about this time. A poor girl, named Elizabeth Croft, used to lay concealed in the wall of a house at Aldersgate, in such a manner that she could speak to the passers-by without being seen. The citizens were astonished at hearing strange sounds come from the wall; and some of them said it was an angel, and others a voice from heaven. It used first to attract attention by an odd sort of whistling, and then, when a crowd was assembled, uttered some threatening predictions against the Romish church, the queen, and the Prince of Spain. The listeners, who quite believed this whistling and talking to be supernatural, gave it the name of the Spirit in the Wall. Elizabeth Croft, however, was detected, and very properly punished, by being made publicly to confess her imposition.

Mary was now eagerly expecting the arrival of her future husband, Don Philip. Though they had never yet seen each other, she was struck with a violent affection for him: she complained of his cold delay, and said, that although she brought him a kingdom as a dowry, he had been so neglectful as never to have sent her a single letter. This woman, who was so indifferent to the sufferings of others, worried herself ill with her anxious fears for the safety, and her desire for the arrival, of her careless lover. On perceiving that her nervous anxiefy was adding to the wrinkles that already appeared upon her pallid brow, she was filled with a new fear that when Philip met her he might entertain a dislike for one whose good looks were not only impaired by grief and time, but were still further injured by sickness. She went so far as to fit out an English squadron to fetch Philip from Spain; but the admiral appointed to command it, told her that he feared the life of the hated Spanish prince would not be safe in the hands of her sailors. Mary dismissed the idea therefore, and left Philip to proceed to England in his own ships.

CHAPTER LVII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.—A.D. 1554—1558.



AT length, on the 19th of July, 1554, the queen's expected bridegroom arrived at Southampton. On the 23rd, Mary met him at Winchester, where they were married, on the 25th, by Gardiner. They remained in that city a few days; and, on the 5th of August, were at Windsor, where a meeting of the Knights of the Garter was held; and Philip, having received the insignia, took his place as sovereign of the order. They entered London in great state, in August; but the chroniclers do not agree as to the day; and there, at Whitehall, they held their court. It soon appeared that Philip was not the sort of man to win the affections of the English: he was exceedingly proud and haughty; and so cold and reserved in his manners that he scarcely deigned to take any notice even of the most distinguished nobles of the land. To this Mary had no objection; for she was so fond of him that she scarcely liked him to be out of her sight; and so extremely jealous that she could hardly bear him to

speak to any other woman. Philip, however, cared very little for her: ambition was his ruling passion; and his object in marrying was, that he might become sole master of England.

On the 12th of November, the queen assembled a parliament, which she took great pains to have made up of persons quite devoted to her will. The first thing this parliament did, was to repeal the act by which the King or Queen of England was made supreme head of the church. Neither Lords nor Commons had any objection to that, so long as those who had obtained possession of the church lands were allowed to keep them. They were ready to pass any act the queen required, if she did not touch their pockets. Cruel and bigoted as Mary was, she was far better than her degraded nobles and parliament. She was sincere in her religious professions, and they were not. She restored to the church all the abbey lands which had been seized and annexed to the crown by her father, although the sacrifice threw her into a state of extreme poverty; but her nobles would not give up a rood of the land that had been stolen from the church, though they were quite ready to change from Protestants to Catholics to win the smiles of their superstitious queen.

After Mary had resigned her title as supreme head of the church, the parliament, on the 27th of November, presented an address to her, in which they declared that they were exceedingly sorry for the state of heresy they had been living in, and implored her and Cardinal Pole (who, on the 14th, had arrived in England as the pope's legate, and was then seated under the same canopy with Mary and Philip) to intercede with their holy father, the pope, for their forgiveness and absolution.—As England had been very profitable to the pope, he was glad enough to grant his pardon; and, accordingly, he directed Cardinal Pole to revoke all papal curses that had been pronounced upon the parliament and the people, and to receive them back again as penitent members of the church.

Being thus reconciled to the pope, the parliament proceeded to revive all the old savage laws against heretics which had been repealed during the reign of young King Edward; and it was also made treason either to imagine or attempt the death of the queen's husband, Philip. But when Mary wished the parliament to permit Philip to wear the crown with her, or to declare him king in case of her death, it refused consent. Though so pliant on almost everything else, the parliament hated the Spaniards bitterly, and was as firm as a rock upon that point.

Mary was very anxious to have a son to succeed her; for she thought that, by having him educated as a strict papist, she could bind the nation to the church of Rome, even after she was dead. At length, in April, 1555, she fancied she was about to present her husband with an heir, and public thanks were offered up to the Almighty for so great a blessing—as it was called. A magnificent cradle was prepared for the little stranger, and arrangements made for his education; but, after some time, it was found out that no little prince was coming, and that the queen was only ill of the dropsy.

The spirit of the English people, though terribly sunk and degraded, was not actually crushed; and several members of the House of Commons, who were too honest to approve of the acts of that assembly, and too weak to oppose them with any success, kept away from the parliament altogether. This the queen considered as obstinate disloyalty; and when the parliament was dissolved, she ordered these members to be proceeded against. Some of them submitted, and were pardoned after the payment of heavy fines: but the others defended themselves; and the queen died before the long law proceedings, which arose out of the affair, were ended.

In the year 1555, Queen Mary began to show the cruel bigotry of her nature in earnest. She had sent, the previous year, ambassadors to Rome to confirm the reconciliation of England with the pope; and then appointed a commission of priests to search out and punish all Protestants, or, as she termed them, heretics. This commission was opened on the 28th of January, in the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, and at the head of it was the bitter, passionate Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, who had been in prison for more than a year, was first brought before the commission. Bishop Gardiner took great pains to make him recant, but without being successful. "My lord," said Rogers, "I cannot believe that you yourselves think in your hearts that the pope is supreme head in forgiving of sin, seeing that you and all the bishops of the realm have now for twenty years preached to the contrary." Rogers was examined three times before the court, and as he remained true to the principles of the reformed church, he was condemned to be burnt to death as a heretic.

Early in the morning of the 4th of February, 1555, Rogers was aroused from his sleep by the wife of his gaoler, and warned to prepare himself for death, as he was to be burnt that day. Instead of showing any fear, he answered, that then he need not take pains in dressing himself. On his way to Smithfield, Woodroofe, one of the sheriffs, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrines; to which he answered, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Then," continued the sheriff, "thou art an heretic." "That will be known," replied the martyr,

"at the day of judment." "Well," continued this pitiless sheriff, "I will never pray for thee." "*But I will for thee*," was the noble and touching answer. At the stake, Rogers' wife and eleven children (the youngest a little infant yet clinging to its mother's breast, and smiling in happy ignorance of its father's cruel fate) were brought before him, and a pardon was offered him if he would recant. Even in that awful moment, and under such temptations, he subdued the pleadings of nature, and preferred death to apostasy.

Rogers was the first who was burnt in Mary's reign for holding Protestant opinions; being the earliest victim of a long and terrible list of martyrs. On the 8th of February, Laurence Saunders was burnt at Coventry; and, on the 9th, the learned Bishop Hooper was led to the stake, in his own diocese at Gloucester. While he was on his knees in prayer, a box was placed before him, and his pardon laid upon it, which he was told he might have if he would recant; but he answered, "If you love my soul, away with it—away with it." His sufferings were very great; for by some accident there were not sufficient faggots, and the wind blew the flames away from his body. Three times was the fire relighted, and for three-quarters of an hour did this good man remain in mortal agony. The description of his sufferings is too shocking for repetition. May the Almighty restrain our rulers from ever again committing a crime so awful!

The day that Bishop Hooper was thus cruelly put to death, Dr. Rowland Taylor was burned in the town of Hadleigh, in Suffolk. When he was brought before Bishop Gardiner on a charge of heresy, that stern bitter man said to him, "Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?" "Yes," replied the courageous preacher, "I know who you are: you are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, and yet but a mortal man. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye, for shame, look any Christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath, made first to King Henry VIII., of famous memory, and afterwards to blessed King Edward VI.?" Bishop Gardiner must have blushed at this reproof; but he pretended that he did not mind it, and answered, "Tush! tush! that was Herod's oath, unlawful, and therefore worthy to be broken. I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God I am come home again to our mother, the Catholic church of Rome; and I wish thou shouldest do so also."

Dr. Taylor was not to be moved either by the abuse or persuasions of Bishop Gardiner, nor by the promises both of pardon and promotion in the church, if he would recant his opinions. When bound to the stake, just as the flames were rising up around him, a brutal fellow threw a faggot at his face, upon which this truly Christian martyr meekly exclaimed, "O friend, I have harm enough; what needed that?" He then began to repeat the 51st Psalm in English, when Sir John Shelton, who was standing by, struck him on the lips, saying, "Ye knave, speak in Latin, or I will make thee." Taylor then bore his sufferings in silence; and soon one of the guards, in mercy, gave him a blow on the head with his halberd, and ended his agony.

Instead of this horrible severity putting down heresy, as it was called, it served only to increase it; and the fires of martyrdom were lighted all over the kingdom. Bishop Gardiner, disgusted with the butcher's work he had taken up, resigned his task into the hands of Bishop Bonner, of London, a man of so brutal a character, that he seemed to delight in the infliction of torture and death. Among other atrocities, he whipped a poor child (the son of a tailor, accused of heresy) in so unmerciful a manner, that it died a few days afterwards. During this year (1555), in England, as many as seventy-one persons, of various ranks of life, were burnt to death at the stake for opinion's sake. To relate many of these shocking events would be only to excite feelings of pain and horror; and the sad fate of a few of the most distinguished victims only will be alluded to, that the reader may have some idea of the atrocities which, in that age, were perpetrated under the name of religion.

Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, was burned at the town of Carmarthen, in Wales. His supposed offences were, his being married, and denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. His courage and trust in God for support were so great, that he told a person who lamented his fate, that if he saw him shrink from the fire that was to consume him, to give no credit to his teaching. Accordingly he stood amidst the flames like a statue, and neither uttered any cry, nor gave any sign of suffering. This so provoked one of his tormentors, that the fellow struck him on the head with a staff, and the heroic bishop fell dead amidst the fire.

But the two most famous victims of priestly intolerance, during this year, were Bishops Ridley and Latimer. The former had been Bishop of London, and the latter, Bishop of Winchester; but for some time they had been living in prison, because they would not deny the truth. They were put to death at Oxford, on the 16th of October, 1555, a day which has been, in consequence, regarded with a certain reverence by all admirers of patient heroism and true piety. Ridley

walked to the place of execution in a black furred gown with a velvet tippet, such as he used to wear when he was a bishop. Latimer, who was a white-haired and very old man, tottered along in a shroud which had been made for the occasion, and which he wore outside his ordinary dress. On arriving at the stake, Ridley embraced his fellow-sufferer, and tenderly said to him, "Be of good cheer, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." One Dr. Smith then preached a sermon, exhorting them to recant and be saved, taking for his text the words, "Though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." It was a cruel mockery in this bigoted man even to utter the name of charity at such a time; that sacred spirit was far, very far away. As the executioner approached with a lighted faggot, the venerable old Bishop Latimer said to his companion, "Be of good comfort, brother Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle in England, as I trust shall never be put out." On the fire being applied, Latimer soon expired: but Ridley suffered for a long time; for the faggots which surrounded him would not burn freely. Many of the spectators shed tears, as well they might; and hundreds went away, secretly hating a church which could sanction such barbarities. Indeed, Mary and her priestly advisers may be truly said to have burnt a love and respect for the Roman religion out of England.

The month following these cruel persecutions, Bishop Gardiner, who had been the chief enemy of the reformed religion, went to his last account, "hated," says an old writer, "of all good men." He had attempted to put down Protestantism with severity, and to terrify the people of England into a blind unreasoning submission to popery. But the human mind is not to be controlled, and truth cannot be hid for ever. Gardiner heaped sin after sin upon his soul; made his memory infamous for ever; and yet helped the very cause he laboured all his life to destroy.

Queen Mary's husband, Philip, was hated very much on account of the constant burnings of the best and most conscientious Protestants. At first he pretended they were done without his wish; but, as nobody believed this, he threw off the mask, and he and his miserable and gloomy wife endeavoured to bring the Inquisition, with all its horrors, into England. The bishops' court, over which Gardiner had presided, did not do its work of terror quickly enough; and in spite of imprisonment and burnings, the number of Protestants was increasing faster than ever. A sort of Inquisition was therefore appointed, which, had Mary lived long enough, might have grown as hideous and fearful as the horrible tribunal of that name which existed in Spain. Twenty-one priests were named as an ecclesiastical commission, to inquire into and punish heresy. Their duties were—to arrest all persons who sold or had any books about the reformed doctrines; to punish every one who was guilty of any misbehaviour or negligence at church or chapel; to try all priests that dared to preach any principles except those of the church of Rome; and all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish church to service, or that would not walk in religious processions, or objected to take holy bread or holy water.

In order to obtain information, spies and informers were encouraged; and directions were given to the justices of the peace to send men watching and prying about, that they might get up accusations against any one who was incautious enough to say a word against the papal tyranny which ground the people into the dust. Commands were also given to put all accused persons to the *torture* if they would not confess! Every villain who hated his neighbour might accuse him of some act of heresy, and betray him to imprisonment or even death. But it is to the credit of the English of that age, that all this spying and treachery was against their nature; and justices and others stood aloof, and avoided executing the orders of the council. During the year 1556, the number of martyrs who suffered at the stake amounted to eighty-three; in the following year, eighty-eight; and in 1558, forty more perished in this shocking manner, besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Indeed, at this time, a horrible fashion for religious persecution prevailed throughout Europe; and shocking as were the deeds done in England, worse were performed elsewhere. In a few years, in the Netherlands alone, the awful number of 50,000 persons were hanged, beheaded, burnt, or buried alive on account of religion. In Germany, and in France also, martyrs were to be counted by thousands. Still, in England, criminals were terribly on the increase, and executions for robbery and murder very frequent.

In August, 1555, before persecution had got to such a height in this country, Philip returned to his native land. Soon after, his father, the Emperor Charles V., who, for forty years, had been the greatest sovereign in Europe, becoming sick of power and royalty, resigned his kingdom to his son, and retired to spend the remaining years of his life in tranquil retirement at the monastery of St. Just, on the frontiers of Castile and Portugal. It is said, that when he gave his regal authority into the hands of Philip, he shed tears as he thought of the awful resposibility he had imposed upon him. In his retirement he spent his time in cultivating a little garden, in reading works on religion, and in making clocks. Although he had, all his life, sternly

resisted the progress of the Reformation, in his solitude he is supposed to have become rather favourable to its principles. Having observed that he could never make two watches that would go exactly alike, he was grieved at the blood he had shed in the vain attempt to make all mankind think alike on the subject of religion.

The English parliament, which met on the 21st of October, 1555, offended by the terrible persecutions inflicted on the people, refused the queen a part of the supplies she demanded, and showed so much dissatisfaction that she dissolved it. She then fell into a deep melancholy, in consequence of the absence of her husband; and she passed her time in writing letters to him, which he seldom answered; in weeping over her own wretchedness; and in urging on the cruelty practised against her Protestant subjects. She felt that almost every one hated her, and she began to hate almost every one. God will not permit tyrants and bloodshedders to be happy or tranquil: a dreadful sense of weary heaviness hung upon the occupant of England's throne, poisoned every enjoyment, and slowly wasted away her hateful life. Indeed, throughout England, there was scarcely one poor labourer's or mechanic's wife that was not happier than her queen.

Mary was very poor; and she adopted harsh and arbitrary ways of getting money; most of which she sent to her husband, or the priests at Rome. Her rapacity interfered with commerce, and made the merchants afraid to engage in speculation; so that trade languished; many rich men became poor, and poor men became destitute; and yet this was a time when the queen had very little need of money, for England was at peace with all neighbouring countries.

Though Cranmer had been kept in prison when Bishops Ridley and Latimer were sent to the stake, the queen had no intention of sparing his life. She hated him too bitterly for that; for, besides being the chief Protestant of the kingdom, he had pronounced the divorce of her mother, Queen Catharine, from the fickle Henry VIII. She and the priests, by whom she was surrounded, wished to cover him with disgrace and contempt, and then send him to a horrible death. For this purpose, say the Protestant writers, they practised upon him in a shockingly treacherous manner. After degrading him from the priesthood, they placed him in easier confinement, and surrounded him with persons who constantly argued with him, and entreated him to recant and save his life. They gave him hopes that he should be restored to his dignity as archbishop, and said, that if he would only put his name to a paper, confessing the errors of his faith, the queen would easily grant him either riches or dignity, or a private life in retirement. They told him he was not so old but that many years might yet remain to him of this life; and they exhorted him to accept a pardon while it was offered him, as he might afterwards seek for it when he could not obtain it. Finally, they told him, that if he cared little for life, he should remember that to die is grievous at all times, especially in the ripeness of age and flower of dignity; but that to die in fire and torment was most grievous of all. These entreaties so prevailed upon the fallen archbishop, and the fear of a hideous death so appalled him, that he signed a recantation of the Protestant faith, and an acknowledgment that the pope was the only supreme head of the church, and that the bread and wine in the sacrament was really transformed into the body and blood of the Saviour. According to Strype, none of these interviews with priests took place; and when it was proposed, in the council, to offer Cranmer a pardon, on recantation, as well as Latimer and Ridley, it was refused, as he had brought so much evil on the church. The recantation was voluntarily penned in the hope of pardon.

Whichever of these accounts be the true one, the recantation was written, and sent to Cardinal Pole, who had it immediately printed and distributed, to the great sorrow of all good Protestants, who were much grieved that Cranmer should fall away from the truth; and to the joy of the papists, who looked upon it as a triumph over heresy. Their writers say that the archbishop even signed *six* recantations, at different times. The denial of the truth did not save his life. His execution was determined upon; Mary signed the fatal warrant; and sent orders to Dr. Cole, of Eton College, to prepare the archbishop's condemned sermon. On the 21st of March, 1556, Cranmer was brought, in an old ragged gown, into St. Mary's church at Oxford, and placed on a platform near the pulpit. Dr. Cole then commenced his sermon, and explained, that repentance did not do away with all punishment; and that Cranmer's offences were so great, that he must suffer death both as a traitor and a heretic. He then attempted to comfort the wretched primate, telling him to die with patience and with hope; for that he would soon receive the same reward as did the crucified thief, to whom the expiring Saviour said, "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." Then, out of St. Paul, he armed the archbishop against the terror of the fire by saying, "The Lord is faithful, and will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength." He also spoke of the three children to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew, of the rejoicing of St. Andrew on his cross, of the patience of St. Lawrence on his bed of fire; and assured Cranmer, that if he died in the Roman faith, the Lord, if he called upon him, would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it. He then thanked God for the archbishop's conversion, which, he said, had been quite willing and voluntary;



and assured him that, after his death, there should be dirges and masses performed in all the churches of Oxford for the succour of his soul.

During this sermon, Cranmer, who had believed that, having recanted, he should be permitted to spend the remainder of his life in peace, sat the very image of misery. Sometimes he raised his hands and eyes to heaven, as if imploring for that mercy which seemed to be banished from the earth, and then, letting them fall again to the ground, shed floods of tears. At the end of the sermon, he was required to confess his errors to the congregation before he was carried away to death. This was too much: the old prelate had lived for years in fear of the dreadful fate which had overtaken him; but now that he saw it was unavoidable, he mustered courage, and met it boldly. Instead of declaring his submission to the pope, and his belief that the reformed religion was a heresy, he said that his recantation was forced from him by fear; that his principles were unchanged; that the pope was Antichrist; and that his offending hand which had signed the recantation, should be first consumed in the fire in which he was to perish.

The popish priests were disappointed and vexed enough at this unexpected change. They burst into a storm of indignation; and Dr. Cole roared out, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away." Accordingly, Cranmer was hurried off to the same place where Ridley and Latimer had suffered, and where preparations had been made for his execution. Stripping himself to his shirt, he was bound to the stake with a chain of iron, and the pile of faggots lighted. Timidly as he had lived, he died like a hero. He did not even flinch from the flames, but held forth his right hand, with which he had signed his recantation, in the midst of them, until it was all consumed, frequently exclaiming, "This unworthy right hand!" At length the fire crackled and blazed around him with great fury; and raising his eyes, he exclaimed, in the words of the first martyr, Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" and expired. Thus died Cranmer, in his sixty-seventh year; and his death, instead of being a triumph to the papists, was a blow to their principles. His martyrdom purified his fame, and made men forget his weakness and duplicity, and esteem his memory as that of a champion of the Protestant cause. Men would have thought more honourably of him, if, in the time of his prosperity, he himself had not been a persecutor; but when we think of his sufferings, it is difficult to forget those of John Lambert and Joan Bocher.

The day after Cranmer's martyrdom, the queen's relative, Cardinal Pole, was made Archbishop of Canterbury; but though he was a man of a gentle disposition, he was unable to check the fury of the queen's advisers against heretics. In less than three months after that legal murder, as many as thirteen persons were burnt to death together, at Stratford-le-Bow, on account of their religious opinions.

Early in the year 1557, Mary's husband, King Philip, returned to England for a short time. His object was to persuade the queen to assist his plans by declaring war against France. Though willing to oblige him in almost anything, Mary hesitated in this, especially as all her ministers were against it. Philip then told her, that unless she consented, he would never look upon her face again. Mary was terrified, and threatened to dismiss her councillors: but still they remained firm. Chance, however, brought about the fulfilment of the queen's wishes. An English gentleman, named Thomas Stafford, who had fled from his native country, and taken refuge in France, landed at Scarborough in April, 1557, with only thirty-two persons, and attacked the castle there. He entertained the mad idea of producing a revolution; but, as may be supposed, he and all his comrades were taken prisoners. Stafford and a few others were executed on the 25th of May, and the rest pardoned. Before his death, he confessed that he had been set on by the French king: this was considered sufficient; and war was accordingly declared against France on the 6th of June.

Mary was so poor that she scarcely knew how to collect an army. First, she compelled the citizens of London to lend her £60,000—very much against their will: then she extorted other loans from her people; and, because she had not provisions for her troops, seized, without payment, upon all the corn she could find in Suffolk and Norfolk. At length she managed to collect about 10,000 men, who joined the Spanish army; and Philip having got what he wanted, left England on the 6th of July, never to return.

Philip's army, altogether, amounted to 60,000 men; and with it he gained a great victory over the French at St. Quentin. When the news reached England there was much rejoicing; and Mary especially was delighted at the success of her husband. She had, however, very little cause for gladness. The French general, the Duke de Guise, though foiled by King Philip, was a brave man, and he resolved on a plan which should restore the honour of his troops, and inflict a blow upon the English. This was no less than retaking Calais; which it had cost the warlike Edward III. nearly a year to become master of, and which had been in the possession of the English for more than two centuries.

Calais was considered impregnable; and as wars were never carried on during the winter, the garrison at that season was always reduced. Though the attack of the Duke de Guise was sudden, Mary had warning of it; but her treasury was empty: she had no soldiers; her fleet was in ruins; and her people had been fleeced

so much already, that they would pay no more. Calais, therefore, was left to its fate. The Duke de Guise set down before the town about the last day of 1557. On the 2nd of January, 1558, the castle of Ruysbach, and on the 3rd, the castle of Newenham Bridge, were taken. On the 6th the citadel was bombarded; on the 7th the town surrendered. To the mortification and disgrace of the English, and the joy of the French, the lilies again floated over the walls, and the 4,000 English inhabitants were expelled. Struck with shame, Mary sent a few ships to attempt to recover the town; but the very elements seemed bent against her; the vessels were dispersed by a storm, and compelled to return home without doing anything.

Soon after the loss of Calais, Mary Stuart, the young and beautiful Queen of Scots, was married to Francis, the eldest son of the French king. The ceremony took place at Paris, on the 24th of April, 1558, Mary being only in her 16th year, and Francis a few months younger.

When the English parliament met, on the 20th of January, 1558, Queen Mary applied for money, that she might make another attempt to recover Calais, or else revenge its loss. Poor as the nation was, the parliament liberally responded to the queen's demand, and she fitted out a considerable fleet of English and Flemings. This fleet, after plundering and burning many places on the coast of Brittany, and causing a great deal of misery to the unoffending people who lived there, assisted an army of Spaniards at the seaport town of Gravelines, in Flanders, and enabled them to obtain a decided victory over the French. A great slaughter occurred; and the English fleet, satisfied with the revenge it had taken, returned home.

The Princess Elizabeth, during all this time, had resided principally at Woodstock. She lived in retirement, saw very little company, meddled in no business, spent her time in reading and study, and appeared to be a sincere Catholic. She had a little chapel in her house, where the service of the Roman church was constantly performed. She kept several priests among her attendants; had a large crucifix hung up in her bed-room; and even worked garments for saints and Madonnas; and whenever she visited the court, she attended the queen in all her religious processions.

It is impossible to say whether Elizabeth was really, at this time, a papist or Protestant in her belief. Her conduct was very doubtful; and although she afterwards restored the Protestant religion, it must be remembered, that as the pope refused to acknowledge her as queen, it was her interest to do so, and that she found the nation generally leaning to the reformed doctrines. On many occasions she showed an attachment to the ceremonies of the Romish church; and if she could have had her own way, would probably have followed a religion half-way between that and Protestantism. Indeed, cruelly as she afterwards persecuted the Catholics, she was never herself a very sincere Protestant. It has been supposed that she would have remained an adherent of Rome, had she thought that religion would retain its influence on the minds of the people. Perhaps she did not attach much importance to the *forms* of either side, but believed that a sincere and devout prayer, or a grateful thanksgiving, would be equally acceptable to the Almighty, either from a papist or Protestant. A curious story is related of her, which, if true, seems to imply that, at least on the important subject of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, she held the reformed opinions. It is said, that some one who had been set to trap her in her speech on the subject of religion, inquired what she thought of the words of Christ—"This is my body!" and whether it was the real body of the Saviour that was in the sacrament. It is reported, that after a little reflection, she replied in the following cautious and ingenious lines:—

"Christ was the word that spake it:
He took the bread, and brake it;
And what the word did make it,
That I believe and take it."

The time was now fast approaching for the termination of Mary's short inglorious reign—a reign terrific from the persecution which raged throughout a great part of it.—The queen had long been in a declining state of health; and about the beginning of September, 1558, she was confined to her room. What her exact disorder was, is not known: some said it was a tympany—a kind of flatulent disease that puffs up the body like a distended bladder; and which caused the queen, in October, again to think she was *enceinte*. Others said it was a hot and cold fever—a name given to an illness then very prevalent. Whatever it was, she lay in her bed in a sad state, continually sighing. Her council begged to know the reason of her sorrow, and asked, if it was on account of the absence of her husband, King Philip? Her answer was—"Indeed that may be one cause; but that is not the greatest wound that pierces my oppressed mind." What that wound really was she would not reveal; though afterwards, when some of her favourite attendants told her that they feared she grieved on account of King Philip's absence from her, she exclaimed, "Not that only; but when I am dead and opened you shall find Calais lying in my heart."

Mary was prematurely old: she had always been of a delicate constitution; and now her strength was consumed by her gloomy temper.—On the 5th of November, parliament assembled; and on the 7th, the Speaker was summoned to her chamber, when she informed him

that negotiations for a peace between England, France, and Spain, were opened at Cambray. She languished a few days longer, in pain and sadness; and on the morning of the 17th of November, between the hours of five and six o'clock, expired. She was nearly forty-four years old, and had reigned for five years, four months, and a few days. In her last moments mass was performed in her chamber, and she expired in a vain endeavour to bow at the elevation of the consecrated wafer. During her reign, nearly 300 persons perished in the flames on account of their religion. Foxe, in his *Book of Martyrs*, says there were 284; a second old writer says 277; and a third calculates them at 290. Some historians, however, suppose that many other victims perished, whose fate has not been recorded.

Mary's persecution of the Protestants has obtained for her the familiar *soubriquet* of the "Bloody Queen." There can be no doubt, however, as a modern writer, William Howitt, observes, that, "with all her bigotry, and the horrors to which her concession to the persecuting spirit of her Spanish husband brought upon the country, she had many good and amiable qualities; and had she reached the throne when no religious strife existed, would, probably, have left a name regarded with much kindness by posterity." She was certainly obstinate, bigoted, and superstitious; but she was also firm, courageous, and sincere; and merciful, where religion was not concerned. She was generous to her own, which she believed to be the true, church; charitable to the poor; and careful to avoid burthening her people for her personal expenditure. She was also very anxious that the law should be honestly administered; and was attentive to the interests of trade. Her understanding was narrow, but her education had been liberal, for she was mistress of five languages—English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian. She was also fond of music; and, before she came to the throne, played upon three instruments—the virginal, the regal, and the lute. Inexpensive in her habits, her court was strictly moral; and her few personal attendants appear to have been attached to her. All her unpopularity with posterity arises from the terrible religious persecutions of her reign; and the persecuting spirit was, unfortunately, not confined to Mary, nor to those who professed her creed. It was the spirit of the age; and when the Protestants were in power, they were not free from it. In Mary's case, the sea of blood that spirit caused to be shed, has done much to efface the memory of her good qualities; and has caused her to be regarded, unjustly we firmly believe, as one of the worst sovereigns that ever sat on the throne.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.—A.D. 1558, 1559.

IT is pleasant to turn away from the dreadful horrors which were perpetrated in England during the time of Mary, to become acquainted with the events which took place in the long reign of Elizabeth, who was a great and wise ruler; though, as will be seen in the course of the narrative, she was not a good and amiable woman. But England progressed so much under her reign, that she has been considered one of our best and greatest sovereigns.

The parliament was sitting at the time that Mary died; and Heath, the Archbishop of York, and Chancellor of England, attended to inform the members of that event on the day it took place. They looked a little serious at first, just for form's sake, and then burst into a shout of "God save Queen Elizabeth!—long and happy may she reign!" The council had her accession proclaimed on the same day; and the people showed much greater joy than the parliament: the air rang with cheerful shouts, and the streets were lit by the blaze of bonfires.

Elizabeth was living in retirement at Hatfield when she received the news of the death of her sister, under whom she had lived in constant fear. Her delight was too great for concealment, and, falling upon her knees, she exclaimed, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." This was the only allusion she made to her past fears and sufferings. She was generous and prudent enough to forget all offences received from the late queen. Her first act, after her arrival in London, was to order the relief of all prisoners confined for religious offences.

At first, Elizabeth was very cautious about religion, and took care not to let anybody see whether she was a Catholic or a Protestant. It was fortunate for her that she did so, or the Catholics might have offered a powerful opposition to her accession to the throne. As it was, both sides courted her, in the hope that she might

promote their peculiar views. Although the Protestants believed that she had a secret attachment to the reformed church, the papists seemed to have had very little suspicion that she was not a devout Catholic, especially as she commanded the funeral of her sister Mary to be conducted according to the solemn and gorgeous rites of the Roman church.

On her accession, Elizabeth was in her twenty-fourth year; and although not beautiful, she was loved for the graces, insinuations, and condescending familiarity of her manner. Her coronation took place on the 15th of January, 1559. It was a very magnificent ceremony; but what was much better, there was a great deal of honest rejoicing on the part of the people. One thing, however, attending the ceremony was very remarkable; all the bishops, except one, refused to crown her. That one was Dr. Oglethorpe, the Bishop of Carlisle. She had been declared illegitimate by the church of Rome; and that, it has been supposed, was the reason of the strange conduct of the bishops, or that they were acting under secret orders from the pope. Perhaps they suspected she intended to declare against the Roman church, and so wished to prevent her from ascending the throne. At any rate, their refusal to crown Elizabeth was the most unwise thing they could do; as it was calculated to cause her to imbibe a dislike to the Catholic form of religion, if she did not already entertain it.

Elizabeth retained the services of eleven of the late queen's councillors; but she appointed eight new ones of her own choice. These men were all secretly in favour of the Protestant religion, though they had been prudent enough to remain silent upon that point, and go with the times. Amongst them was that wise statesman Sir William Cecil, who had long been Elizabeth's adviser, and whom she now created her Secretary of State. He afterwards became very famous under the name of Lord Burleigh. Another was Sir Nicholas Bacon, an eminent lawyer, who, besides being a member of the council, was made keeper of the great seal. His name has been rendered illustrious by the wonderful talents of his son Francis, afterwards Lord Bacon, the profound thinker, and reformer of modern philosophy. Indeed, Elizabeth always had the discernment to appoint men of talent and great business qualities for her advisers; and she had the tact never to let them gain an ascendancy over her. By her shrewd sense and strong will she kept them her servants, and never permitted them to assume a tone of equality. A good deal of the stern dictatorial character of her father, Henry VIII., is to be seen in the conduct of this remarkable queen.

She frequently consulted with her new councillors, but particularly with Sir William Cecil, about the national religion; and that sagacious minister assured her, that the greater part of the nation was inclined to the Reformation, and was constantly becoming more and more so. Although pressed by her Protestant subjects to declare her opinions on the subject of religion, Elizabeth still hesitated to do so. An incident soon occurred, however, which decided her upon this point. Having sent news of her coronation to the pope at Rome, that pontiff, who was a very haughty and obstinate old man, returned an insolent message, that he considered her as illegitimate, and that she ought to lay down her crown, and await his decision as to whether she should be queen or not. This conduct, added to that of her bishops, made Elizabeth turn her back on the church of Rome, and resolve to establish the reformed religion in England.

The queen assembled her first parliament on the 21st of January, 1559. To that parliament she very wisely left the settlement of the national religion; merely giving them to understand what were her wishes upon the subject. It was soon seen that the Commons, at least, were attached to the Protestant faith. They passed an act for suppressing the monasteries erected in Mary's time, and for restoring tenths and first-fruits (taxes paid to the Romish church out of the clerical revenues, by the priests of that church) to the crown. They declared that the queen, and not the pope, should be supreme head of the English church; though they gave her the milder and much more appropriate title of governess. To enable her to exercise her ecclesiastical authority, her majesty was authorised, by one clause of this act, to appoint a commission of either laymen or clergymen, or both—a clause which led, some years after, to the establishment of the Court of High Commission; a tribunal which became as obnoxious as the Star-Chamber, from its arbitrary proceedings. The bishops opposed this law with all their might; but it was carried in spite of them. Then all the laws made for the regulation of religion in the reign of Edward VI. were restored; the mass was abolished; and it was decreed that the Book of Common Prayer, in English, should be used in all churches, to the exclusion of any other. Some parts, however, of that book that were very offensive to the Catholics were softened down a little. Thus, as far as parliament was concerned, the Protestant religion was re-established in England, and the Romish form once more overthrown. There was to be much struggling, and a good deal of persecution yet, before the nation would altogether submit to the change. Upon the Catholics rests the odium of being the most savage and bitter persecutors; but the Protestants are by no means free from that shocking taint, or rather crime. It must also be admitted that there would have been a great

deal more Protestant persecution, if Elizabeth and her ministers had not checked that cruel spirit.

During the time that parliament sat, a solemn discussion was appointed by the queen, to be held between the chief divines of the Protestant and those of the Catholic faith. Sir Nicholas Bacon presided, and ten bishops and doctors on each side conducted the debate. The Protestants then contended for the three following points:—"First. It is against the word of God and the custom of the ancient church to use a tongue (that is, a language) unknown to the people in common prayer, and in the administration of the sacraments. Second. Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification. Third. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is in the mass offered up a sacrifice propitiatory (that is, of a conciliatory or atoning kind) for the quick and the dead." As the Catholic bishops hesitated, and would not go on with the discussion, it was declared that the Protestants were entirely triumphant, and some of the former were even punished by imprisonment. But it was almost impossible that a debate of this kind should be fairly conducted; for, as it was known that the queen and parliament were now both adverse to the papists, it was not likely that they would dare to press their opinions very vehemently; as, to deny that the queen was head of the church, as a Catholic must do, was not only to lose all chance of preferment, but to incur the charge of being a traitor.

One bitter-minded and obstinate prelate did indeed suffer the fate of a traitor, for uttering his bigoted opinions too freely. He said that he had been much talked about on account of his persecuting and burning the heretics; but instead of regretting it, he was only sorry he had not been more severe. He added, "that he had earnestly exhorted his associates on that subject, and had been not a little grieved with them; for that they laboured only about the young and little sprigs and twigs, while they should have stricken at the root, and clean have rooted it out." It was very well understood what this bold speech meant. Elizabeth was the root of the Protestant principles; and Dr. Story hinted, that if his advice had been followed, she would have been rooted out (that is, put to death) during the reign of Mary. Aware of the danger his bigotry had led him into, Dr. Story fled for safety to Antwerp; but the queen was not the woman to permit such treasonable language to pass unpunished. She employed some men to seize him by force, and bring him over to England, where he was executed as a traitor. This conduct on the part of Elizabeth was very despotic; but the queen was determined to show the Catholics, in the outset, that though she was but young, she would submit to neither intimidation nor insult.

Before the parliament was dissolved, the House of Commons sent a deputation of its members to Elizabeth, with an address, in which they begged her to marry, so that, in due time, she might have a son to succeed her on the throne. Although this address was written in very flattering language, she seemed rather displeased at it. She told the Speaker, who headed the deputation, that as the application was made in general terms, and only recommended her to marry, without pretending to direct the choice of a husband, she could not be offended at it, or consider it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her. But, she added, any further interference on their part would ill become them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess. Even while she was a private person, she had always declined marriage, and regarded it as an incumbrance; but that now, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, she considered it a duty to persevere in that opinion. Her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion, and the happiness of her subjects. As England was her husband, so all Englishmen were her children; and while she was employed in rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem herself childless, or her life useless and unprofitable. If she ever thought of changing her condition, the care of her subjects' welfare would be uppermost in her thoughts; but should she live and die a virgin, she believed that Divine Providence would be able to settle all dispute about the succession, and send them a sovereign who would imitate her example in loving and cherishing her people. She concluded a long speech by saying, that she desired no better remembrance of her to be transmitted to posterity than that this inscription should be engraven on her tomb—"Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a virgin queen."

The decisions of parliament in favour of the Protestant religion were soon put into force; as the new statutes, enforcing the oath of supremacy, and the use of the Book of Common Prayer, came into operation on the 24th of June, 1559. The bishops and principal churchmen were summoned before the queen and her council, and admonished to make their clergy conform to the laws which had just been enacted. The churchmen were not inclined to comply either with the royal will, or to the changes in religion required by an aroused nation. Cardinal Pole was dead; but Archbishop Heath, who had been made primate in his stead, reminded the queen of her sister's late reconciliation with Rome; of her own promise not to change the religion which she found by law established; and added, that his conscience would not permit him to

obey her present commands. What the archbishop said, all the other bishops said; but the queen and her ministers were resolved to have their own way.

The bishops were then required to take the oath by which the pope was disclaimed, and the queen acknowledged as supreme head of the church on earth—called the oath of supremacy. Nothing, however, could induce them to give up their submission to the pope: they all refused the oath except one; and all, except that one, were deprived of their sees. At that time, however, a recent sickness that had been very prevalent had reduced the number of bishops to fourteen, and small pensions were conferred upon them, that they might not be left destitute. Many other dignitaries of the church were also deprived of their livings because they would not take the oath; but the great majority of the clergy took it, and conformed to the reformed ceremonies of the church. The places of the bishops were filled up by the most learned of those divines who had been driven from the church during the reign of Queen Mary. The Protestant religion was thus actually re-established throughout the kingdom, and with much less difficulty than might have been imagined.

All this was well enough; but besides the act of parliament which obliged all clergymen to take the oath of supremacy, there was another act, called the Act of Uniformity, which was meant to extirpate the Catholic religion by making every one worship God in the same uniform way; that way, of course, being the Protestant one, which the parliament had established. It not only abolished the mass and other Romish rites, but punished those who used them as if they had been criminals. For the first offence, they were to forfeit all their property; for the second they were to be imprisoned for a year; and, for the third, condemned to pine away in prison until death released them from their sufferings. Those, also, who did not attend the Protestant church on Sundays and holidays, were to be fined 1s. for every time they omitted going. This was a petty, teasing kind of persecution, which irritated the Catholics very much. It was not politic either; for while the papists were permitted to attend their own churches, the queen could tell who were Protestants and who were papists—that is, who were loyal subjects, and who were not. Now all were mingled together; and she could no longer tell the sincere Protestant from the compelled hypocrite, or the loyal man from the would-be traitor.

Queen Elizabeth was not altogether to be blamed for this intolerant spirit on the part of the Protestants. It did not originate with her, but with the clergy and the people. Although she permitted it to a certain extent, she and her ministers took a great deal of trouble to keep it within bounds. On one occasion, two Protestant bishops wrote to the queen's council, that a priest had been apprehended in a lady's house, and that he would not take an oath to answer any questions that might be put to him, saying, naturally enough, that he would not accuse himself. These two Protestant prelates proposed to put this obstinate priest to the torture. The council very honourably refused to sanction any such proceeding. These incidents show that violent and uncharitable people, whatever be their principles, will hate and try to injure those who differ from them; and also, that, although in the matter of persecution the Catholics were as red as blood, the Protestants were far from being as white as snow.

But while Elizabeth checked the triumphant spirit of the Protestants, and prevented its running into wild excesses, she also kept down the Catholics with a hand of iron. Towards the end of the year 1559, five of the deposed bishops (among whom was Bonner, who had so often gloated over the agonies of the victims whom he had sent to the stake in Mary's time) gathered courage to present what they called a petition to Elizabeth. It was, however, much more like a reproof than a petition. After praising her sister Mary as the pattern of a religious woman, it called upon Elizabeth to follow her example, without loss of time, and prayed that God would turn her heart and preserve her life, and also make her evil advisers ashamed and repentant of their wicked heresies. Perhaps these prelates thought that, as the queen was but a young lady, not more than five-and-twenty, they could awe or intimidate her. If so, they were greatly mistaken; for they soon found that Elizabeth had temper and spirit enough for a dozen ordinary young ladies. Colouring with rage, she answered in a very stern tone, telling them to be careful what they did, lest they should provoke the punishment provided by the laws for all who impugned her royal authority and prerogative. The bishops retired: but they were not to escape so easily; for, soon after, they were all committed to prison. The infamous Bonner, who was detested by all humane persons of either religion, remained in confinement with his own dark, bitter thoughts, for nine long years, and then he died. It would have been a happy thing for the country if he had never been born. The other offending bishops were set at liberty and provided for.

During the first year of her reign, Elizabeth had received an offer of marriage from Philip of Spain, the widower of her late sister Mary. Philip was wealthy, powerful, and a king; but he was hated by the English; and although the queen took care not to offend him, she very prudently declined the alliance.

The public religion being settled, Elizabeth turned her attention to foreign affairs; and a general treaty of peace between England, France, Spain, and Scotland,

was concluded at Cateau-Cambresis, on the 2nd of April. The queen was very anxious to get back the city of Calais, which had been taken by the French in the latter part of her sister's reign; but she was persuaded by her ministers to abandon it so long as she could save her honour. It was therefore agreed that the French king should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; and that if he failed to do so, he should forfeit 500,000 crowns, and the queen's right to the city should still remain. This was, in reality, an abandonment of Calais; for statesmen believed (as it afterwards turned out) that Henry of France would find some excuse both for keeping the city and for not paying the money. However, Elizabeth's honour was saved, and peace was established in Europe. After all the dreadful scenes that had so lately occurred in England, together with the decay of commerce, and the increasing poverty of the people, peace was needed for the recovery of its prosperity; and the young, fair-haired, spirited Queen of England had acted wisely in securing it; and would have done so even if it had cost her far more than the troublesome and unnecessary city of Calais.

CHAPTER LIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.—A.D. 1559—1561.



IT will now be necessary to direct our attention to Scotland, to the change of its religion, and to the affairs of its young queen, Mary Stuart, or, as she is commonly called, Mary, Queen of Scots.

Mary had a title to the English throne—a title which the Catholics said was superior to that of Elizabeth's. It was grounded upon her descent, through her father, from Margaret Tudor, one of the sisters of Henry VIII. The Princess Margaret married King James IV. of Scotland, who was killed at the battle of Flodden Field, and left his queen the mother of an infant prince. In time this prince became James V., and married a French princess, called Mary of Guise, who brought him a daughter, who grew up to be the beautiful and fascinating Mary Stuart. Had Elizabeth been illegitimate, as the Catholics pretended, Mary was the true heir to the English crown. But though Henry VIII.'s marriage with the unfortunate Anne Boleyn was somewhat irregular, and contracted in defiance of the pope's decision against its lawfulness, still, unprejudiced people must believe that it was a lawful marriage, both in the sight of God and man. This being so, Elizabeth was the legitimate daughter of Henry VIII., and consequently had an unimpeachable title to the throne.

Mary, when scarcely sixteen, was married, as already mentioned, to Francis, the eldest son of the French king. That monarch thought it would be an excellent thing if he could obtain the kingdom of England as well as that of France for his son; and he directed him and his daughter-in-law, Mary, to assume the arms and title of King and Queen of England. Elizabeth was naturally offended at this assumption, and she directed her ambassador to complain of it. The French king answered, that as the Queen of Scots was descended from the royal blood of England, she was properly entitled to assume the arms of that kingdom. This only increased Elizabeth's anger; and from that time she felt a violent jealousy of her ambitious cousin, Mary.

On the death of Henry II. of France, which took place on the 10th of July, 1559, Mary and her husband, Francis, ascended the throne of that country as king and queen; her mother, Mary of Guise, acting for her in Scotland as regent.

It is not to be supposed, while such a struggle had been taking place in England about religion, that people were indifferent or quiet upon that subject in Scotland. The reformers there were excited by the fearful tales of persecution which they heard from England, and a zealous and even bitter dislike of the Romish church spread among the people. Some of the principal Protestant nobles of Scotland had, on the 3rd of December, 1557, drawn up a bond of union, and formed an association called "The Congregation of the Lord," to distinguish them from the established church, which they named the Congregation of Satan. All the members of this association bound themselves to devote their lives and fortunes to maintain and establish the reformed religion, and to have faithful preachers truly and purely to minister Christ's gospel and sacraments to His people. Those members were termed, in the history of the times, "Lords of the Congregation."

The Catholic priests became much alarmed in consequence of the spread of this association; and Mary of Guise, the regent of Scotland, cited the most eminent

of the Protestant preachers to appear at Stirling on the 10th of May, 1559, and give an account of their conduct. The preachers obeyed the summons; the nobles and their retainers accompanied them; and, when they reached Perth, one of the former—Erskine of Dun, proceeded to Stirling, to explain to the regent the motives of their assembling. Mary assured him, that if the nobles would discharge their followers, the preachers should be unmolested, and the summons to meet at Stirling discharged. The followers were immediately sent home; upon which the regent renewed the summons; and when it was not obeyed, proclaimed the preachers as rebels. This instance of bad faith enraged the people, who had nearly all embraced the reformed religion, and made them resolve to dispute the regent's authority even by force of arms, and to oppose the priests of the established religion to the very last.

Among the Scottish reformers was a bold and vehement preacher, named John Knox—an honest and sincere man, but bitter in his sentiments, and ferocious in his conduct. He had been banished from Scotland, and had resided for some time at Geneva; but had returned to his native land on the 2nd of May. On the 11th of May, he preached a sermon at Perth, against what he called the idolatry and other abominations of the church of Rome. His discourse was so fierce and eloquent that the people were excited to a strange degree of violence and enthusiasm. The sermon ended, most of the congregation left the church, but a few remained to talk upon the subjects on which the preacher had touched. A priest seized the moment to uncover a shrine by the altar, and to expose a repository of images and relics. An altercation took place between him and some of the bystanders, which ended in their attacking the priest, and breaking his images to pieces. They then overthrew the altar, tore the pictures to pieces, broke the sculptured fonts, scattered the consecrated vases, and left the church a ruin. Not satisfied with this work of destruction, they pillaged and then pulled down several magnificent neighbouring monasteries. This furious spirit soon spread to other places; and many abbeys and churches were left mere heaps of ruins. Knox encouraged all this sad havoc, saying, that the best way to prevent the crows from returning was to break up their nests. These furious destroyers of the popish monasteries and churches were called Iconoclasts, or destroyers of images, in consequence of the number of stone and wooden saints that they broke in pieces.

The queen-regent was so enraged at this violence, that she collected an army to punish the impious rebels and heretics—as she called them. The lords of the Congregation collected another army and stood on their defence. They sent an address to the regent, and another to the Catholic clergy. They told Mary of Guise, that if they were persecuted by those cruel beasts, the churchmen, they would apply to some foreign prince for assistance; that they were her faithful subjects in all things not opposed to the law of God; and they signed themselves—"The Faithful Congregation of Christ Jesus." Their address to the church was far more violent: and it was directed "to the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their shavelings, in Scotland." In it these fierce reformers said to the priests—"As ye by tyranny intend not only to destroy our bodies, but also of the same to hold our souls in bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry; so shall we, with all the force and power which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you: yea, we shall begin that same war which God commanded Israel to execute against the Canaanites—that is, contract of peace shall never be made till you desist from your open idolatry, and cruel persecution of God's children. And this—in the name of the eternal God, and of his Son Christ Jesus, whose verity we profess, and whose gospel we have preached, and holy sacraments rightly administered—we signify unto you to be our intent, so far as God will assist us to withstand your idolatry. Take this for warning, and be not deceived."

The queen-regent sent her forces against the insurgents; there was some fighting, generally in favour of the latter, who entered Edinburgh in triumph on the 29th of June, and the regent took shelter in the castle of Dunbar.

In this condition Mary of Guise received money and a reinforcement of troops from France; and news arrived that her brother was collecting an army in Germany to reduce the reformers to submission. The Scottish nobles were alarmed: they had not the money to support a regular army, and their followers were deserting for want of pay. Such was their position when they resolved to apply to the Protestant Queen of England for assistance.

Here was an opportunity for Elizabeth to punish Mary, who was now Queen of France, for assuming the royal arms of England. But it was not spite alone that made Elizabeth support the violent reformers of Scotland against their government and their church. It was a cautious policy, perhaps an over-cautious policy; but one which many writers have thought wise. The French had a constantly increasing army in Scotland, and were secretly aiming at obtaining the mastery of the whole country. Supposing them to be successful, a queen of both France and Scotland, who had also a claim to the crown of England, was a dangerous neighbour. If the Protestants were crushed in Scotland, there was very little doubt the Catholics would try to place Mary Stuart on the throne of England; and, in

that case, the safety not only of Elizabeth, but of the Protestant religion in England, depended on the turn of affairs in Scotland.

The negotiations with Elizabeth continued through the latter half of 1559; during which time a French force arrived, and there was much fighting with varied success. At length, on the 27th of February, 1560, Elizabeth concluded a treaty at Berwick with the lords of the Congregation, for mutual defence. It was to last during the marriage of Mary Stuart with the French king, and for a year afterwards. She had, before this, sent them secret assistance, in the shape of sums of money; but she now openly sent both a fleet and an army to aid them. The fleet, which consisted of thirteen large ships of war, was sent to the Frith of Forth; and the army, consisting of 8,000 men, was assembled at Berwick. The French court offered immediately to restore the city of Calais to her, if she would not interfere in the affairs of Scotland; but Elizabeth answered proudly, that she would never put a fishing-town in competition with her dominions; and she ordered her fleet and army to commence hostilities.

The French troops in Scotland were ravaging the county of Fife, when the English made their appearance. As the French were not half so numerous as the English, they took refuge in Leith, and protected themselves by fortifications. In April, the English, assisted by an army of Scottish reformers, attacked the place with much fury; and after two skirmishes, in which the French fought bravely, they were reduced to great distress. Still they held out, and the siege was converted into a blockade; the English endeavouring to starve the garrison into a surrender. But two events that occurred induced the French garrison to yield before the grim spectre of famine made its appearance within the walls of the town. The first was the dispersion, by a storm, of a fleet which was bringing an army to their assistance; and the second was the death of Mary of Guise, the queen-regent, which took place on the 10th of June.

On the 6th of July a peace was restored by the signing of the "Treaty of Edinburgh," as it was called, and then Leith was surrendered, and abandoned by the French. By this treaty France recognised the right of Elizabeth to the English throne; and agreed that Mary and her husband should no longer assume the royal title or arms of England. The affairs of Scotland were to be placed in the hands of a council of twelve nobles of that country, of whom the Queen of Scots should choose seven, and the parliament five. No foreign troops were in future to be brought into Scotland without the full consent of the parliament; and a pardon was to be granted for all past offences. As to religion, it was agreed that the parliament should report its wishes upon that subject to Mary and her husband, and that some arrangement should be entered into respecting it. Thus, though Elizabeth obtained what she wanted, the cause for which the Scottish lords made war upon their government remained unsettled.

Immediately after the French had left Scotland, the parliament of that country assembled. It met on the 1st of August, 1560, and very memorable work it did. The lords of the Congregation immediately presented a petition, in which they demanded that their own religion should be made the established one of the country, and that the Catholics should be suppressed and punished. This was very unjust and intolerant; for they would not allow to the Catholics that liberty of conscience which they insisted on for themselves. The parliament shared the spirit of the reformers, or, as a popular writer says, they "seem to have been actuated by the same spirit of rage and persecution." They abolished the ceremony of the mass utterly, not only in all public churches and chapels, but they would not permit it to be celebrated in private houses. It was declared to be not only an error but a crime; and whoever officiated in it, or was present at it, was condemned to be punished—for the first offence with confiscation of goods and imprisonment; for the second, with banishment from Scotland; and for the third, with death. This atrocious law was almost as bad as anything the papists would have done; but it was not all that these fiery Protestants did now that they had the power. They voted that the authority of the pope in Scotland should be abolished; that bishops and the other dignitaries of the church were limbs of the devil, and agents of papal superstition and tyranny; and that, for the future, the PRESBYTERIAN form of religion should be established in Scotland. The tone of the reformers frightened all the bishops away from their seats in parliament; for they very naturally felt they were not safe there. The members, desirous that their conduct should appear quite legal, summoned the bishops to attend; and as no notice was taken of this summons, the parliament voted that the prelates were satisfied with the new constitution of the church. When the parliament had proceeded to this extent, they sent a messenger to France to tell their queen what they had done, and obtain her sanction of their measures. Mary, as a devout Catholic, was not likely to be pleased at their violent reforms; she received the messenger with coldness, and refused her assent. However, the reformers, who did not care much for her refusal, resolved to have their own way. They put their laws into practice; abolished the mass, plundered the monasteries, took possession of the greater part of the revenues of the church, and appointed their preachers to all livings.—Thus was popery destroyed in Scotland, and a new form

of worship built upon its ruins. The change was a great and good one; but the manner in which it was made, unjust, furious, and unchristian.

On the 5th of December, 1560 (a few months after the change of the national religion in Scotland), Mary's husband, the young King of France, died. Thus, after a reign of seventeen months, she was no longer Queen of France; and she resolved on returning to her native land, and devoting herself to its government. Before doing so, she directed D'Oysel, her ambassador, to apply to her cousin Elizabeth for a safe-conduct across the seas into Scotland, and to permit her to pass through England, if it should be necessary. Elizabeth's jealous dislike to Mary was so extreme that she refused this trifling request; and refused it, too, in coarse and angry language—very unbecoming to her high station. The reason she gave for this rude conduct was, that Mary had declined to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. The Scottish queen had given up wearing the royal arms of England; but she very justly refused to abandon her claim to the throne of England in the event of the death of Elizabeth.

When her cousin's answer was brought to Mary by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the Scottish queen was extremely indignant; and, after ordering her attendants to leave the apartment, she made the following spirited remarks, which we will insert entire, because they show something of the character of that extraordinary woman:—"How weak I may prove, or how far a woman's frailty may transport me, I cannot tell: however, I am resolved not to have so many witnesses of my infirmity as your mistress had at her audience of my ambassador, D'Oysel. There is nothing disturbs me so much as the having asked, with so much importunity, a favour which it was of no consequence for me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own country without *her* leave; as I came to France, in spite of all the opposition of her brother, King Edward: neither do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me home, as they have brought me hither; though I was desirous rather to make an experiment of your mistress's friendship, than of the assistance of any other person. I have often heard you say, that a good correspondence between her and myself would conduce much to the security and happiness of both our kingdoms. Were she well convinced of this truth, she would hardly have denied me so small a request. But perhaps she bears a better inclination to my rebellious subjects than to me, their sovereign—her equal in royal dignity, her near relation, and the undoubted heir of her kingdoms. Besides her friendship, I ask nothing at her hands. I neither trouble her nor concern myself in the affairs of her state: not that I am ignorant that there are in England a great many malcontents, who are no friends to the present establishment. She is pleased to upbraid me as a person little experienced in the world. I freely own it; but age will cure that defect. However, I am old enough to acquit myself honestly and courteously to my friends and relations, and to encourage no reports of your mistress which would misbecome a queen and her kinswoman. I would also say, by her leave, that I am a queen as well as she, and not altogether friendless; and perhaps I have as great a soul too; so that methinks we should be upon a level in our treatment of each other. As soon as I have consulted the states of my kingdom, I shall be ready to give her a reasonable answer; and I am the more intent on my journey, in order to make the quicker despatch in this affair. But she, it seems, intends to stop my journey; so that either she will not let me give her satisfaction, or is resolved not to be satisfied—perhaps on purpose to keep up the disagreement between us. I have not been wanting in all friendly offices to her; but she disbelieves or overlooks them. I could heartily wish that I were as nearly allied to her in affection as in blood; for that indeed would be a most valuable alliance."

Perhaps Elizabeth never received a better schooling than was contained in this biting speech; but, though it vexed her extremely, she did not profit by it. Indeed, it was not the sort of language fitted to encourage friendship, or remove the jealous feelings that already existed between the two queens.

It was during the lovely month of August, of 1561, that Mary Stuart embarked to return to her native country. France had been her home almost since her infancy, and she felt painful emotions of regret in leaving it. It is said that she kept her eyes fixed upon the coast until the night closed in and shut it from her gaze. As its dim outline was rapidly disappearing, she sat upon a couch on deck, frequently repeating, "Farewell, France, farewell! I shall never see thee more!" On arriving at Leith, where her majesty landed on the 19th of August, she was received by the people with enthusiasm; for her youth, beauty, and the gentleness of her manners won for her a general admiration. Besides, she was the only descendant of their ancient line of kings; and, on that account, the people were disposed to love her. Her first step was a very wise one: she issued a proclamation declaring her intention to maintain the Protestant form of worship which she found established, and forbidding any one to interfere with it on pain of death. She even sent for John Knox, and tried to win him to a quiet submission to her authority; but the rude zealot coarsely insulted her. He and the other reformers were resolved, not only that they would not go to mass themselves, but that their queen should not have the liberty of doing so.

The first Sunday after her arrival, there was a riot, in consequence of mass being performed in the palace at Holyrood. The people asked each other, "Shall we suffer that idol to be again erected within the realm?" One noble even shouted aloud, in the court-yard of the palace, "The idolatrous priest shall die the death!" Indeed, the uproar was so great, that it was with some difficulty the priest was prevented from being murdered at the altar's foot. While this was going on in and around the palace of the young queen, the preachers offered up prayers in the churches, that God would turn her heart, which was obstinate against him and his truth; or if his holy will was otherwise, that he would strengthen the hearts and hands of the elect stoutly to oppose the rage of all tyrants.

With much difficulty, Mary obtained from her subjects a sort of equivocal permission to hear mass in private. But the knowledge that she still adhered to the ancient religion of her ancestors, seemed to poison all feelings of affection and generosity that might otherwise have been felt for her. She was exposed to constant insults, especially from the preachers. But the violent fanaticism of John Knox was absolutely brutal: his conduct alone was sufficient to make Mary view with disgust the religion which he professed, and to make her adhere more strongly to the Catholic church. The usual name by which he alluded to her was that of Jezabel, although she was (at least as yet) a pure-minded, beautiful, and amiable girl. She tried to subdue his violence by the most gracious condescensions; but no gentleness could touch his sour, discontented, bitter nature. She promised him access to her presence whenever he desired it; and begged him, if he found her blamable, to reprehend her in private, and not vilify her in the church before all the people. The bigot only answered, that if she pleased to come to church she would hear the gospel of truth; that it was not his business to apply to every individual, nor had he leisure to do so.

Knox was indeed quite as much a rebel as a reformer. If he had been an English subject, and had acted with half as much insolence to Queen Elizabeth, she would have sent him to the pillory, if not to the scaffold. On one occasion, he told Mary that he would submit to her as Paul submitted to Nero. Another time, he had the audacity to tell her that "Samuel feared not to *slay* Agag, the fat and delicate King of Amalek, whom King Saul had saved: neither spared Elias Jezabel's false prophets and Baal's priests, though King Ahab was present. And so madam," he added, "your grace may see that others than chief magistrates may lawfully inflict punishment on such crimes as are condemned by the law of God." Indeed, this man and the rest of the zealous preachers filled Mary's life with bitterness and sorrow. Her temper was naturally cheerful, and she was fond of gaiety; but these men condemned all innocent pleasures as crimes, and threatened her with God's judgment for indulging in them.

On one occasion, Knox was called in question for his conduct. While Mary was absent from Edinburgh, some ruffians broke into her chapel, defiled the altar, and behaved in a very riotous manner. Two of them were arrested and indicted for this offence. Knox immediately took up their cause, and wrote circular letters to the most furious Protestant zealots in each town, to arm for the defence of the two rioters. This was treason, and he was accordingly summoned before the council to answer for it. He knew that some of the council secretly hated the queen, on account of her religion, as much as he did; and this emboldened him to defend himself with his usual audacity. He told the queen, that the pestilent papists who inflamed her against those holy men (he meant the chapel-breakers), were the sons of the devil, and must, therefore, obey the directions of their father, who had been a liar and a manslayer from the beginning. This troublesome man was acquitted, and made still more violent by the triumph he had gained.

Here, for a time, we must leave Mary Stuart, and return to the affairs of England and Elizabeth.

CHAPTER LX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.—A.D. 1561—1566.



ELIZABETH soon saw that she had not much to fear from the Scottish queen, who possessed little or no power over her turbulent subjects. She, therefore, turned her attention to promoting the prosperity of her kingdom, and the happiness of her people. She was very careful with her money, and soon able to pay many of the great debts of the crown. The coin had been alloyed by her predecessors, and, in 1560, she restored it to its ancient purity. She imported great quantities of arms from Germany; and introduced into England the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon. She encouraged agriculture by allowing corn to be exported; favoured trade and navigation; and built so many ships, that she began to be called the restorer of our naval glory, and the queen of the northern seas.

The fame of Elizabeth, as a wise and powerful princess, soon spread abroad; and many foreign kings and nobles made her offers of marriage. Amongst them was Eric, the King of Sweden; Charles, the Archduke of Austria; the Duke of Holstein; and the Earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland. Besides these princes, several of her own subjects humbly aspired to the honour of her hand; the most favoured of whom was a handsome but profligate young nobleman—Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards the notorious Earl of Leicester. Elizabeth had resolved to remain single; for she was too ambitious to share her power with any one: but she gave all her suitors such a gentle refusal, that they still had hopes of succeeding at last. This was a wise plan; for it kept them all devoted to her service: but it is very likely that the famous queen was also fond of the attentions and professions of attachment which she was frequently receiving from her would-be husbands.

With all her greatness as a queen, Elizabeth was a cold-hearted woman, and very vindictive towards those whom she disliked; and, about this time, she committed a mean and cruel act of tyranny. Lady Catharine Grey, a sister of the unfortunate Lady Jane who was beheaded by the orders of Queen Mary, contracted, in 1561, a secret marriage with the young Earl of Hertford. They were married privately, because the queen was known to entertain a jealous feeling of every one who was of royal blood; and the Lady Catharine was the next heir to the crown after Mary, Queen of Scots. Although they had committed no crime, or even offence, Elizabeth, on discovering the marriage, sent them both as prisoners to the Tower, declared their children to be illegitimate, and inflicted on the earl a fine of £15,000. They remained in prison till 1563, when they were removed, in consequence of the plague breaking out. The lady was always subjected to surveillance, but does not appear to have been actually imprisoned again; and she died on the 11th of January, 1568, at the house of Sir Owen Hopton, at Yoxford, in Suffolk. Still, Elizabeth could act with magnanimity. In 1563, Edmund and Arthur Pole, sons of the cardinal, were condemned to death for a treasonable design to place Queen Mary upon the English throne, and to change the religion of the country. The queen generously granted them the royal pardon. As they had been led into their design by the pretended predictions of some foolish astrologer, she caused the parliament, in the same year, to pass a severe law against prophecies, conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft.

During this time, France was distracted with civil wars between the Catholics and the Protestants, who were there called Huguenots. [The term Huguenot is a corruption of the German *Eidgehossen;* which means "bound together by oath."] The Catholic party was led by the Duke of Guise, and the Huguenots by the Prince of Condé; and between the two, horror reigned from one end of the land to the other. The people seemed actually mad with religious excitement, and murdered each other with such a savage ferocity, that in all directions the ground was soaked with blood. The parliament of Paris added to the general misery by passing an act giving the Catholics permission to massacre the Huguenots, who, as might be expected, retaliated in a similar manner. "Wherever," says a famous writer, "the Huguenots prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, and the monasteries consumed with fire: where success attended the Catholics, they burned the Bibles, rebaptised the infants, and constrained married persons to pass anew through the nuptial ceremony; and plunder, desolation, and bloodshed attended equally the triumph of both parties."

In this dreadful state of things, the Duke of Guise, in 1562, applied to Philip, the bigoted King of Spain, for assistance; who, as he entertained a bitter hatred

to the reformed religion, readily gave it. The Prince of Condé then applied to Elizabeth for help, and offered to put her in possession of the important town of Havre-de-Grace, in return for it. The English queen consented; and after sending money and men to the Prince of Condé, Havre was given up to her on the 3rd of October, and garrisoned by a body of 3,000 of her troops. Elizabeth had two reasons for this: she wished to help the Protestants abroad, lest the Catholics should become powerful enough to molest her; and she thought Havre might prove as useful to her subjects as the town of Calais, which they had so recently lost. Soon after Elizabeth had assisted the Huguenots, a battle took place between them and the Catholics at Dreux. The Huguenots were defeated; but their party still kept up the struggle; and Elizabeth sent them 100,000 crowns, and offered to be security for as much more, if they could find merchants to lend the money.

As the queen's purse was empty, she again summoned her parliament. That body met on the 13th of February, 1563: its first act was to present another address to her, entreating her to marry. She had lately been suffering so severely from the small-pox, that her life was despaired of; and the Commons desired her to marry, that, in the event of her death, she might leave a son to succeed her. They reminded her of the sad civil wars that had arisen from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, and begged her to save them from the chance of such another calamity. But they added, that if her high mind was for ever set against matrimony, they entreated that she would permit her successor to be named and appointed by act of parliament.

Elizabeth was puzzled: to declare Mary the heir to her throne, was to gratify her rival, and to encourage the Catholics to hope that their form of religion might be restored in England; while to accept a husband was to act in opposition to her own wishes. In this difficulty she had recourse to that deception of which she was such a mistress. She told the parliament, that notwithstanding what she had said at the beginning of her reign, yet she had no fixed resolution never to marry; and that, for the sake of her people, she would endeavour to lay some solid foundation for their future security. At that very time a new suitor had made his appearance—the Duke of Würtemberg, a Protestant prince. The queen received his offer in a very polite manner; said, that though she was not tired of a single life, yet the care of her kingdom counselled her to avoid it. But that, as the welfare of her people depended upon her choice, it was necessary for her to make it with great care. In the end, she thanked the duke, and promised to deserve his good opinion. By this evasion she contrived to get rid of the application of the parliament, without giving any direct answer.

Having failed to induce the queen to marry, the parliament passed a severe law against the Catholics. It was called "The assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions." It decreed, that if any one twice asserted, either by writing, word, or deed, that the pope possessed any authority in England, the offender was to be punished as a traitor. All persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy; and so were all members of parliament, officers of the court, schoolmasters, and persons in any authority; and the penalty of their twice refusing, was the hideous death of hanging and quartering. By a strange unfairness, no nobleman was to be subject to this law; as it was rather absurdly said, that the queen could have no doubt of the fidelity of persons of such high rank. Lord Montacute opposed this bill in the House of Lords, and said it was unnecessary, as the Catholics were loyal subjects, who obeyed the queen, and caused no trouble either by preaching or disputation; but suspicions were entertained of them, and the law passed. Having settled this business, the parliament voted the queen a supply of money, and then the house was prorogued.—The convocation of the clergy also voted the queen a considerable sum, that she might assist the Huguenots in France.—In this session of that clerical body, the thirty-nine articles of the church were finally adopted, in the form in which they are now published in the Book of Common Prayer.

On the 19th of March a peace was arranged between the Catholics and Huguenots, in consequence of the death of the Duke of Guise, who was assassinated by a young gentleman of the Huguenot faction, named Poltrot de Méré, on the 24th of February. By the terms of this agreement, toleration was granted to the French Protestants; and a general pardon published for all the violence that had been committed. The French had a great desire to recover the town of Havre, which the Huguenots had surrendered to Elizabeth as the price of the assistance she had afforded them. The Huguenots had promised not to make peace with the Catholics without her consent; but they had broken this agreement, and merely offered that if she would give up Havre, the money she had lent them, and the charges she had been at, would be repaid to her by the King of France; and that, at the end of the time promised, Calais should be restored to her. Elizabeth treated these offers with disdain; and sent the Earl of Warwick commands to defend Havre to the last, even against the whole power of France.

Warwick did his best: but he had scarcely 6,000 men within the walls of Havre; while the place was besieged, during the months of May, June, and July, by an immense army. The resistance was desperate, and

the place was not taken without much bloodshed; two assaults, in the month of July, being repulsed with great slaughter. But the English garrison was attacked by another enemy, against whom arms and bravery were of no avail—the plague. The fatigue of the soldiers was so great, their food so bad and scanty, and this visitation of the plague so terrible, that sometimes 100 men a day died. At length, not 1,500 soldiers were left strong enough to do their duty; and the walls were shattered by the cannon of the enemy. In this condition Warwick was compelled to surrender: the sick and feeble garrison was permitted to march out; and Havre was lost to the English.

To increase this misfortune, the wretched soldiers carried the pestilence home with them, where it spread rapidly in many parts of the kingdom. In London alone, which did not contain a fourth of the people it does now, 20,000 persons died of it in the course of the year. At the same time, England was visited by other calamities: there was a great scarcity of food; violent storms of thunder and lightning; and, during the month of September, 1563, earthquakes were felt in several places. The Catholics declared that these things were signs of the Almighty's vengeance for the changes which the Protestants had made in religion.

As Elizabeth had been so unfortunate in her first war, she readily entered into a peace with France. Accordingly a treaty was signed at Troyes on the 11th of April, 1564, in which she agreed to give up the cause of the Huguenots.—During the latter part of the war, Mary, Queen of Scots, anxious, for many reasons, to obtain the friendship of Elizabeth, yielded her opinions to those of the English queen; and, for a time, these two sovereigns lived almost like sisters. Not only did they frequently write to each other, but it was proposed that they should meet at York, for the settlement of all differences between them. But this apparent friendliness was hollow. It is very unlikely that Mary felt any really kind feelings towards Elizabeth; and it is certain that Elizabeth entertained, upon all points, a jealousy of Mary. The meeting at York did not take place; and it is supposed that one of the chief reasons was, that Elizabeth did not like to be seen face to face with her more attractive rival.

Mary was desirous of marrying again; and her French friends wished to ally her to a Catholic prince who could strengthen their interest and weaken that of Elizabeth. Mary herself would have preferred a Catholic husband: but she knew that he would be hated by the Scottish people on account of his religion; and Elizabeth declared, that a marriage of that kind would be, in the highest degree, displeasing to her. She even told Mary that nothing would satisfy her but her marrying some English or Scottish nobleman—a match which would remove all grounds of jealousy between them, and cement the union between their kingdoms; and she offered, on this condition, to have her title examined, and to declare her the successor to the English crown.

The Scottish queen was so anxious to be declared Elizabeth's successor, that she consented to take, as a husband, any nobleman whom the English queen would recommend as a fitting match. Elizabeth really wished Mary not to marry at all; therefore, after a considerable delay, she named, in 1564, her own favourite, Lord Robert Dudley, now the Earl of Leicester. This man, though handsome and accomplished, was proud, insolent, and dishonourable, and was strongly suspected of having murdered his young and beautiful wife, because he believed that Elizabeth had an intention of raising him to share her throne. Mary knew very well that her royal cousin was not sincere in this proposal, and that she had no intention of parting with her favourite. Indeed, Elizabeth acted in so deceitful and whimsical a manner in this affair, that Mary sent her a rather angry letter.

For a short time the pretended friendship of the two queens was broken off; but Mary sent an ambassador to the English court to make all well again. This ambassador was Sir James Melville, a man of very agreeable manners and great powers of conversation. He had directions to insinuate himself into Elizabeth's confidence, and discover, if possible, her real sentiments towards Mary. He succeeded so well that the artful Elizabeth was thrown off her guard; and she showed that, strong-minded as she was, she possessed as much vanity and girlish jealousy as the youngest and most frivolous of her sex. Melville talked to her about his travels; of the various dresses worn by ladies in each country he had visited, and of the sorts which he thought most becoming. The queen, who was very fond of finery, replied that she had dresses of all countries, and every day she met the ambassador in a different costume. Once she asked which of them became her best? The courtier answered, the Italian. This answer greatly pleased Elizabeth; for she was fond of showing her long hair to advantage, which, though it was rather red than yellow, she thought the finest in the world. She then asked him what colour of hair was reputed best?—whether his queen or she had the finest hair?—and which of them he considered was the fairest person? These were delicate questions; but the clever courtier evaded them by saying that her majesty was the fairest person in England, and his mistress the fairest in Scotland. But this answer would not satisfy Elizabeth, who repeated her inquiry. Melville's answer was, that her majesty was of a more delicate complexion, but that his queen was very lovely. She then asked, which of them was the tallest? He replied, his queen. Then,

rejoined Elizabeth, she is too tall; for I myself am neither too high nor too low.

Having ascertained from the ambassador that Mary sometimes played upon a musical instrument called the virginals, she gave orders to a nobleman of her court, that she should lead Sir James, as if accidentally, into a room from which he might hear her play. Drawing aside a tapestry, he beheld the queen sitting at her instrument, with her back towards the door. Entering the chamber, he stood still and listened; for she played remarkably well. When she saw him she seemed surprised, and left off directly. Striking him gently, in a coquettish manner, she said she was not used to play before men, but only when she was solitary, to shun melancholy. Then she asked him how he came there? The polite courtier answered, that as he was walking with Lord Hudson, he passed the chamber-door, and heard such delightful melody that he was drawn in before he was aware. Elizabeth, then sitting down upon a cushion, asked him which of the two played the best—she or the Queen of Scots? He replied, that he must give her the preference. These petty incidents are so far interesting as they show to what frivolous jealousies the otherwise strong-minded English queen could descend. When Sir James Melville returned to Scotland, he told his mistress that she could never expect any cordial friendship from Elizabeth, and that all her professions of kindness were full of duplicity.

As two years were passed, and Elizabeth had evaded the question of Mary's marriage, the Scottish queen began to think of choosing a husband for herself. Her councillors recommended her first cousin, Henry Stuart (Lord Darnley), a tall, comely young nobleman, who was descended from the royal family of England, and was, after her, the next successor to the throne of that country. Darnley, who was in the English court, obtained permission of Elizabeth to visit Scotland, where he arrived on the 13th of February, 1565. Presenting himself before Mary, he succeeded in winning her favour, and was accepted. The seemingly fortunate young nobleman was married to her on the 29th of July; and many envied him the place he held in the heart of the lovely and fascinating Scottish queen: but it would have been far better for both of them if they had never met. Elizabeth had secretly encouraged this marriage; but she pretended to be highly offended at it, and made that an excuse for refusing to comply with her promise, and declare Mary her successor.

The Earl of Lennox (Darnley's father) was a Catholic; and although the young nobleman himself went to the reformed church, the preachers suspected his sincerity. Knox even insulted him from the pulpit, by saying that God, to punish the ingratitude and offences of the people, was wont to commit the rule over them to boys and women. The preachers, or the Assembly of the Kirk, as they were called, contrived to get up a riot in Edinburgh; after which, they demanded that Mary should, by a formal act, become a Protestant, and abolish the Roman Catholic worship from the country, not even retaining it in her own family. But the preachers were not the only persons who were dissatisfied at their queen's marriage. Several of her nobles entered into a conspiracy, and took up arms against her; and in this treasonable conduct they were secretly encouraged and assisted by the jealous and intriguing Elizabeth. Mary immediately acted with great spirit: she took the field with an army of 18,000 men, and pursued the rebels with such rapidity, that they were compelled to disband their troops, and fly for safety into England. Mary, though at first extremely enraged, was induced, by the general mildness of her nature, to pardon the traitors.

Darnley soon proved himself unworthy of the affection of his beautiful wife, and of the high station which she had bestowed upon him. In her fondness she had given him the title of king; but he speedily returned her favours with ingratitude, and insolently demanded the whole authority of government. He was vain, vulgar, arrogant, thankless, given to drinking, and to other low pleasures. Indeed, within a very few weeks after his marriage, he so neglected his wife as to turn her love into dislike and disgust. He soon saw that he had lost her affection; but, instead of attributing it to his own bad conduct, he supposed that her coldness to him arose out of an attachment for some one else.

Among Mary's attendants was a middle-aged, plain, and slightly deformed Italian, named David Rizzio. He had not been long in Scotland, having arrived there in the suite of an ambassador from the Duke of Savoy, who came to congratulate the queen upon her return from France. Rizzio was a person of humble origin, but possessed of considerable abilities. He had been educated as a musician; and Mary, finding him useful to complete her band, engaged his services, and kept him after the departure of his master. The foreigner contrived to win the favour of the queen, and she promoted him to be her French secretary. This important situation gave him frequent opportunities of being in her presence; and he displayed so much shrewdness, and made such good use of his time, that he rose to be her chief confidant and minister. The Scottish lords were exceedingly jealous that a base-born fiddler, as they called him, should be raised to a level with them; and they hated him very bitterly. Rizzio naturally had his head a little turned with all this good fortune; and he gave way to so much luxury, that his dress, furniture, attendants, and horses were superior even to those of the king. What was more, he dined with the queen

each day: every one who desired any favour, was obliged to court his good-will; and, worst of all, he was a Catholic.

Darnley began to fancy that it was Rizzio who had supplanted him in the affections of the queen. The Italian was ugly, deformed, and no longer young; and it was scarcely likely that a youthful and beautiful woman, even if she had contracted a sinful attachment, would have selected such a man for her lover. But jealous men seldom reason about what is likely; and there were many disappointed, mischief-making people about the court, ready to whisper slanderous stories into the ready ears of Darnley. There were other reasons too why he hated the secretary: Rizzio had remonstrated with him on his neglect of the queen, and had secretly advised her never to bestow on him the matrimonial crown—that is, to give him an equal share with her in the sovereignty and government of the kingdom.

Besides the jealous hatred which the Scottish nobles bore towards Rizzio, he was suspected of being the agent of the Catholic princes in France, and of forming a scheme with them for overturning the Protestant religion, and restoring the ancient faith. This was very likely true; and would alone be sufficient to make the Scottish zealots seek his life. A conspiracy against him was soon entered into by Darnley and the Protestant nobles; and the former signed a bond, giving them authority to murder the Italian, as he impiously said, for the glory of God and the advancement of religion.

One evening (it was the 9th of March, 1566), while Queen Mary, the Countess of Argyll, and Rizzio were at supper, attended only by a few servants, a sudden noise was heard, and Darnley, raising the arras which covered a secret door, entered the room, and seated himself by the side of his wife. He was followed by the fierce Lord Ruthven, in complete armour, who had left a bed of sickness to assist in this deed of blood, and whose sallow, haggard features made him look as if he had just risen from the grave. Behind him came the other conspirators, also clad in shining steel. The queen rose from her seat in astonishment and anger; but, for a few moments, there was an ominous silence. Then the grim Ruthven bade Rizzio rise and come forth—for the place where he sat did not become him. Recovering her dignity, Mary answered that he was there by her will; and then she commanded Lord Ruthven, on pain of treason, to quit her presence. That stern noble gave no answer; but, advancing towards Rizzio, seized him by the arm, and attempted to drag him out of the apartment. Tearing from the assassin, the terrified Italian threw himself on his knees behind the queen, and, grasping her dress, screamed out—"Justice! justice! save my life, madam—save my life!"

Mary interposed her person between the wretched secretary and his assailants, and again commanded them to quit the room, saying, that if he were accused of any crime, he should be placed upon his trial, and be dealt with by the laws. Ruthven then struck at Rizzio with his dagger over the shoulder of the queen; another conspirator presented a pistol to her bosom; and Darnley, throwing his arms around her, held her while the others dragged Rizzio from the chamber. There they murdered him by stabbing him with their swords and daggers. Such was their fury, that as many as fifty-six wounds were afterwards discovered upon his corpse.

At first, Mary wept bitterly; but when she learned that her favourite was dead, she exclaimed—"If it be so, then farewell tears; we will now think of revenge!" She knew nothing of the bond which Darnley had given to the conspirators, promising to shield them from the consequences of the deed; and he contrived to make her believe that the murder was committed without his sanction, and that he was altogether innocent of it. Ruthven, Morton, and the other conspirators expected, on the death of Rizzio, to be able to grasp the chief power of the state; but as the deceitful Darnley turned against them and disowned the deed, they were compelled to provide for their safety by flying to England, where they lived in great poverty. Seven persons were arrested for being concerned in the murder of Rizzio, and two of them were executed; but the leaders in that savage crime were beyond Mary's power. The Scottish queen sent to Elizabeth, demanding that they should be delivered up; but met with a refusal. Some historians say, that to prevent the success of the Catholics, the English queen had secretly encouraged the murder of the unfortunate Italian; which we do not believe. But she solicited of Mary the pardon of the murderers, which was ultimately granted.

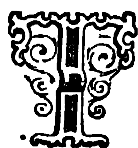
Though Darnley had persuaded his wife that he was innocent of the death of Rizzio, she soon afterwards obtained possession of the bond he had given to the assassins, engaging them to do the deed, and promising his protection afterwards. This confirmed the disgust she had for some time felt for him; and her anger was so great, that it is said she sent a messenger to Rome, to apply for a divorce. She would not even permit him to approach her, and encouraged her courtiers to treat him with neglect—a punishment that his ungrateful conduct well deserved.

On the 19th of June, 1566, about three months after the murder of her secretary, Mary became the mother of a prince. He was christened James, and after the death of Elizabeth, became King of England. The fright which his mother had received before his birth had such an effect upon him, that it is said, even when grown to manhood, he always trembled at the sight of

a drawn sword. Elizabeth received the news of the prince's birth one evening while she was dancing at a court ball at Greenwich. She had been exceedingly cheerful; but suddenly becoming very sad, she sat down, and reclining her head upon her hand, complained to some of her ladies, that the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she herself was but a barren stock. The next day, however, she had recovered her spirits; received the ambassador from Scotland with a smiling face; expressed a great friendship for Mary, and consented to become godmother to the little stranger.

CHAPTER LXI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.—A.D. 1566—1568.



THE birth of Prince James created considerable hopes among the Catholics of England; and men of all opinions were anxious that, as Elizabeth was unmarried, and likely to remain so, she should name her successor. When the parliament met, in the autumn of 1566, the matter was seriously debated; and the Commons plucked up spirit enough to propose that they should vote the queen no supplies of money until she had given them a direct answer upon this subject. Elizabeth was very much annoyed, and commanded Sir William Cecil, the Secretary of State, to assure the Commons that she intended to take a husband for the good of her people. She had, however, equivocated so often upon this point, that no one believed the statement, and the Commons still urged the question of the settlement.

Finding her usual Machiavelian policy useless, Elizabeth sent a *command* to the Commons not to proceed any further upon that subject. But the time was now passing away when the English parliament stood abashed at the command of the sovereign and passively obeyed it. The Commons were displeased at the arbitrary conduct of the queen; and one gentleman, of the name of Wentworth, said that he thought such an interference was an infringement of the liberties and privileges of the house. This boldness aroused a similar spirit in other members; and they said that the queen was bound in duty, not only to provide for the happiness of her subjects during her own life, but also to pay regard to their future security by fixing a successor. That by not doing so, she showed herself rather as the stepmother than the natural parent of her people, and seemed desirous that England should exist only while she could enjoy the glory and satisfaction of governing it. They added, that none but timid princes or tyrants, or faint-hearted women, ever stood in fear of their successors; and that the affections of the people were a firm protection to every sovereign who, laying aside all artifice or bye-ends, had the courage and magnanimity to put entire trust in that honourable and sure defence.

Elizabeth was astonished at the spirit of the Commons; but she did not wish to give up the point. She sent to the Speaker, and repeated her former command; though she added, that if any member remained unsatisfied, he might appear before her council, and there state his reasons. But the Commons were firm, and seemed so determined to carry on their debate, that the queen submitted and recalled her command! In this sort of conduct lay half the secret of Elizabeth's greatness and power. Her conduct was extremely arbitrary; but she knew how to yield with grace before she had aroused the anger of her people.

The queen's submission at once softened the temper of the Commons, and they voted her a liberal supply, without insisting that she should either marry or name her successor. She, however, felt some difficulty in digesting her humiliation, and, on the 2nd of January, 1567, dissolved the parliament. In a speech her majesty made on that occasion, she rather sharply told the members that their proceedings had contained much dissimulation and artifice; that under the pretences of marriage and succession, many of them covered very evil intentions towards her; but that she reaped this advantage from the attempts of these men—that she could now distinguish her friends from her enemies. She concluded by saying—"But do you think that I am unmindful of your future security, or will be negligent in settling the succession? That is the chief object of my concern, as I know myself to be liable to mortality. Or do you apprehend that I meant to encroach on your liberties? No; it was never my meaning: I only intended to stop you before you approached the precipice. All things have their time; and though you may be blessed with a sovereign more wise or more learned than I, yet I assure you that no one shall ever rule over you who shall be more

careful of your safety. And therefore, henceforward, whether I live to see the like assembly or no, or whoever holds the reins of government, let me warn you to beware of provoking your sovereign's patience so far as you have done mine. But I shall now conclude; that, notwithstanding the disgusts I have received (for I mean not to part with you in anger), the greater part of you may assure themselves that they go home in their prince's good graces."

As the cautious queen knew that some parts of this speech would not be acceptable to the parliament, she softened it down by an act that won greatly upon the affection of the nation. She voluntarily gave up a third of the money the Commons had voted her, wisely and nobly saying, that "money in her subjects' purses was as good to her as in her own treasury."

Elizabeth had thus again diverted the attention of the parliament from the question of the succession; but the friends of Mary Stuart were every day increasing in England; and it was certain that she would soon have been compelled to declare that princess her successor; but Mary, by her own conduct, now brought upon herself both ruin and infamy. In the Scottish court there was a nobleman of good family, but of profligate habits, called the Earl of Bothwell. He had rendered Mary some service; had always been faithful towards her, and was frequently in her society. Disgusted with her vulgar and ungrateful husband, and feeling a want of some one whom she could love, Mary, in an evil hour, bestowed her affections upon this aspiring peer. Reports began to be circulated that a closer intimacy than was proper existed between them; and these reports were confirmed by the increasing dislike which it was evident the queen bore to her husband. Darnley himself was so hurt at the neglect he received from her and her courtiers, that he thought of secretly leaving Scotland, and flying to France or Spain. It would have been better for him if he had; for a conspiracy was soon afterwards entered into by Bothwell and some other nobles to murder him, because he was, as they truly said, a fool and a tyrant—an enemy to the nobility; and had conducted himself in an unbearable manner towards the queen.

About this time (the close of 1566), Darnley became very ill, and many people said he had been poisoned by order of the queen. This was soon discovered to be an idle slander; for it was found that he was suffering from that frightful malady, the small-pox. Much as she detested her arrogant, worthless husband, Mary sent him her own physician, and, shortly afterwards, went suddenly to Glasgow, and paid him a visit herself.

The kindness of her manner, whether real or assumed, induced her husband to declare that he repented of all his faults towards her, and that he was so joyful to see her, that he was ready to die with gladness. After reproaching him gently for his misconduct, she promised to pardon him, and receive him again to her affection. Then, bidding him a kind good-night, she retired to her own apartments. It would appear that the queen was aware of the plot to assassinate Darnley, and had not forbidden the commission of the crime; for a letter is extant, written that night by her to Bothwell, in which she alluded to the projected murder, and expressed her remorse for the treacherous part she was playing, saying—"Ye make me dissemble so far that I have horror thereat; and ye cause me do almost the office of a traitress. Remember how, if it were not to obey you, I would rather be dead ere I did it: my heart bleeds at it."

Darnley did not distrust his wife, and readily consented to go with her to Edinburgh. Instead of giving him apartments in the royal palace of Holyrood, she lodged him in a lonely house in a suburb of the town, called Kirk-a-field—a dull, solitary place, occupied chiefly by gardens and a few scattered houses. The reason she gave for this was, that he would be more likely rapidly to recover his health there, than in the crowd and noise of the palace. In this place the queen visited him every day, treated him in an affectionate manner, and sometimes slept in a room just beneath his.

Mary had promoted a marriage between one of her favourite female attendants and a foreigner of her household, named Sebastian Auvernac, and this marriage took place at the palace of Holyrood, on the 9th of February, 1567. In the evening there was to be a supper and entertainment, at which the queen had promised to attend; and, after spending some time with her husband, she left him at eleven o'clock, that she might be present at the scene of mirth. The dancing in the palace of Holyrood was over: the music had ceased; the festivity was concluded; and the lights extinguished. Silence and darkness reigned over Edinburgh, and the citizens slept. But the Earl of Bothwell and a few ruffian-servants were abroad, busy in a deed of horror; and Mary Stuart lay upon her bed, with beating heart and listening ear. Suddenly, about three o'clock in the morning, the inhabitants of the city were roused in terror from their sleep by a sound like the roar of a hundred cannons. The noise was in the direction of the Kirk-a-field; and to that spot the half-dressed citizens rushed in crowds. There they beheld the house in which Darnley had slept blown to pieces, and his body and that of his valet lying dead in the garden.

The Earl of Bothwell, who pretended to be greatly astonished, said that the house had been struck by lightning; but every one saw that it had been blown

up with gunpowder. Suspicion fell upon Bothwell as the perpetrator of the crime; and although no one dared publicly to accuse him, voices were soon heard in the streets, in the dead of night, proclaiming him, and even Mary herself, to be the murderers of the king. This horrible affair was surrounded by a mystery which will, perhaps, never be perfectly cleared up. It appears, from the confession of some persons who were executed for being concerned in the murder, that, before Mary left for the festivity at the palace, Bothwell's servants carried a quantity of gunpowder to the lone house in Kirk-a-field. There they were admitted by Paris, a servant of the queen, who was in the secret. The powder was then carried in bags into her chamber, which was just beneath that in which Darnley slept. It is said, Mary had, a few days before, directed this fellow Paris to bring away the coverlet of her bed, which was a very costly one, from the house in Kirk-a-field to the palace at Holyrood. If she actually remembered an article of furniture, and coolly gave directions for its preservation at the very time she was contemplating the murder of her husband, she must have been a horrible and most hardened criminal—an evil angel, beautiful to look at, but beneath whose smiles lurked treachery and death! It is hard, indeed, to believe it.

When all the powder had been placed in her room, Mary and Bothwell departed for the palace, and Darnley retired to rest. About midnight, Bothwell left the wedding banquet—went home, changed his dress, and then, with three of his servants, proceeded, by unfrequented lanes, to the lone house where Darnley lodged. Having climbed over the garden wall, they gave a signal to two other ruffians who were in the house, to light the slow-match which was at the end of the train leading to the gunpowder. According to one statement, the victim was aroused by the noise they made, and fearing some plot against him, rushed down stairs in his shirt, where he was seized, and after a violent struggle, strangled: his page, it is added, shared his fate. As the train was then on fire, and any delay might cause them to be blown to pieces, the murderers threw the bodies into the field, and made their escape. A few minutes afterwards a vivid light was seen through the windows of the house, a fearful explosion shook the ground, a vast column of smoke arose into the air, and the building was a heap of shattered ruins. Bothwell and his accomplices hurried home, and the earl went directly to bed. Shortly afterwards, when the alarm was given, he rose apparently in great surprise, as if just awakened from sleep, and hurrying to the scene of horror, caused the bodies to be removed to a neighbouring house, where none could see them. But a great crowd had already collected in that field of death: people observed that neither of the bodies were injured by fire or by lightning; and dark suspicions of treachery and murder had already arisen in their minds.

The murdered Darnley was buried privately in the chapel of Holyrood Palace, and very little trouble was taken to discover his assassins: indeed, that would have been needless; for the queen knew them well enough already. The shocking crime was committed on the morning of the 10th of February, 1567; and in the following March, Darnley's father, the Earl of Lennox, who was living at a distance from the court, wrote to the queen, naming Bothwell and others as the suspected murderers of his son, and demanding immediate justice upon them. Mary took the earl at his word; allowed him only fifteen days to arrange his charge; and summoned him to appear in court and prove the accusation he had made against Bothwell. That wicked noble was all this time not only permitted to remain at liberty, but he even frequently visited Mary, and still enjoyed her favour. The populace, however, were so convinced of his guilt, and so infuriated against him, that he never rode out without a body of armed attendants. Even Queen Elizabeth wrote a letter to Mary, urging her to purify her honour by a rigid inquiry into this dark affair. From this letter it would seem that the English queen knew nothing of the murder before it was committed: her majesty said, "How much soever my nature compels me to condole his death, still, to tell you boldly what I think, I cannot conceal that I am more grieved for you than him. Oh! madam, I should not do the duty of a faithful cousin or an affectionate friend if I studied more to please your ears than to preserve your honour; nor will I conceal from you what most people say—that you will look through your fingers at the revenge of this deed, and that you have no care to touch those who have done you so great a pleasure, as if the thing had not been committed without the murderers having known their assurance."

When the day came for the Earl of Bothwell's trial (the 12th of April), he appeared in court; but Lennox, fearing that he was not safe where the murderer of his son was treated with so much lenity, declined to come. Therefore, as there was no accuser and no witnesses, Bothwell was acquitted of the crime, though every one believed him to be guilty. Mary had previously refused an application from Lennox to have the trial postponed until he was better prepared to sustain his charge, and until he could come to Edinburgh in safety.

The guilty queen was now determined to marry the man whom she had before secretly loved, and for whom she had connived at, if she had not consented to, the murder of her former husband. This soon got rumoured abroad, and the people said such a connexion

would be infamous: therefore, as an open straightforward marriage was not to be thought of, it was determined to bring it about by an artifice. One evening, Bothwell invited the principal prelates and nobility to a great supper at a tavern. When the meal was over and they were sitting at their wine, he caused the house to be surrounded by troops; and then, producing a document from his pocket, which recommended him as a fitting husband for the queen, he desired them all to sign it, at the same time assuring them that he had Mary's written consent to the union. The ecclesiastics and nobles were much surprised; but they no doubt knew that the recommendation would be agreeable to the queen, and nearly all of them put their names to it.

Soon afterwards, on the 24th of April, Mary went to Stirling to visit her infant son; and Bothwell having collected a body of 800 horsemen, waylaid her on her return, dismissed her attendants, and carried her off to Dunbar Castle. Sir James Melville remonstrated against this violence; when he was told by a follower of the earl, that it was done by the queen's consent. There can be very little doubt that this was the case, though some historians have tried very hard to clear Mary's character on this point by attempting to prove that she was actually carried off against her will. At any rate, she made no resistance.

Bothwell kept Mary for five days in Dunbar Castle; and during that time he is said to have acted towards her in a very criminal manner. Her subjects, however, made no effort to rescue her; for they believed that she remained there willingly. Some of her nobles, indeed, sent her a secret message, that if she was really kept a prisoner by force, they would rescue her. Her answer shows that she had consented to the outrage which had been perpetrated upon her. She told the messenger, with a smile, that it was true she had been brought there unwillingly, but had been treated so kindly since, she could not greatly complain of the previous injury.

The worthless man whom Mary had encouraged to aspire to her hand was already married. Two years before, he had wedded a young and noble lady, sister of the Earl of Huntley, whom he now resolved to divorce, to make way for his alliance with the queen. This divorce was hurriedly concluded in four days, and then Bothwell conducted Mary to Edinburgh, where she declared she was again entirely at liberty. It was then said by the partisans of the earl, that the only way left to clear the queen's honour, was for her to marry him. It remained for the queen to give her public consent, and this she soon did. On the 12th of May, she made her appearance before the High Court at Edinburgh, and there stated that, although she had at first been highly offended at the restraint placed on her person by Bothwell, she had since seen cause to forgive him; and that it was her intention to raise him to still higher honours. Accordingly, she created him Duke of Orkney and Shetland; and placed the coronet upon his head with her own fair hand.

Three days later, and only four months after the murder of her former husband, Darnley, Mary and Bothwell were married in the presence-chamber at Holyrood Palace, according to the Protestant ceremony. Very few of the nobility attended; and even the foreign ambassadors staid away in disgust. Mary sent to the English and French courts to excuse her conduct; but, both at home and abroad, it excited feelings of indignation and wonder. Rumours soon reached Mary that many of her nobles were banded together in a league against her; but she treated this information with contempt; and she and her husband spent their time in feasts and pageants. But though she had got all she wanted, she was far from being happy: she loved Bothwell to distraction, but he frequently quarrelled with her; and the wretched woman knew that the whole nation suspected her of being an accomplice in her former husband's murder. Bothwell even attempted to get her son, the young Prince James, into his power; and it is supposed, that if he had succeeded, the child would have followed his father to a premature grave.

The indignant Scottish nobles were now thoroughly aroused, and held a secret meeting at Stirling, where they formed themselves into an association for protecting the prince and punishing his father's murderers. They were spurred on to this step by the most bigoted of the Protestant preachers, who had never forgotten the hatred they bore to Mary for being a Catholic; and it was resolved among them to dethrone the queen, who had brought such infamy upon herself and on the nation, and to crown the infant prince instead.

An attempt was soon made by Lord Hume, a border chieftain, to seize Mary and Bothwell at Berwick Castle. As they were unprepared, they would have been easily captured; but information of the plot was conveyed to them just as they were going to bed. The earl escaped and fled to Dunbar Castle; and the queen, disguising herself as a man, soon followed him.

Dunbar was a very strong fortress, and considered almost impregnable. The army of the confederate nobles did not increase so rapidly as they expected; and the queen had summoned her subjects to her assistance. Her safest plan would have been to remain within the walls of the castle, and wait until the nobles were compelled to disband their troops from a want of provisions. But the queen was a courageous woman: a little army had assembled beneath her banner, and she and her husband led them towards Edinburgh, where the rebel lords were assembled. It was on a Sunday morning,

the 15th of June, 1567, only a month after Mary's fatal marriage, that the two armies met at Carberry Hill, about six miles from Edinburgh. At first the French ambassador mediated between the queen and the associated lords, but without effect; and both sides made ready for battle. But Mary's own followers were so convinced of the badness of her cause, that they deserted in great numbers, and the rest showed no disposition to fight. Indeed, her little army was so thinned, that to go to battle with it would have been to rush on to destruction. The queen, therefore, only sought to provide for the safety of herself and husband; and desired that the laird of Grange should wait upon her to arrange an accommodation.

Fearing for the life of her husband, the queen offered to leave him, if they would allow him to escape, and then return to their allegiance to her. The lords consented; and Mary, after much hesitation, and with great anguish of mind, embraced her husband and bade him farewell. Bothwell then galloped off with a few attendants, and she never saw his face again. He hurried to Dunbar, and fitting out some small ships, set sail for the Orkneys, and supported himself for some time as a pirate. He was afterwards pursued and his ship taken, together with some of his servants, who confessed that they had been engaged in the murder of Darnley. He himself escaped and got to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison as a pirate. He remained in confinement for a period of ten years, during which time he went mad; and at length died miserably - a fitting end for his life of crime and profligacy.

After the flight of her husband, Mary surrendered to the laird of Grange, who led her towards the associated lords. These men treated her with a cold respect; but the common soldiers could scarcely be kept from coarsely insulting her. The standard of the nobles was a white banner, on which was painted the murdered body of the late king (Darnley), lying under a tree, and the little Prince James kneeling by the side of it; with the following words—"Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord!"—inscribed beneath him. The banner had been carried at the head of the army; but it was now kept continually in Mary's sight. Some of the soldiers even shouted out that she ought to be burnt as an infamous woman, a papist, and a murderess.

The nobles carried the queen to Edinburgh, where she was assailed by the mob with yells and execrations. She passed that night, strongly guarded, in the house of the provost of the town. She had expected very different treatment; and the lords had certainly grossly broken their treaty with her, which was—to return to their obedience if she would quit her husband. The wretched woman was goaded almost to madness by the horror of her situation: though she had tasted nothing for four-and-twenty hours, she refused to touch food; and fiercely upbraided her captors with their treachery. Once in the course of the night she ran to the window and cried aloud for help; but she might as well have cried to the stones of the street. When the morning broke, she fell into a violent fit of passion. Soon afterwards the soldiers reared the horrid-looking banner (on which was pictured the dead body of her husband) before her window. At this fresh insult, her despair of mind was so great that she tore her dress from her body, and rushing to the window almost in a state of nakedness, uttered an appalling scream of terror and agony.

The hearts of the queen's captors were hard enough; but many of them were touched at this pitiable scene; and several of the nobles went in to appease her. So changeable are the people, that great compassion was felt for her; and it was rumoured that an attempt would be made, in the course of the day, to rescue her from captivity. To prevent this, she was removed to the palace of Holyrood, and, when night set in, conveyed a prisoner to the lonely castle of Lochleven. This fortress, built on a small island in the middle of a lake, was considered a place from which escape was impossible; and to add to her misery, it was commanded by the ferocious Lord Lindsay, to whom she had lately declared that she would have his head. This savage noble accordingly revenged himself by treating her with extreme harshness.

Bothwell, in his sudden flight, had left among his papers in Edinburgh Castle, a silver casket, which fell into the hands of the associated nobles. This casket had belonged to Mary's first husband, Francis II., whose crown and initials were engraved upon it, and had been given to Bothwell by the queen, after the murder of her second husband, Darnley. In it were found a number of letters, written by her to her profligate lover; twelve sonnets addressed to him; and two contracts of marriage; all, except one of the latter, in the queen's handwriting. These letters Bothwell had been imprudent enough to preserve: and from them the lords obtained convincing evidence of Mary's being an accomplice in the murder of the miserable Darnley. Some authors say that these letters and sonnets were not written by Mary, but forged by the lords, to blacken her character, and to act as a justification of their severe conduct towards her. But there was no necessity for them to resort to forgery for that purpose. Mary's character was defamed enough; and the whole nation believed her guilty. The letters, also, had every appearance of being genuine, and contained facts which it was not likely any one else could have known. From the moment they had obtained these letters, the lords were so indignant at the guilt of their queen, that they resolved to dethrone her, and crown her infant son instead.

Knox and the fierce preachers even clamoured for her death, saying, that such a deed would be justified by the laws of the land, and by many examples in the Old Testament: they even declared that God would never avert his wrath from the land until he was appeased by the punishment of that murderess, the queen.

Elizabeth, who had prompt information of all these proceedings, professed to be much shocked that her cousin, even if guilty, should be ill-treated and imprisoned by her own subjects; but she did nothing to release her, except sending some expostulations to the lords, whom she was suspected of secretly encouraging. The French court, also, seemed indifferent to the fate of the fallen queen; and, feeling herself thus friendless and deserted, she, on the 24th of July, 1567, signed a deed in which she resigned her royalty to Prince James, who was then only fourteen months old. On the 29th of the same month, the baby-prince was crowned at Stirling as King of Scotland; but, as he was too young to govern, the Earl of Murray was chosen regent, and proclaimed on the 22nd of August.

In the spring of the following year, Mary attempted to escape from Lochleven Castle. She had captivated a young gentleman of rank, named George Douglas, who lived in the fortress; and he thought of a plan to set her free. Her laundress, having been won over to the scheme, came one morning at an earlier hour than usual, and was, without any suspicion, admitted into the queen's bed-room. Mary then hastily dressed herself in the woman's clothes, and, throwing her muffler over her face, took the bundle of linen, passed out without being suspected, and entered the boat which was to convey her to the opposite shore. Away the boatmen went over the clear water, and the royal captive's heart beat hurriedly at the prospect of approaching liberty. Already they were half-way over, when one of the men—a merry, rude fellow—thought he should like to have a look at the washerwoman's face, and see whether it was a pleasing or an ugly one. "Let us see what manner of dame this is," said he, and attempted to pull down her muffler. The queen, in alarm, raised her hands to protect herself; and the men, observing that they were fair and delicately made—unlike the hands of those used to labour—immediately suspected the truth.

Finding that she was discovered, she assumed an air of dignity, and commanded them, on peril of their lives, to land her on the opposite bank. This they at once refused to do; but promised that they would take her back to the castle, and say nothing about the matter—so that she could return to her room, and no one know anything of her attempt to escape. The disappointed queen was compelled to submit: she was taken back, and the boatmen were ungenerous enough to reveal her secret. In consequence of this she was more closely watched in future, and George Douglas turned out of the castle.

Mary's admirer was not discouraged by the failure of this attempt, and he soon hit upon another plan. He persuaded a sharp little page to steal the key of the castle-gate, which the castellan always had laid on the table before him as he sat at supper. The boy, in handing him a plate, dropped his napkin on the key, and picked them up both together. He then hurried to the queen, who had been informed of what was going on, and was ready waiting. She and a young girl (one of her maidens), together with the page, stole cautiously to the gate, and, having passed it, turned the key upon those within. Waving a white veil with a broad red fringe, as a signal to George Douglas and her friends on the opposite bank, Mary and her two companions stepped into the boat. Her many wild adventures had made her dexterous, and she and the lad rowed the boat over in safety. Several friendly nobles and their attendants were at hand to receive her; and, mounting a horse, she hastened to Hamilton Castle. It was on the 2nd of May, 1568, that Mary thus escaped from Lochleven.

The deposed queen had yet many friends among the Scottish nobles; and she summoned the chief of them to her assistance. The summons was instantly obeyed; and these nobles entered into a bond of association for her defence. Among them were nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, nearly 100 lesser barons, and many of the principal gentlemen of Scotland. By their exertions Mary was, in a few days, at the head of an army of 6,000 men. She then offered a pardon to all her rebellious subjects, and sent a summons to the Earl of Murray, who had been made regent, to surrender the government into her hands.

Murray was a brave and politic, as well as an ambitious man, and had no intention of doing anything of the sort. He entered into negotiations to gain a little time, during which he collected an army of 4,000 men. On the 13th of May, 1568, the two armies met at a place called Langside, near Glasgow. The battle lasted but three-quarters of an hour, and ended in the total defeat of the queen's party. Mary watched the progress of the battle from the summit of a neighbouring hill; and when she saw the final rout of her army, she mounted her horse, and, dashing off in terror, never stopped until she reached the abbey of Dundreggon, sixty miles from the scene of the contest. Mary knew that she could not long remain there in safety, and she had to choose between throwing herself upon the mercy of her own subjects, or of flying for refuge either into France or England. Believing that Elizabeth would act generously towards her in her unhappy situation,

she chose the latter course; and, hiring a fishing-boat, she, with a few attendants, crossed over the Frith of Solway to Workington, a small seaport town on the coast of Cumberland, where she landed on the 15th of May. From this place she wrote a touching letter to Elizabeth, in which she threw the blame of her misfortunes on the ingratitude of her subjects, who, she said, had murdered her secretary Rizzio, afterwards murdered her husband, and tried to throw the crime upon her; had imprisoned her, and, by threats of death, compelled her to sign an abdication of her crown. It ended with saying, "I implore you to send to fetch me as soon as you can; for I am in a piteous condition, not only for a queen, but for a gentlewoman. I possess nothing in the world but my person, just as I escaped—going sixty miles across the fields the first day, and having ever since ventured to travel but by night; as I hope to explain unto you, if it please you to have pity, as I hope, of my extreme ill-fortune."

Before this letter reached the English queen, Mary had been waited upon by some English gentlemen, and conducted to Carlisle Castle. Elizabeth soon, however, sent Lord Scrope and Sir Francis Knolles to wait upon her. After expressing the sympathy of their mistress for the misfortunes of the royal fugitive, they said that Elizabeth could not honourably receive her into her presence until she was cleared of all suspicion of Darnley's murder. Mary shed tears of disappointment at this cold and haughty treatment, and then desired that she might be permitted to pass safely through England and go to France, to solicit that aid which Elizabeth had denied her. This did not suit the English queen; and the royal fugitive, though treated with seeming hospitality, soon found herself a prisoner in Carlisle Castle.

CHAPTER LXII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.—A.D. 1568—1581.



ELIZABETH thought it prudent to keep Mary a prisoner; and, as Carlisle is on the borders of Scotland, she caused her to be removed to Bolton Castle, in Yorkshire, where it was thought she would be more secure. The unfortunate fugitive protested passionately against this removal: she was helpless, however, and compelled to submit.

But even the powerful English queen was obliged to give some reasons for detaining a foreign princess in captivity; and she was not long in adducing them. She summoned Murray, the Scottish regent, to London, to justify his conduct towards his queen. By this means she imagined that nobleman would be compelled to produce such evidence of Mary's guilt, as might serve for a sort of justification for still keeping her in confinement. The Earl of Murray agreed to obey this summons, and chose several nobles and others as his associates in the affair. Elizabeth then artfully persuaded Mary to choose commissioners to reply to the charges brought against her. This was, in reality, to submit to a kind of trial, in which her subjects were her accusers, and Elizabeth her judge. The captive princess showed great aversion to such an arrangement; but Elizabeth assured her that she did not desire to enter into the question without her consent or approbation. That she wished only as a friend to hear her justification; and that she was confident no difficulty would be found in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies. She added, that she was determined to support her cause, and that it was not meant that she should be cited to a trial merely on the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but, on the contrary, that they should be summoned to appear and justify themselves for their conduct towards her.

Mary feared that proofs of her guilt might be brought to light; but she knew that to refuse would be to confirm the suspicions against her; and she reluctantly consented. Accordingly, a commission of English and Scotch met at York on the 4th of October, to inquire into the disputes between her and her subjects. The commissioners appointed to represent Elizabeth, were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler. Mary was represented by the Bishop of Ross, Lords Herries, Livingstone, and Boyd, with three other persons. The commissioners from Scotland (that is, the accusers) were Earl Murray, the regent, the Earl of Morton, the Bishop of Orkney, Lord Lindsay, and the Abbot of Dunfermline. Elizabeth gloried in this arrangement; for, however it ended, it would be to her advantage. If Mary's crimes could be proved beyond a doubt, the character of her rival would be utterly ruined; and she might, with a great show of reason, detain her a prisoner in England for ever; but if the evidence were not sufficient for that, and she was compelled to restore her to her throne, it would be with

such restrictions as would make Elizabeth arbiter of all disputes between the contending factions in Scotland; and, in short, create her the real mistress of that country.

Mary's commissioners opened the business by charging Murray and the other lords with treasonable conduct towards their queen. They related the circumstances of the insurrection against her; her dethronement and imprisonment; Murray's usurpation of the regency; and declared her confident hope that Elizabeth would restore her to the quiet possession of her throne and kingdom. In reply to this, the Earl of Murray gave his account of the late troubles. He said that the Earl of Bothwell, the known murderer of Darnley, had, a short time after committing that crime, seized the queen, carried her to Dunbar Castle, and gained such influence over her as to win her consent to marry him. That this union had brought scandal and dishonour on the nation, and that, together with the danger to which the life of the infant prince was exposed from the attempts of Bothwell, had obliged the nobility to take up arms. That after the queen, in order to save her infamous husband, had surrendered herself, she still discovered such a violent attachment to him, that they found it necessary, for the public safety, to confine her until he and the other murderers of her husband could be tried and punished for their crime. That during this confinement, she had, of her own accord, resigned her crown to her infant son, and appointed the Earl of Murray regent until the prince came of age.

To this Mary's commissioners answered, for their queen, that she neither knew nor suspected Bothwell to have been the murderer of her husband. That he had not only been acquitted of that crime by a jury, but had even been recommended by all the nobility for her husband. That she desired, if he were really guilty, he should be brought to punishment; and that the resignation of the crown had been extorted from her by threats and violence.

The Scottish regent had not yet produced any direct proofs of the guilt of Mary, and he hesitated to do so on account of the danger to himself, in case Elizabeth should restore the deposed queen to her throne, which he suspected she intended to do. He therefore proposed some questions to the English commissioners, the most important of which were the following:—Whether the Queen of Scots, if found guilty, should be delivered into the hands of the regent, or be so kept in England that she should never be able to disturb the tranquillity of Scotland?—and whether Elizabeth would also, in that case, promise to acknowledge the young king, and protect the regent in his authority? When these questions were submitted to the English queen, Elizabeth threw off the mask she had worn, and openly declared that Mary should never be restored to the Scottish crown, if the regent could make good his accusations. She also sent an order that the commission should be removed from York to Westminster, that the inquiries might be continued under her own immediate direction.

Thus encouraged, the regent proceeded boldly in his accusations against Mary, and produced the fatal silver casket, containing the letters and love-sonnets she had written to Bothwell. These letters, if genuine, as there can be little doubt they were, were conclusive proofs that Mary was an accomplice in the murder of her husband, Darnley. They showed that she detested him, and that she had visited him at Glasgow when he was lying ill of the small-pox, in order to lure him to Edinburgh, that the murder might be more easily effected. One of them suggested that poison might be given to Darnley in his medicine, or perhaps mixed with the water of his bath; in another, the writer said, that all this deception made her very unhappy; but that, to obey her dear love, she spared neither honour, conscience, hazard, nor greatness.

The conduct of Mary's commissioners, on the production of these evidences against her, is a still further proof of her guilt. They refused to give any answer, on the ground that she was a sovereign princess, not subject to any tribunal, and would only condescend to justify herself in a private interview before Elizabeth. Had she been innocent, there is very little doubt she would have waived her dignity, and at once insisted that the shocking charges against her should be sifted to the very bottom, that the purity of her conduct might be brought to light, and made manifest to the world. Mary's equivocal behaviour convinced Elizabeth of her guilt; and that princess said, that as she had from the first thought it improper that Mary, after such horrid crimes were imputed to her, should be admitted to her presence until she had cleared herself from the charge; so now, when her guilt was confirmed by so many evidences, and all answers refused, she considered herself bound to persevere more steadily in that resolution. Then, sending for the Scottish commissioners, she told them that she should have considered it more decent for their mistress to continue the conference, than to demand the liberty of justifying herself only to her, and that she might send her reply to her by some trustworthy person.

To get out of the difficulty in which she was placed, Mary still refused to justify herself unless she were admitted to the presence of Elizabeth, which, by this time, she knew very well she never would be. She even tried to divert the accusations against herself by declaring that the Earl of Murray and his associates

were the murderers of Darnley; but this was only regarded as an angry recrimination. As the conferences were now quite at an end, Murray, on the 10th of January, 1569, departed into Scotland; and Elizabeth gave orders for removing Mary from Bolton to Tutbury Castle—a strong fortress on the banks of the river Dove, in Staffordshire, where she arrived in the following month.

The Duke of Norfolk was, at the time at which we have arrived, one of the most powerful peers in England, and, either from motives of love or ambition, he thought of marrying the captive queen. Several nobles, both English and Scotch, entered into his views, and said that it would be an excellent match. He even wrote to Mary herself upon the subject; who replied, that she had been so unhappy in her former marriages, that she preferred a single life; yet that she would sacrifice her inclinations to the public welfare, and, as soon as she could get divorced from Bothwell, be guided by her nobility and people in the choice of another husband.

Norfolk dared not marry the Queen of Scots without the consent of Elizabeth, and he knew that consent would be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain. Accordingly he attempted first to win the approbation of the principal English nobility, and he thought that Elizabeth could not refuse the desire of such a powerful party. News of these proceedings soon came to the ears of the English queen, who took an opportunity of warning the duke to be very careful on what pillow he laid his head. He declared that he had no intention of marrying the Queen of Scots; but he soon afterwards retired very suddenly to his country house of Kenninghall. At the same time, some other nobles withdrew from court, and Elizabeth feared that a conspiracy was being formed to set the Scottish queen at liberty. Just at this time, all the particulars of Norfolk's correspondence with Mary were treacherously put into Elizabeth's hands, and she instantly summoned that noble to return to court. The duke obeyed; but before he reached London he was arrested and sent to the Tower, where he remained tilll the 4th of August, 1570.

Soon after the arrest of Norfolk, Queen Elizabeth was startled with the news of a Catholic insurrection in the north of England, headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. She suspected every Catholic of being a disloyal subject, and had treated them with so much severity, that they were at last actually driven into rebellion. The object of the conspirators seems to have been a very serious one—nothing less than setting Mary at liberty, placing her upon the English throne, and restoring the Catholic religion in this country. On the 16th of November, 1569, they unfurled the banner of rebellion, and called upon all good Catholics to join them. Their numbers amounted only to 4,000 foot, and 1,600 horsemen; but they expected to be joined by all the Catholics in the country.

Marching to Durham, they solemnised mass in the cathedral, and then committed the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer to the flames. The former they thought was a book only fit to be read by the priests, and the latter they considered to be full of shameful heresies. The people of England were too well satisfied with the general government of Elizabeth to look favourably on any attempt to overturn it; and even numbers of Catholic gentlemen instantly declared for her, and followed her banner. A royal army, under the command of the Earl of Sussex, marched against the rebels, who retreated to Raby Castle, and took refuge there. They then besieged and took Barnard Castle and the seaport town of Hartlepool, where they took up their quarters, in the hope of receiving assistance from the Spaniards.

This assistance, however, they did not obtain; and, after about a month's delay, the Earl of Sussex was joined by the Earl of Warwick and Lord Clinton, at the head of 12,000 men. Awed by the superior force, the rebel army broke up and took to their homes without striking a blow. Westmoreland and Northumberland, the leaders of the revolt, fled for safety into Scotland. As usual, numbers of the poor people were arrested and put to death on account of this insurrection; and Elizabeth acted with a fearful severity: sixty-six were hanged in Durham alone, and great numbers were executed in other places. After this, the queen published a proclamation, which she caused to be read in all the parish churches. In it she spoke of the late unnatural commotion which, by God's goodness, and the faithfulness of her true subjects, had been so shortly and easily suppressed and quieted. She said she had never intended to adopt a general severity in respect of opinions in religion; recalled to the memory of her people the ten quiet and happy years she had reigned over them; and directed their attention to the prosperity they had enjoyed under her rule.

Notwithstanding these declarations of the queen, the rebellion was soon followed by another, headed by a bold and desperate man named Leonard Dacres, head of the House of Gillsland; who, on the 20th of February, 1570, appeared with a large party of followers, and defied the queen's authority. He had previously pretended to act against the insurrectionists. A sharp struggle ensued, in which Dacres was defeated, and saved his life by flying into Flanders; but his wretched followers suffered bitterly. It is said that no less than 800 poor misguided people perished by the hands of the executioner.

As might be expected, the Pope of Rome (Pius V.)

viewed all Elizabeth's actions with suspicion, and even hatred. Finding it impossible to bring her back to the Catholic church, he signed a bull of excommunication against her, on the 25th of February, 1570, which declared her deprived of all title to the crown, and freed her subjects of their oaths of allegiance. It was not an easy thing to get this arrogant parchment made public in England; but at length the pope's agents found a crazy gentleman, named John Felton, who, on the 25th of April, fixed the bull on the gates of the house of the Bishop of London. The citizens were much astonished, and Elizabeth and her council seemed alarmed; but the power of the pope had perished in England: his bulls were no better than waste parchment, and his curses injured none but himself. John Felton was soon arrested; he readily confessed that he had placed the bull on the gates of the palace; but, though he was stretched upon that horrible instrument the rack, he would not reveal who had persuaded him to do so. Being placed on his trial for treason, he was found guilty, and suffered the shocking punishment of hanging and quartering. When at the place of execution, to show that he bore no malice to the queen herself, he took a magnificent diamond ring from his finger, said to have been worth £400, and sent it to her as his dying gift.

The following year (1571) the parliament again assembled on the 2nd of April; five years having passed since its last meeting. The members were nearly all of them good Protestants, and many so exceedingly loyal, as to seem, in these times, servilely submissive. After granting the queen the supply of money she required, they passed an act to still further strengthen her position, and to repress the movements of her enemies. It was declared to be treason to say, during the lifetime of the queen, that she was not the lawful sovereign; or to claim a right to the succession of the crown; or to publish that she was a heretic, a schismatic, a tyrant, an infidel, or usurper; or to deny that the descent of the crown could be regulated by a statute of parliament. Indeed, if any persons presumed to mention the successor of the queen, they were to be severely punished. The parliament also passed another act, which declared it to be high treason to obtain any bull from the pope of Rome; and enacted heavy punishments against all persons who brought into England any crosses, beads, or pictures blessed by the pope, or others appointed by him. All persons, also, except very young children, were compelled to attend the Protestant church regularly, and to receive the sacrament according to the rites of that church.

Just before this time, a new party had arisen in religion, called PURITANS—men who afterwards became so powerful as to overturn the government, and bring the king to the scaffold. They were enthusiasts in religion, and thought that the Reformation had not been carried far enough. Many of what they called the abominations of papistry were yet used in the church; and they desired to make the worship of God more rigid and simple. Pictures, statues, and crucifixes were their horror; and surplices, corner caps, and tippets, they named badges of idolatry, and the livery of the Roman beast. They even wanted to abolish the use of the sign of the cross, the wedding-ring, the observance of festivals, the chant of the psalms, the custom of bowing at the name of Jesus, and the use of musical instruments in churches, as remnants of popery. They were particularly attached to the Old Testament, which they read frequently, and quoted on all occasions, both in place and out of place. They gave their children Bible names, such as Joshua, Samuel, David, Elijah, Jeremiah, &c.; they dressed in sober colours (black or grey), wore their hair cut very short, and put on a studied seriousness of manner. Sometimes they fell into religious ecstasies or fits of rapture, and fancied they saw visions, or even thought themselves inspired. Their opinions on religion they took chiefly from the doctrines of a famous French reformer, named Calvin, who taught that the government of the church was independent of the power of the sovereign of the country; that the Saviour was really, though spiritually, present in the sacrament; and that the Deity had, from all eternity, predestinated or elected some of his creatures to everlasting happiness in heaven, and condemned others to never-ending torments in the dark pit of future punishment. This last doctrine is very shocking and gloomy, and unworthy of the Almighty Creator, who, we are told in Scripture, is a merciful God—a God of love, who desires to reclaim his erring creatures, and not to punish them.

The notions of the Puritans about government were as extravagant as their ideas on religion. They secretly loved a republican government—a government without a king, but having some wise and able person, elected from the people, to manage their affairs. They looked upon Christ as their heavenly and earthly king, and they wanted no other. Though they did not conceal their religious opinions, they were afraid to make known their political principles, which would have exposed them to danger from Elizabeth, who soon began to dislike them as much as she disliked the Catholics: in private, amongst themselves, however, they were boldly avowed. Though the Puritans were occasionally treated with ridicule, on account of their strange costume and demure conduct, yet their ideas spread widely among the people. Odd as were their manners and doctrines, they evinced an honest sincerity, and a stern daring spirit, which ensured respect; and however we

may blame many of their acts, both in the age of which we are writing, and in a subsequent one, there is no doubt that to them we are indebted for exertions which assisted in making England the freest state in Europe, and one of the greatest nations in the world.

There were many Puritans in this parliament of Elizabeth's; and one of them, named Strickland, in the session of 1571, brought forward seven bills for a further reformation in religion. The queen wanted no further reformation; for she loved the show and ceremonies, the pictures, dresses, and pomp of the Catholic church. In a fit of anger she commanded Strickland to keep away from the House of Commons, and to await her orders. The Puritan party were angry in their turn: they felt that they had some influence in the country; and they said this order was a violation of the privileges of parliament, and that to submit to it would form a dangerous example. One member observed, that men did not sit in that house as private people, but as elected by their country; and though it was proper that the queen should keep her prerogative, yet that prerogative was limited by law—as she could not of herself make laws, neither could she break them merely from her own authority. The courtiers were astonished at this boldness, and a hot debate took place; but the cautious Elizabeth hesitated before she entered into a contest with her parliament: she saw the precipice upon which she stood, and drew back in time. The next morning Strickland received permission to return to his place in the house, and was received ther with loud cheers. At first the parliament seemed de termined to pass the bills which Strickland had brough forward for extending the Reformation; but, on th further interference of the queen, they were abandoned

When the parliament was dissolved, Elizabeth di not forget to show her dislike of these efforts in favou of liberty and free discussion. She commanded Si Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal, to inform th members of the House of Commons, that, though mos of them had shown themselves discreet and dutiful, ye a few justly merited the reproach of being audaciou arrogant, and presumptuous, contrary to their dut and her commands. He added, that her majesty warne them not to meddle with what nowise belonged t them, and what lay beyond the compass of their under standings. After this the Puritans were treated wit great severity: their ministers were hunted down, thei books seized and suppressed, and for every slight offenc they were called before the Star-Chamber (a detestabl tyrannical court), heavily fined, and insulted.

The Duke of Norfolk, subsequent to his release fron the Tower, had entered into another plot to set Mary Queen of Scots, at liberty. To effect this, he allie himself with a Catholic conspiracy, and with th Spanish Duke of Alva. It was intended that the discontented Catholics should rise in insurrection, headed by Norfolk; and that Alva should then invade England with an army of 10,000 men, join the rebels, march directly to London, and compel the queen to submit to any terms they pleased to dictate. This plot was revealed through the treachery of one of Norfolk's servants, and the duke was seized and again committed to the Tower on the 7th of September, 1571. Being placed on his trial before a jury of twenty-five peers, on the 16th of January, 1572, he was condemned as a traitor, and, on the 2nd of June, beheaded for his crime. Elizabeth hesitated a great deal before she would send the duke to the scaffold: she countermanded two warrants she had signed for his execution, but permitted a third one to take its course.

The Queen of Scots was looked upon as the cause of the death of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the disturbances which led to it; and the Protestant part of the nation was greatly incensed against her. The House of Commons, in 1572, even applied to Elizabeth to bring her to trial, and send her to the scaffold. They said she deserved to die, because she was guilty of adultery, murder, conspiracy, treason, and idolatry; and they brought many texts and arguments from Scripture to prove that she ought no longer to be suffered to live. Elizabeth was not yet prepared to go to such a length against her wicked cousin; and she commanded the Commons to proceed no further, at present, with the affairs of the Scottish queen. Scotland had not been very tranquil since the deposition of Mary. The regent Murray, after twelve months of worry and excitement, subsequent to his return from England, was assassinated at Linlithgow on the 23rd of January, 1570, by one Hamilton, from a revengeful impulse, arising out of a private quarrel. The Earl of Lennox, the father of the murdered Darnley, succeeded Murray as regent; and, after a continued struggle with the friends of Mary, who were still numerous in Scotland, he was murdered in September, 1571. The quarrel continued between the two parties; but, on the 30th of July, 1572, a truce was agreed to between them, and advances were made on both sides, which promised a mutual agreement, when a fearful event occurred in France that startled all Europe, and produced a feeling against the Catholics, both in England and Scotland, more violent and bitter than ever.

On the 24th of August, 1572 (the festival of St. Bartholomew), an attempt was made to murder the whole of the Huguenot or Protestant party in France. This horrible crime was committed by the orders of the young king, Charles IX., instigated by his mother, the infamous Catharine de Medici. The Huguenots we obtaining more influence over Charles than was agree

able to Catharine; and, says Ranke, in his *History of the Popes*, "with that resistless and matchless power she possessed over her children, she re-awakened all the slumbering fanaticism of her son."—In that month of August, the Huguenots flocked in great numbers to Paris, to celebrate the marriage of Henry of Navarre, then their chief, with Margaret of Valois, the king's youngest sister, which took place on the 18th. On the 22nd of August, an attempt was made to assassinate the Admiral Coligny, one of their leaders; on the 23rd, Charles was told that the Huguenots had concerted a treasonable conspiracy against him and his family, in revenge for the attack on Coligny; and their destruction was suggested. He gave his consent, and exclaimed, that he "hoped not a single Huguenot would be left alive to reproach him" hereafter. The orders were issued; bands of assassins were congregated in the streets of Paris; and when the clocks struck two, on the morning of the 24th, the signal for the commencement of the slaughter was given by the tolling of the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois.—The Duke de Guise led the murderous affray by heading a band, who burst into the house where Coligny slept, and killed him and his attendants. In a short time the streets of Paris were filled with assassins, who broke into the houses, dragged men, women, and children from their places of concealment, and butchered them upon the spot. Many fled shrieking into the streets, and were stabbed or shot by the crowds of ruffians whom they met in every direction. From all quarters of the city the dreadful cries resounded of "Death to the Huguenots! —kill every one of them!—kill!—kill!"

This dreadful massacre continued till nightfall, when a proclamation was made that it was the king's pleasure the slaughter should cease. But the evil passions of the murderers were too excited to be suddenly appeased; and the work of death continued all that night, and, at intervals, through the two following days. More than 10,000 people were murdered in Paris alone during those days of horror; and throughout France no less than 30,000 were slaughtered in cold blood. This fiendish crime, perpetrated by the followers of the Romish church, and sanctioned by its priests, will ever be remembered, with feelings of horror, under the name of the "Massacre of St. Bartholomew." Some authorities estimate the murdered at a much higher number than we have stated; but Dr. Lingard, the Roman Catholic historian, calculates that there were only 1,600 put to death.

When this news reached England, the people were transported with rage and sorrow, and wished for an instant war with France to avenge the fate of their brother-religionists; but neither the queen nor her ministers encouraged the popular feeling. La Mothe Fenelon, the French ambassador, was desirous of an interview with her majesty, to explain the horrible event. The queen at first refused to receive him; but at length she admitted him to a public audience at Woodstock, when he had to pass through two lines of courtiers in deep mourning before he reached the queen, who was also attired in black. Fenelon accounted for the revolting massacre by alleging, that Coligny and his party had intended to seize the Louvre and the royal family, and to put to death the Duke de Guise, and other leaders of the Catholics. Charles had given orders to the Duke de Guise and his friends to prevent the execution of this plot by putting to death the admiral and those who were to act with him; and his majesty sincerely regretted the lengths to which the ungovernable passions of the populace caused them to go. Elizabeth accepted this favourable view of the case; and said she rather pitied than blamed Charles, who, she hoped, would convince the world that the horrible catastrophe was not brought about by any premeditation of his own.—Whilst the English queen thus calmly viewed the event that so excited her subjects, the pope, Gregory XIII., who had just succeeded Pius V., celebrated it by a solemn procession; and in Venice it was made the cause of a public rejoicing.

After the first feeling of indignation, the English people dreaded that some desperate attempt would be made to restore popery in England; and a new cry was raised for the death of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was looked upon as a centre round which Catholic conspiracies gathered. Elizabeth probably wished Mary dead; but at that time she evinced no desire to become her destroyer. Some of her ministers (it appears with the queen's knowledge) opened a secret treaty with the Scottish regent, and offered to deliver Mary up to him. The death of the Earl of Mar, the regent, on the 8th of October, put an end to this negotiation.—On the 9th of November, the Earl of Morton, one of Elizabeth's partisans, was elected, through her influence, to succeed Mar as the Scottish regent.

In 1579, Elizabeth, then in her forty-seventh year, seemed suddenly to have changed her mind about dying a maiden queen, and to have resolved upon marriage. The favoured suitor was the Duke d'Anjou, a brother of the King of France. He was nearly five-and-twenty years younger than the queen, and they had never seen each other; but the duke, in May, 1579, sent over a nobleman, named Simier, who contrived to win the good graces of Elizabeth, and persuade her that his friend was dying in love with her. The queen sighed and coquetted like a young girl; but she declared that she would never agree to marry a man whom she had not seen. When the Duke d'Anjou heard that, he suddenly, in September, came over to England in

disguise, and paid a visit to the queen at Greenwich. Though he was rather marked by the small-pox, she was pleased with his appearance, and so delighted with the romance of the affair, that, after he had returned home, she assembled the lords of the council on the 2nd of October, and asked their opinion concerning her marriage.

The lords did not know how to act: they thought it was useless for the queen to marry now, when it was not likely that she would have a child to succeed her on the throne; but they feared to oppose her wishes. The mature maiden even shed tears on finding that they did not present a petition begging her to marry at once. Still, it was soon agreed with the French ambassador that the wedding should take place six weeks after the settlement of all the treaties which generally precede the marriage of a sovereign.

The Duke d'Anjou, in June, 1580, visited England in state, and was received by the queen with much affection. In the presence of her whole court, she took a ring from her finger, and placed it upon his. But, one morning, after a serious talk with her council, she received the duke in tears, and told him, in an agitated manner, that she had changed her mind, and could not consent to the marriage. The duke was much annoyed: he returned to his lodgings, and, throwing the ring she had given him upon the ground, cursed the caprice of all women, but especially of Englishwomen. Though Elizabeth had resolved, from motives of ambition and policy, not to conclude the marriage, yet she was strongly attached to the duke; and there is no doubt she felt as much love for him as it was possible for her to feel for anybody. Though she had for so long governed her affections, she found that nature will have its own way; and her heart, for a time, became nearly unmanageable. When the duke returned to his own country, she went with him as far as Canterbury, and shed tears on parting with him. The stately, austere queen felt that, after all, she was but a woman; and, on one point, as weak as the youngest and most simple of her sex.

Perhaps one reason why Elizabeth broke off this match was the great dislike with which all her Protestant subjects regarded it; for the duke was a Catholic. The preachers condemned it from the pulpit, and said they were astonished that she had so soon forgotten the massacre of St. Bartholomew. A Puritan student of Lincoln's Inn, of the name of Stubbs, even wrote a violent book, called *The Gulf in which England will be swallowed by the French Marriage.* The imperious queen instantly ordered the book to be burnt by the common hangman; and both Stubbs and the publisher were condemned to have their right hands cut off, and to be imprisoned during her pleasure. Though Stubbs had written against what he called the degeneracy of the queen from her former virtues, yet he regarded her as the great protectress of the Protestant religion, and prayed for her safety. To such an extent did he carry this feeling, that when his right hand was severed from his body, he took off his hat with his left, and waving it over his head, cried, "God save the Queen!"

Elizabeth had acted with too much severity against the Catholics for her to believe it possible that they could be loyal subjects; and she was kept in constant fear of insurrections, plots against her life, or repetitions, in England, of the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew. This made her (1584) very stern and suspicious; and the unhappy Catholics were driven into treasonous actions, and then punished for them. Catholic gentlemen were surrounded by spies, who reported their words and actions. Forged letters were even written to them, pretending to have come from the Queen of Scots; and if they so far fell into the snare as to reply to them, they were instantly arrested. The Earl of Arundel died in prison of melancholy and grief; while another nobleman, who had been also seized on suspicion, put a pistol to his breast, and destroyed himself. A gentleman of Cheshire, Francis Throckmorton, son of Sir John Throckmorton, was arrested in consequence of some intercepted letter, and after having been racked three times, he confessed that he was concerned, along with the Spanish ambassador, in a plot to promote an insurrection of the Catholics at home, and an invasion from abroad. On the strength of these confessions, the wretched man was condemned to be hanged and quartered as a traitor; and although he solemnly declared that the confession had been wrung from him to save himself again from the torture, the cruel sentence was executed. There is too much reason to believe that his dying protestations of innocence were true.

The Catholics sent a petition to the queen against these severities, and assured her that they were loyal subjects, who utterly detested any ideas of assassination. The stern Elizabeth sent the gentleman who presented it to prison, where he remained until his death. Still she was loved by her people generally; and when, in 1581, the Earl of Leicester and other courtiers started a society, called the Protestant Association, to protect her against all her enemies, all classes of people readily joined it. The members of it took an oath to defend the queen, to avenge her death or any injury committed against her, and to exclude any person from the throne on whose behalf any violence might be offered to her. Shortly after this, the parliament passed a law by which all Jesuits and popish priests were commanded to quit the country within forty days, and that if they remained beyond that time, or afterwards returned, they

should be put to death as traitors. But the monstrous cruelty and unchristian bitterness of this law did not end here; for it also declared that all who were charitable enough to shelter or relieve such priests, were guilty of felony. The Catholic religion had before been abolished in England; but it was now regarded as a crime.

CHAPTER LXIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.—A.D. 1585—1588.



AT length, in the summer of 1585, a real conspiracy to murder Elizabeth was brought to light, which at one time was nearly being successful in its object. At the head of it was an accomplished and enthusiastic young gentleman, of the name of Anthony Babington. He was a zealous Catholic, possessed considerable estates in Derbyshire, and was much interested in the fate of Mary, Queen of Scots, whom he had formerly seen while in the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose household he had been a page.

Babington was persuaded, by an artful Catholic priest —John Ballard, who came to England in the character of an officer, under the name of Fortescue—that to murder Elizabeth and let Mary out of prison, would be an act deserving of glory in this world, and of salvation and eternal happiness in the next. He was not much shocked at this wicked suggestion; and when a man, named Savage, was pointed out to him who was ready to do the deed, he suggested that the plan was not a safe one, and assisted in finding five other persons ready to share with this fellow in the act of regicide. They were all persons of respectable families, and bore the names of Abingdon, Barnwell, Charnock, Filney, and Tichbourne. The conspirators contrived to let Mary, Queen of Scots, know what they intended; and that wretched woman, half maddened by her long and harsh captivity, consented to their plans, and wrote letters to Babington herself.

This plot was soon secretly known to Elizabeth and her council; for some treacherous popish priest, whom the conspirators trusted, betrayed them to the government. On discovering this, they took to flight; but all who were concerned in this wicked plot, to the number of fourteen, were arrested and condemned to death as traitors. There was great joy in London: the church bells rang merrily, and bonfires blazed at night in the streets, while the people thanked God for preserving the life of their queen and the Protestant form of religion. Many, however, pitied the conspirators on account of their youth, enthusiasm, and intelligence; but these guilty men soon found that superior qualities could never be pleaded as an apology for crime. They were all put to death as traitors in Lincoln's Inn Fields—the place in which they had been in the habit of meeting together to talk over their plans. Seven of them were executed on the 20th of September, 1586, and the other seven on the following day.

Babington's conspiracy to murder Elizabeth sealed Mary's fate. She had been moved about from castle to castle, and treated with great severity in each; but she was now hurried off to Fotheringay Castle, in Northamptonshire. It was resolved that she should be the cause of no more popish plots, and that this grim fortress should be the last scene of her life of crime and suffering. The Earl of Leicester is said to have proposed to have her secretly poisoned; and other statesmen suggested, we are told, that her confinement should be made so severe as to kill her by degrees. But, if these proposals were made, the English court refused to sanction anything so vile. It was, however, after the detection of Babington's conspiracy, resolved to place her on her trial, as being an accessory, and for other acts of treason, as they were called; though, in truth, Mary, who was not Elizabeth's subject, could never justly be tried for treason against her.

Early in October, the month after Babington's execution, thirty-six English commissioners, mostly noblemen, arrived with great solemnity at Fotheringay, and informed Mary that they were appointed to be her judges. The Scottish queen replied, that it seemed strange to her that Elizabeth should command her, as a subject, to submit to a trial and examination before subjects; that she was an independent princess, and would yield to nothing that might derogate either from her royal majesty or from the state of a sovereign. She concluded by telling them—"The queen says I am subject to the laws of England, and to be tried and judged by them, because I am under the protection of them. To this I answer, that I came into England to demand her aid and assistance, and have ever since been detained a prisoner; so that I could not enjoy the protection of the laws of England; nor could I ever yet understand what manner of laws they were."

Sir William Cecil, who had been created Lord Burleigh, reasoned with Mary, to induce her to submit to the authority of the commissioners; and threatened that, if she did not, they would proceed against her as absent and obstinate. She paid no attention to him; but Sir Christopher Hatton's arguments induced her to yield. He said, "You are accused, madam, of having conspired the destruction of our lady and queen anointed. If you be innocent, you wrong your reputation in avoiding a trial. We have been present at your protestations of innocence; but her majesty believes you guilty, and is heartily sorry for the appearances which lie against you. Lay aside, therefore, the fruitless claim of privilege from your royal dignity, which can now avail you nothing; trust to the better defence of your innocence; make it appear in open trial; and leave not upon your memory that stain of infamy which must attend your silence."

The trial commenced on the 11th of October, 1586, in the presence-chamber of the castle. At nine o'clock in the morning, Mary entered the hall, dressed in black velvet, with a veil of white lawn thrown over her. She was supported by her physician and another gentleman; for long confinement and ill-treatment had made a cripple of that once graceful and beautiful woman. After having bowed to the assembled lords, she looked around and exclaimed, "Alas! here are many counsellors; yet there is not one for me."

After the usual formalities of a court of justice, Elizabeth's serjeant opened the case against Mary by giving an account of the late conspiracy, and charging her with having known of it, approved it, assented to it, promised her assistance, and showed the way and means for effecting it. He then produced letters which Babington had written to her, and others which, he said, she had written to Babington and his associates. Mary answered, that she had never seen the person called Babington, nor had she ever received any letters from him, or written any to him. She admitted that she knew the Catholics of England were treated with severity; that they had complained to her of their sufferings; and that she had vainly solicited Elizabeth in their favour. She had received letters, without the writers' names, offering her assistance, which she had always rejected; and how was she, in her captivity, to find out who were the writers? She could not prevent people from writing to her; and Babington might have written her a letter, but she had never received it. In conclusion, she said—"If ever I have designed or consented to any practices against the life of my sister, the queen, I pray God that I may never obtain his mercy. I confess that I have often written to various persons as a captive and ill-treated princess, requesting their assistance to deliver me from these miserable prisons, in which I have been shut up nineteen years and some months; but I have never thought or written anything against the queen."

The chief evidence against Mary was contained in the confessions of Babington, and on admissions which had been extorted from Nane and Curl, her two secretaries. Mary replied, that she could not tell whether the confessions of Babington were really made by him or not; and she said that, if her adversaries had wished to discover the truth, they would have kept him as a witness instead of putting him to death. As to her secretaries, one, she said, was an honest though very simple man, but she suspected the integrity of the other; and she demanded that they should be confronted with her. According to the unjust custom then used in cases of high treason, this just demand was refused. After saying that perhaps her secretaries might have acted treacherously, or without her orders, she exclaimed—"Am I, a queen, to be convicted on such evidence as this? Is it not apparent that the majesty and safety of princes fall to the ground if they are to depend upon the writings and testimonies of their secretaries? I have delivered nothing to them but what nature dictated to me under the desire of recovering my liberty; and I claim the privilege of being convicted by nothing but my own word and writing. If they have written anything which may be hurtful to the queen, my sister, they have written it altogether without my knowledge, and let them bear the punishment of their offence." Finally, she declared that, "being a queen, she ought to be believed on the word of a queen."—After the trial had lasted two days, the court broke up without pronouncing sentence; and adjourned to the 25th of October, then to meet at Westminster. This was done at the command of Elizabeth, who wished first to hear an account of its proceedings.

There can be very little doubt that Mary had a guilty knowledge of the intentions of Babington, and that she had corresponded with him: still this trial was a great injustice; for Elizabeth had no right or power over her, except what she derived from violence. If Mary had been guilty of no other crime than consenting to the assassination of the woman who had deprived her of liberty, and made her life, for nearly twenty years, one long scene of torture, we should hardly be justified in condemning her severely; for though wrong, her conduct would be at least natural. But the judges of the wretched queen were determined to shed her blood: they did not consider whether such an act was right or wrong: they deemed it necessary for the safety of Elizabeth and the Protestant religion, and acted accordingly. After they had left Fotheringay Castle, they met at the Star-Chamber in London,

and there passed sentence of death upon the Scottish queen. At the same time, they published a declaration, "that the sentence did nowise derogate from the title and honour of James, King of Scotland; but that he was in the same place, degree, and right as if the sentence had never been pronounced."

Elizabeth knew that to send Mary to the scaffold would very likely be to bring on herself the hatred and disgust of foreign princes, and she professed to be very much grieved in consequence of the sentence that had been passed.—The parliament had been summoned for the 29th of October. It met on that day: the session was opened by commission; and the first business brought forward was the case of Mary, whose execution the queen was begged to hasten, as an acceptable sacrifice to God. Elizabeth assented to the justice of the act; but declared that she could not overcome the impulses of what she was pleased to call her merciful nature. A few days after, she sent a message to the two houses, requesting them to consider if some other means could not be adopted. The Lords and Commons answered that nothing else could be done to ensure the safety of her life and the religion and peace of the country. Elizabeth then ordered sentence of death against her unhappy cousin to be proclaimed in London. At this the people were so delighted that they illuminated the city, rang the bells, lighted bonfires in the streets, and finished their unchristian triumph over a miserable woman by psalms and thanksgivings.

Mary received the news of her doom, not only with resignation, but with heroism. The King of France sent an ambassador to expostulate with Elizabeth on the subject, but without effect. Mary's son, James, who had been crowned King of Scotland in 1578, and was now in his twentieth year, also interfered; but in so cold a manner that it rather encouraged Elizabeth in her intention of putting his mother to death, than in persuading her from it.

On the 1st of February, 1587, Elizabeth, tired of the entreaties of her ministers and her Protestant subjects, placed her signature to the warrant for Mary's death, and then gave it to her secretary, Davison, to take to the Lord Chancellor to be sealed. Before Davison left her presence, we are told that she desired him to write to Sir Amias Pawlet, the gaoler of Mary, and give him a hint to despatch the Queen of Scots privately, so as to avoid the odium of a public execution. Davison hesitated, but did as the queen bid him; but Sir Amias, though a bitter, cruel man, absolutely refused to commit what would have been a murder, not an execution. This charge against Elizabeth rests on two letters, brought to light under suspicious circumstances, more than 100 years after they were written; and there are grave doubts as to its truth.

The fatal warrant having been sealed, the council sent it to Fotheringay, and directed the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Kent, and Sir Amias Pawlet, to put it into immediate execution; although, according to the declarations of the queen, it was not to have been acted upon until further directions were given. But Davison, in an *Apology* for his conduct, says, his orders were to act promptly. However this was, no time was lost after the document was placed in Davison's hands. The Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent arrived at Fotheringay Castle on the 7th of February. They were taken to Mary's chamber; and after causing the warrant to be read, desired her to be prepared to die at eight o'clock the next morning. The sudden news did not in the least terrify her; she listened in calm dignity; and then signing herself with the cross, declared that the information was welcome to her, and that she should leave the scene of all her sorrows without regret. She then desired that her confessor might be allowed to attend her: but this request was denied; and the Earl of Kent, who was a rigid Puritan, and hated Mary because she was a Catholic, brutally told her that her death would be the life of their religion; as, on the contrary, her life would have been the death of it.

After the two nobles had retired, she ordered her attendants to hasten supper, that she might have more time to arrange her affairs in this world, and prepare for the next. She said it was necessary to take some refreshment, lest the failure of her strength should depress her spirits the next morning, and she should be led to betray any unworthy weakness. She partook of a scanty meal, conversing during the time with her attendants almost with cheerfulness. Turning to her physician, she exclaimed—"Is not the force of truth great? They pretend that I must die because I conspired against the queen's life; but the Earl of Kent avowed, that there was no other cause for my death than the fears which, if I should live, they entertain for their religion. My constancy in the faith is my real crime; the rest is only a colour invented by interested and designing men." After supper, she called for some wine, and drinking to all her attendants, desired them to do the same to her. Her afflicted servants fell upon their knees, and drank to her in this posture, shedding many tears, and imploring her pardon for any past neglect in their duties. She comforted them, and, in return, asked their pardon for her offences towards them.

After this affecting scene, she distributed her dresses and trinkets among her servants; and having written some letters, remained for some hours in prayer. At two o'clock she laid upon her bed, while one of her maids read to her from the *Lives of the Saints*. At six she remarked that she had but two hours to live, and rising, she completed her toilet, and went into the

oratory with her servants to pray. A little before eight her physician persuaded her to take some bread and wine; and she had scarcely done so, when a tap at the door announced the arrival of the sheriff and his attendants.

Taking a little ivory crucifix from the altar, she left the room, conducted by the sheriff and two other gentlemen; for, by a refined cruelty, her servants were not permitted to follow her. At the foot of the staircase she was received by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent. Her old steward, Sir Robert Melville, was there also waiting to see her. Falling upon his knees, the old man burst into tears, and said with a voice almost choked with emotion—"Madam, it will be the most sorrowful message that ever I carried, when I shall report in Scotland that my queen and dear mistress is dead." Mary bore the fearful ordeal through which she was passing with heroic firmness; but the tears stood in her eyes as she replied—"You ought to rejoice rather than weep; for the end of Mary Stuart's troubles is now come. Thou knowest, Melville, that all this world is but vanity, and subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can wash away. Tell my friends that I die true to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. God forgive them that have thirsted for my blood as the hart longeth for the water-brooks! O God! thou who art the Author of all truth, and truth itself, thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart!—thou knowest that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire union between Scotland and England, and to obviate the source of all these fatal discords. Commend me, Melville, to my son, and tell him that I have done nothing that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland."

Having parted from Melville, she begged that her servants might attend her to the scaffold. To this the stern Earl of Kent objected, saying they would only trouble her, or perhaps seek to dip their handkerchiefs in her blood, to keep as relics, which could not be allowed. Mary promised they should do nothing of the sort; and, after some consultation, her request was granted. Four men-servants and two of her maids attended her; and the procession of death then moved slowly forward to the great hall of the castle, in which the scaffold had been erected.

Mary mounted the steps without any change of countenance, and seated herself on a low stool covered with black velvet. The Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury stood on either side of her, and before her was the executioner and his assistant, both dressed in black. After the warrant had been read, Dr. Fletcher, a Protestant clergyman, rose and began an address, in which, under pretence of religious consolation, he cruelly insulted the unhappy Mary. He had the assurance to say that the Queen of England had shown a tender care of her, and the bigotry to assert that, unless she changed her religion, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness—into a place where there shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth. The queen interrupted him once or twice, and at length said earnestly, "Trouble not yourself any more about this matter. I was born in this religion; I have lived in this religion; and I will die in this religion."

Turning from the dean, the queen prayed first in Latin, and then in English. Her devotions being ended, the executioners knelt, and desired her to forgive them; on which she replied, "I forgive you with all my heart; for now I hope you shall make an end of all my troubles." After this she began to disrobe herself; for she had dressed that morning with unusual care, and wore a rich black satin dress, with a long veil of white crape, and a high Italian ruff. When she was stripped to her petticoat, her two maids again burst into tears; but she turned to them with a cheerful smile, and said, "Do not cry; I have promised you should not." Then her maid, Kennedy, bound a handkerchief over her eyes, and the assistant executioner led her to the block. Her last words were, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" The axe then descended; but the hand of the executioner trembled, and it took a second blow before the head fell with a hollow sound on the boards of the scaffold. As it did so, the dressing of lawn came off, and although Mary was but in her forty-fifth year, the hair was as grey as that of a person of seventy. It is related that her lips moved up and down for a quarter of an hour after the head was severed from her body.

The executioner lifted the bleeding head from the ground, and holding it at arm's length, cried out, "God save Queen Elizabeth!" The vindictive Dr. Fletcher added, "So perish all her enemies." The Earl of Kent alone answered, "Amen!" All the other spectators looked on in a pitying and awe-struck silence. When the body was about to be removed, Mary's little pet dog was found nestled under her clothes. It required some force to take the faithful creature away; but still it would not leave the corpse, laying down mournfully between the head and shoulders. The unhappy queen, the crimes of whose early life were almost forgotten in the heaped-up misery she afterwards suffered, had endured a sad dreary imprisonment in England of nearly twenty years. Her execution took place on the 8th of February, 1587.

When Queen Elizabeth was informed of Mary's death, she burst into tears, and put on deep mourning. She threw all the blame on Davison and her ministers, whom she declared were guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting her dear sister and kinswoman to death, contrary to her fixed determination, as the warrant was not

to have been executed till her further orders. She even caused her secretary, Davison, to be arrested and sent to the Tower, for letting the warrant go out of his hands. He was also tried for disobedience, and condemned to pay a fine of £10,000; and he remained in prison for seventeen years; indeed, until he was released in consequence of the death of the queen.

Elizabeth also wrote a letter of apology to Mary's son, James, the King of Scotland, in which she described the execution of his mother as an unhappy accident, and appealed to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth to attest her innocence. She said she abhorred dissimulation, and deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than sincere and open conduct; adding, that she loved him more dearly than herself; and trusted that he would consider every one his enemy who endeavoured, on account of the sad accident that had occurred, to excite any animosity between them. On receiving the news of the death of his persecuted mother, James burst into tears, and threatened to raise an army to avenge her fate: but he soon cooled down; and when Elizabeth granted him an addition to the pension she had long been paying him, this heartless man said no more about the matter, but became better friends with the English queen than before. Elizabeth pacified the court of France by similar means; and if she did give Davison the warrant, with an intention that it should be immediately acted upon, it is impossible to imagine greater falsehood and deceit than she practised. On Davison's trial, Sir Roger Manwood, the Lord Chief Baron, said, that "the instrument was not so peremptory and irrevocable as he took it; nor a sufficient warrant for any kind of proceeding against the Scottish queen, neither by his associates, nor any other." We would rather suppose, therefore, that Davison erred through a misconception of his instructions, than that Elizabeth was the depraved hypocrite she must otherwise have been.

From the commencement of her reign, Elizabeth had been nominally at peace with Philip II., of Spain; but a bold seaman, Sir Francis Drake, with three others—Cavendish, Frobisher, and Hawkins—had made repeated descents on the Spanish colonies, and had plundered Spanish vessels in the West Indies, Spanish America, and the Pacific Ocean. These unjustifiable raids produced angry negotiations; but Elizabeth apologised, restored a part of the booty, and peace was preserved. The connection between the queen and the Protestants of the Netherlands, however, excited the anger of Philip; whilst his bigoted attachment to the Roman faith caused him eagerly to join with the pope, Pius V., in the desire to bring back England to the Catholic church. Before the death of Pius, Philip had commenced his armaments for the invasion of England; and at the close of 1586, he had numerous vessels, in almost every harbour in Spain, fitting out for a descent upon this country. His preparations came to the knowledge of Elizabeth; who, in April, 1587, sent Sir Francis Drake, with a small fleet, to destroy the Spanish ships. He entered the harbour of Cadiz on the 19th of April, where he burned or sunk about thirty ships. From there he proceeded to Cape St. Vincent, and on his way took or destroyed nearly seventy more; capturing, besides, a large treasure ship, one of the richest prizes ever taken. He then returned home in triumph; and these exploits delayed the intended expedition against England for upwards of a year.

Though checked, Philip did not cease from his exertions, and Elizabeth prepared for the coming blow. The royal navy of England did not amount to more than thirty-six ships, many of which were very small ones. But the whole mass of the people gladly came forward to serve their queen, and save their country. Many wealthy persons fitted out ships at their own expense; and all the great towns of England were required to furnish vessels. The citizens of London gave a remarkable proof of their loyalty and patriotism. Having asked how many ships they were expected to supply, it was answered fifteen, when they of their own accord cheerfully furnished double that number. But Elizabeth had something more than ships at her command: she had brave and talented seamen—men who had almost lived upon the ocean; who had seen it in its storms and its calms; who loved it as their homes; and firmly believed that upon its azure bosom the flag of England was always to triumph. These men were commanded by the brave and prudent Lord Howard of Effingham, and under him were such courageous and experienced captains as Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher. So zealous was the preparation of the people, that the English navy soon consisted of a fleet of 191 vessels, manned by 17,400 seamen. A land force was also collected: many of the regiments were certainly very inexperienced; but the whole amounted to an enormous number.

As it was expected that the Spaniards would attempt to sail up the Thames and attack London, Gravesend was strongly fortified, and a great camp formed just opposite to that town, at Tilbury fort, where 22,000 foot, and 2,000 horse, were stationed, under the Earl of Leicester. Elizabeth appeared, and reviewed her troops. Her conduct was very fearless, and just the thing to inspire courage in the hearts of all who beheld her. Then, before the assembled army, while the Earls of Essex and Leicester held her bridle-rein, she delivered the following eloquent speech to her soldiers:—"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I

assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear; I have so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a King of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm! To which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

Dr. Lingard and others say that the queen did not visit the camp till the 9th of August, when all danger was over; and doubt whether this speech, which would not have been applicable at that time, was ever delivered. In a tract, however, entitled *Copy of a Letter to Mendoza*, published in 1581, and reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, the writer, who says he was an "eye-witness," speaks of her majesty's repeated visits to the Tilbury camp, "day by day" before the armada was seen, and of her being received "with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness and willingness to fight for her." We therefore follow the chroniclers and historians, who say this speech was addressed to the soldiers when the prospect of an invasion was before them, and they expected to have to fight the enemy on their native soil.

It was not at Tilbury alone that troops were collected. The capital was defended by an army of 28,000 men, under Lord Hunsdon, and 10,000 of the inhabitants were also in arms. A celebrated Italian, Frederico Giambelli, had fortified the banks of the Thames; and men were stationed at different points along the eastern and southern coasts, so that there was not a spot on which a hostile descent could be made, where 20,000 men could not be concentrated in a few hours. When it was known, therefore, that Philip's preparations were complete, and that his fleet, which had been blessed by the pope, and was styled the INVINCIBLE ARMADA, comprised 131 vessels, carrying 2,431 guns, with 20,000 troops on board, exclusive of the seamen, no fear as to the result was felt by the people of England.

When the armada was ready to sail, before it put to sea, Philip sent a brief note to Elizabeth, demanding—1st. That no further aid should be given to the Protestants in the Netherlands. 2nd. That she should restore the treasure captured by Drake. 3rd. That she should acknowledge the supremacy of the pope. "I will obey you at the time of the Greek kalends," wrote Elizabeth; which, as the Greeks did not reckon by kalends, was a contemptuous refusal of his demands.

The armada was collected in the port of Lisbon: on the 29th of May it sailed; and a gallant sight it must have been to have seen those giant ships riding over the blue waves, with their streamers and flags spread proudly to the breeze. Hope beat high in the breast of every Spaniard, who believed that the proud island heretics would crouch for mercy beneath the weapons of his countrymen. This pride was soon to receive a check. The very next day a storm arose: the Spanish fleet was scattered; a few of the smallest ships sunk, and the remainder forced to put into Corunna to refit. There was great joy when this news reached England, where it was said that the enemy's ships had suffered so much, they could not possibly proceed on their expedition this year. Upon this, Elizabeth, who professed and practised economy with a view to save expense, issued an order, which might have led to the ruin both of herself and the country. She commanded a letter to be written to Lord Howard, the English admiral, directing him to lay up some of the larger ships, and to discharge their crews. That patriotic nobleman replied, that rather than dismantle any of his ships, he would take upon himself to disobey his mistress, and keep them afloat at his own cost. They first sailed for the Spanish coast, to ascertain the position of the armada; and saw, and gave chase to, fourteen Spanish ships. The wind changing, Howard returned to Plymouth; where, with the kindred Howards, Lord Thomas and Lord Charles, Lord Sheffield, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and many other gallant men, he kept his crews on the alert—all eager to meet the enemy, and sustain the honour of the English flag.

The armada soon repaired its damages, and again put forth to sea. Philip's plan was, that his fleet should come over to this country, drive away the English ships that it met on its way (for he had no idea that they would dare to fight), then sail up the Thames, land the whole of the Spanish army, which

included volunteers from the noblest families in Spain, and thus conquer England at one blow.

On the 12th of July the armada left Corunna, and, on the 20th, it appeared in sight of the English fleet: it was sailing majestically along, in the form of a crescent, and covering, from point to point, no less a space than seven miles. Lord Howard permitted it to advance up the Channel, and, falling behind, merely hung upon its rear, and harassed it with skirmishes. The Spanish ships, though very large, were also very clumsy; and soon a number of them were left behind the rest. This was exactly what the English admiral wanted: the entire fleet was too formidable for him to attack altogether; but when it was disunited, there was no such difficulty. The English ships attacked those of the enemy that had fallen behind, and in a little while one great Spanish galleon was made a mere wreck, and another taken. This skirmish gave great spirit to the English; for they found that the size and height of the Spanish vessels was a disadvantage to them. They were unmanageable; more exposed to the fire of the English; and their cannon were placed so high that they shot over the heads of the latter.

The Spaniards collected their straggling ships; and the two fleets met near Portsmouth on the 23rd of July, and fought nearly the whole day. Night separated the combatants; and though both sides had suffered considerably, neither had gained any great advantage. The Spaniards began to fear that the English would not be conquered quite so easily as they thought at first; but the action was renewed occasionally during several days, and, on the 27th, the armada anchored at Calais. It was placed there in such an excellent position, like a line of strong floating castles upon the sea, that the English admiral saw that he could not encounter it without great danger. He therefore thought of a stratagem, which was successful. Smearing eight small ships with pitch, and filling them with tar, resin, and gunpowder, he got two brave captains to take them secretly, during the darkness of the night, right up to the Spanish fleet. Having effected this dangerous feat, the captains took to their boats, fired the trains, and returned in safety.

The explosion threw the Spaniards into the greatest fear and confusion: cutting their cables, most of the ships were launched out to sea, without knowing where they were going. The fire-ships burnt out, and the Spanish admiral gave a signal that his vessels might return in safety; but many of them were driven far out to sea, or stranded on the coast of Flanders. When the sun again rose, the English attacked the disordered fleet, and a battle of savage ferocity took place. The Spaniards fought with great bravery; but the chances of war were against them: twelve of their ships were taken or destroyed, and others greatly injured.

Disheartened by this blow, and seeing that the English were more likely to capture him than he to subdue them, the Spanish admiral hoisted sail, and the so-called *Invincible* Armada prepared to return home in disgrace. But the troubles of these arrogant invaders, who presumed to dictate a religion to the English people, and threatened to take from them all liberty, both of body and soul, were not yet over. A high wind prevented their passage through the Channel; so they resolved to sail through the North Sea, round England and Ireland, and home to Spain by that roundabout way. For some time the English fleet followed them; and it is probable that, had it not used nearly all its powder, the whole of the armada would have been captured or destroyed. But a fate nearly as disastrous awaited it. As it passed the Orkney Islands it was overtaken by a fearful tempest; and it seemed to the zealous Protestants, that the unseen, mysterious hand of an offended God was raised to smite their enemies, and complete the destruction that man had begun.

The Spanish sailors were struck with terror: they were unacquainted with the seas in those parts; their great ships were unmanageable; and they feared each hour to be thrown upon hidden rocks or quick-sands. In despair they yielded to the fury of the storm, and let their vessels drive without control. Some were wrecked upon the western isles of Scotland; some upon the shores of Norway; others were driven upon the Irish coast: and others sank with their miserable crews beneath the surging waves of the ocean. The fate of those poor wretches who reached the shore was scarcely better than that of those who perished at sea. In Scotland they were seized as prisoners, and in Ireland brutally murdered. Of the 131 vessels that sailed so proudly from Spain, only about 60 returned to it, and those in a miserably-shattered condition. The soldiers and sailors in them were so worn out with hardships and sickness, that they looked as if they had been the sweepings of hospitals, instead of the flower of the manhood of their nation. They excused their sad defeat and failure by wild tales of the desperate valour of the English, and of the stormy seas by which they were surrounded.

Though Philip was extremely hurt by this richly-deserved punishment, yet he received the news with remarkable fortitude. Falling upon his knees, he expressed himself resigned to the will of God, and thankful that the calamity was not greater. The Spanish priests who had blessed the expedition, and predicted its certain success, were at first much abashed. They were at a loss to understand how a Catholic king should have

been thoroughly beaten by a nation of heretics. The lesson might have taught them some humility and toleration; but it only sharpened their bigotry and love of persecution. Soon recovering their usual confidence, they pretended that the Deity had suffered so great a calamity to fall upon the Spanish people, because they had permitted the infidel Moors to live amongst them.

CHAPTER LXIV.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.—A.D. 1588—1603.

NOT long after the armada had been destroyed, the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's profligate favourite, was taken suddenly ill, and died on the 4th of September, 1588. Fond as she had once been of him, she did not regret him much. Her eye had been caught and her fancy captivated by another nobleman—the young, handsome, and accomplished Earl of Essex.

The winter of 1588 passed away; and, in February, 1589, parliament and convocation assembled. The expenses connected with the threatened invasion by Spain were laid before them; and the Commons, in anticipation of a renewed attempt on the part of Philip, voted a liberal supply.—At that time the English people longed to revenge themselves on the Spaniards for the alarm they had put them to. Elizabeth shared this feeling; and she took up the cause of Don Antonio, a Portuguese refugee of royal blood, who had some claim to the crown of that country, which was then under Spanish rule. But though she supported Antonio, she had not the means to aid him, as she had expended all her money, contracted a large debt, and needed the supply voted by parliament for other purposes. Upon this, a number of her subjects, at the head of whom was Sir Francis Drake, took the chief expense of the expedition upon themselves.

In a short time a fleet of 200 vessels, with Don Antonio on board, sailed to claim the crown of Portugal, and to take revenge upon the Spaniards. Drake and his companions first sailed to Corunna, where they burnt some ships of war, defeated an army of about 5,000 men, and gave the lower town to the flames. They afterwards proceeded to Lisbon; but that city contained a strong Spanish garrison, and the people were afraid to rise in favour of Don Antonio. Sickness and famine also appeared among the English; so that, after having inflicted some great cruelties, and experienced many sufferings, they were glad to sail home again, with a loss of about half their number.

For several subsequent years England was quiet; and few events of great historical importance took place, though the English fleets continually punished the Spanish king by attacking his vessels, and by other warlike actions. But Philip of Spain had recovered his spirits; and there was a talk of invading England with another tremendous army. The gallant Lord Howard of Effingham, who had repulsed the armada, thought that a new attack upon the Spanish coast would be the best means of striking terror into Philip, and making him keep a respectful distance from the white cliffs of old England. Accordingly, on the 1st of June, 1596, a noble fleet of 150 vessels, with 14,000 land troops on board of them, started from Plymouth, and sailed to the bay of Cadiz, where, having fought their way into the harbour, in defiance of a terrible firing from batteries and men-of-war, a fierce sea-fight took place. After a severe struggle, which lasted for six hours, the Spanish ships were obliged to give way, three of the largest of them being taken, and about fifty others plundered and burnt. The English mariners had fulfilled their errand of destruction; and the Earl of Essex, who commanded the land troops, resolved to imitate their example. Landing his soldiers, he attacked the city of Cadiz with impetuous fury, and forced it to surrender at the point of the sword. He permitted the inhabitants to ransom their lives; but all their wealth and rich merchandise fell into the hands of the victors. Such was the importance and riches of the city, that it was calculated the loss suffered by the Spaniards amounted to the enormous sum of 20,000,000 of dollars. The Earl of Essex, to whom this success was mainly owing, was a brave, enthusiastic young soldier; but he was quite as reckless as brave. He wished to remain at Cadiz, and keep it for the English as a means to help them to other conquests; but Lord Howard and the rest thought enough had been done, and insisted on returning home.

King Philip was extremely annoyed at the destruction of his wealthy city; and, although he so constantly got the worst of it, was not quite tired of fighting yet. To revenge the ruin of Cadiz, he prepared for another in-

vasion of England, and the English government again collected vessels for the purpose of striking the first blow. On the 9th of July, 1597, a powerful English fleet sailed once more from Plymouth, under the command of the Earl of Essex, whose desperate valour had caused him to be regarded as a hero. But he was not quite so fortunate this time as in his former expedition. His ships were driven back by a storm; and so much time was lost in consequence, that when the fleet sailed again, on the 17th of August, he was unable to attack the Spanish coast. He succeeded, however, in capturing three large treasure-ships of that nation returning from Havannah, and valued at £100,000. Still his expedition was considered a failure in England; and when he returned, the queen received him in a stern and very cold manner. The favourite was a man of high spirit, and he retired from court in a fit of ill-temper. Elizabeth was so attached to him that she felt quite unhappy in his absence, and caused him to return by promoting him to the dignity of Earl-Marshal of England.

A peace with Spain was now talked about; but Essex strongly opposed it; and his reasons were thought so important, that although the war was not continued, no treaty of peace was entered into. Soon afterwards, on the 13th of September, 1598, Elizabeth's arch enemy, the bigoted tyrant, Philip of Spain, died in his seventy-first year. Elizabeth's famous minister, the wise and prudent Lord Burleigh, who had directed her councils for forty years, also went to his grave a short time before, at the age of seventy-eight; he died on the 4th of August. The queen was so much affected at the death of her old servant, that she shed tears. His son, Sir Robert Cecil, continued to serve her, and became in his turn a celebrated statesman.

Before Lord Burleigh died, the Earl of Essex had a curious quarrel with the queen. In a debate about the affairs of Ireland, which took place in her cabinet, Elizabeth spoke to the earl with that abusive sharpness which was common to her. Hurt by her words, he forgot the duty he owed to his sovereign and the politeness due to a lady, and turned his back upon her in contempt. Elizabeth's keen eyes flashed with anger at this insult, and giving her favourite a hearty box of the ears, she told him, in language more forcible than graceful, to go to the devil. The fiery young noble was filled with astonishment; and placing his hand on his sword, he swore he would not have taken such an insult even from her father, Henry VIII., himself. With these words he abruptly left the room, and retired, chafing with passion, to his country-house. One of his friends wrote begging him to return and sue for the queen's pardon. Essex sent a refusal; and he kept from court till Elizabeth (though much offended, as she was excessively fond of the most submissive attentions) recalled him, as she, no doubt, missed the compliments and sprightliness of her handsome favourite.

Ireland had long been an enormous trouble and expense to the English queen; and at this time the wild chieftains of that country were engaged in a rebellious war against her authority. Headed by the Earl of Tyrone, they had been fortunate enough to defeat a small English army, and were so delighted at their unexpected victory, that they resolved to drive the English altogether out of the country.

Alarmed at the serious turn things had taken, the queen sent the Earl of Essex to Ireland, with the title of governor of that country, and an army of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse. She thought that, with such a force, so brave a soldier as Essex would soon compel the rebels to submit in tranquillity. The earl—who left London for Dublin at the end of March, 1599—was rather a brave man than a wise general; and, although he did his best, he was unable to conquer the powerful Tyrone, with whom, at last, on account of the sickness of his troops and their dread of the enemy, he was compelled to enter into a truce, which was concluded on the 8th of September. When Elizabeth heard of this ill-success she was extremely enraged, and being also offended at some peevish letters he had written to her and her council, she sent him a stern rebuke; but told him to remain in Ireland until he received her further commands.

The impatient noble feared that he should altogether lose the favour of the queen; and to prevent that, he determined to run the risk of disobeying her orders. He started instantly for England, and, on the 28th of September, arrived at the court before any one had become aware of his intentions. It was but ten in the morning, when Essex, splashed with mud, disordered by travelling, and a little excited with wine, passed through the rooms of state, and actually entered into the queen's bed-chamber. She had not long risen, and was sitting with her hair hanging over her face. Falling on his knees, he kissed her hand, and the coquettish old queen smiled and spoke kindly to the man for whom she had once felt a feeling of tenderness and attachment. Surprised as she was, still her manner was so gracious, that as the earl left her apartments, he was heard to thank God that though he had suffered much trouble, and many storms abroad, he had found a sweet calm at home.

Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Burleigh's son, hated Essex; and that day when he attended the queen, he represented that Essex had acted in direct opposition to her commands, in returning to England, and leaving Ireland in confusion. Elizabeth at once saw that her partiality for the earl had led her into a momentary forgetfulness of his fault; and, as she never suffered her attachments

to master her judgment, when Essex waited upon her in the afternoon, he found the manner of his mistress changed. She called him to account for his conduct; and, in an imperative manner, commanded him to consider himself a prisoner in his own room. The next day he was examined before the lords of the council, and although his conduct was calm and submissive, he was committed to the custody of the lord-keeper.

Grief and disappointed ambition soon threw him into so severe an illness, that his life was in danger. On hearing this, the queen's affection returned for a time, and she sent her own physician to attend upon him, and also to say, that, if she thought such a step proper and consistent with her dignity, she would visit him herself. This royal attention was very consoling to the earl, and he soon began to recover; but his enemies persuaded the queen that his illness was all a sham to move her pity; and although she liberated him from confinement, she became almost as cold and stern as before. In his distress he sent to her a very humble letter, which ended with these words—"This farther degree of goodness doth sound in my ears as if your majesty spake these words: 'Die not, Essex, for though I punish thy offence, and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be served again by thee.' My prostrate soul makes this answer: 'I hope for that blessed day.' And in expectation of it, all my afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, and cheerfully borne by me."

The constant accounts which the queen received of the disorders in Ireland, kept up her anger against the earl. Accordingly, she subjected him to a sort of trial before her privy council, which sentenced him to be deprived of his offices, and confined to his own house during her majesty's pleasure. Nor did her anger end here: he had long possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and this privilege brought him in an immense sum of money. The royal patent by which he held this monopoly having expired, he petitioned the queen to renew it. His fortune had been so much injured by his extravagance and misfortunes, that its renewal was necessary to save him from ruin. The stern queen, however, denied his request, saying, in a contemptuous manner, that, in order to manage an ungovernable brute, he must be stinted in his provender.

This severity made the impetuous Essex desperate; and he entered into a wild, foolish conspiracy to remove Sir Robert Cecil and other courtiers, who were his enemies, forcibly from the presence of the queen. He was much loved by the people on account of his bravery and generosity, and he did all he could to win their affection more strongly. He secretly corresponded with the Catholics, and paid open court to their extreme foes, the Puritans; and he even went so far as to write to King James of Scotland, urging him to insist on an open declaration, by Elizabeth, of his right to succeed her. In his folly, he laughed at the person of the queen, saying publicly, that she was an old woman, and had grown as crooked in her mind as she was in her body. Elizabeth, who was in her sixty-eighth year, and still had the absurd vanity to believe she was extremely beautiful, was very irritated at this rude remark. She knew also of his secret correspondence; of his having formed a plan for seizing the palace; compelling her to summon a parliament; remove his enemies from her person, and remodel the government: and, on the 7th of February, 1601, she sent a command to him to appear before her privy council.

To go would have been to surrender himself to certain punishment, and probably to death, as a traitor. What should he do? His mind was soon made up to dare the worst; and the day after receiving the message he collected several noblemen and 300 gentlemen at his house. This desperate party was about to sally forth on some wild scheme (probably to attempt to seize the palace), when Egerton, the chancellor, presented himself, accompanied by the Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, and the Lord Chief Justice Popham. Essex admitted them by a wicket-gate, but would not suffer their attendants to enter. On informing him that they came from her majesty, to demand the cause of such a tumultuous meeting, the passionate earl replied—"There is a plot laid for my life; letters have been forged in my name; men have been hired to murder me in my bed; mine enemies cannot be satisfied unless they suck my blood." The chief justice said he should explain his case, and the queen would act with impartiality; but such a tumult arose among the earl's followers, who wished to kill the messengers from the queen, that he placed them in an inner room for safety, and having bolted them in, set a guard over them.

The earl then rushed into the streets with his drawn sword in his hand, and was followed by most of his wild associates. Hurrying into the city, he called out —"For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" The citizens flock around in amazement, and many cried, "God bless your honour!" but none of them armed in his cause. Thus disappointed he went to the house of one of the sheriffs, and stopped there about two hours, debating what was best to be done. It ended in his resolving to return to Essex House; but he found the streets barricaded, and guarded by companies of armed men. A skirmish took place; several persons lost their lives; and the earl contrived to reach the river, enter a boat, and regain his own house. The doomed noble fortified the

building (which was soon surrounded by an armed force), and resolved to stand on his own defence. At length some pieces of cannon were pointed against the edifice, and he surrendered.

Conduct of this character could not lightly be passed over; and Essex and his friend, Lord Southampton, who had shared in his insurrection, were, on the 19th of February, placed upon their trial as traitors. Essex pleaded not guilty, and called the Deity to witness that he had done nothing except in his own defence. But his treasonable actions had been committed in open day, in the sight of all men; and, as might have been expected, he was sentenced to suffer death as a traitor. Essex acted as if he expected this fate, saying that though he would not despise the mercy of the queen, he would make no cringing submission to obtain it. Southampton behaved very submissively, and, although he met the same sentence as his friend, was afterwards pardoned.

There was one event connected with this trial that must be deplored by every one who regrets that the loftiest human genius should be contaminated by the basest ingratitude. Francis Bacon, afterwards the great philosopher, Lord Bacon, though not one of the crown lawyers, voluntarily appeared as a prosecutor of the earl. That nobleman had been his patron and kindest friend, and had acted towards him with a generosity actually romantic. Having, on one occasion, vainly begged for Bacon the office of solicitor-general, the open-hearted noble presented him with an estate near Twickenham, worth about £2,000, to make up for the disappointment. Yet this very man, to obtain the queen's favour, did not hesitate to do all he could to procure the condemnation of one who had acted towards him in so liberal and kindly a manner. He compared the conduct of Essex to that of Pisistratus the Athenian, who, pretending to be in danger of assassination, inflicted some wounds upon himself, and having made the people believe that his enemies had done the violence, obtained a guard of soldiers to protect him, by whose assistance he afterwards established tyranny in his country. Well might Alexander Pope, a poet of a later age, exclaim—

"See how Bacon shined,
The wisest, greatest, *meanest* of mankind."

The unfortunate Essex was privately beheaded in the Tower, on the 25th of February, 1601. He bore his fate with calmness and dignity, and was much pitied by the nation. He was only thirty-four years old when, by his rashness and violence, he fell a victim to the offended laws of his country. He was a man of many talents, much literary taste, and a writer of great elegance and power. It is said that the queen was much grieved at his fate, and hesitated for a long time before she could prevail on herself to sign his death-warrant. Some momentary pang she might have felt; but her tenderness for him had long departed, and the stories about her anguish in consequence of his execution, appear to be without foundation. Some of Essex's friends and dependents were afterwerds put to death as accomplices in his treason. The unhappy earl had been so much beloved by the people, that the queen lost much of her popularity by his death.

On the 27th of October, 1601, Elizabeth met her last parliament. The brown shrivelled leaves, which every gust of wind swept from the almost bared branches of the trees, was a type of her condition. Age had done its work; and, although she was dressed more magnificently than ever, she was suffering from the decay of her constitution; her eye was dim, her hand trembled, and her step was feeble. The war in Ireland, which was not yet concluded, had cost her enormous sums, and she was extremely in want of money. This the Commons did not grudge her; but the reforming spirit was active amongst them, and they came prepared for a struggle. For some years the nation had been groaning under an oppression so monstrous, that at last it could scarcely be borne. This was the system of monopolies. The queen had, from time to time, rewarded the services of her servants or courtiers by granting them patents, which secured to them an exclusive right of selling some particular commodity, and of charging what price they pleased for it. These monopolies were exercised in a very extortionate manner, and a check was put upon all industry and commerce.—So impudent were some holders of them, that in certain places salt was raised from 1s. 4*d*. a bushel to 11*s*. or 15*s*. Many of the articles most necessary for subsistence or comfort were given over to some rapacious courtiers. Wine, coals, iron, lead, saltpetre, currants, starch, oil, glass, paper, leather, and other such things, were included in the list. When an account was read to the house, one member asked if bread was not in the number? "Bread!" cried every one with surprise. "Yes, I assure you," continued he, "if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament."

The Commons had, some time before, presented a petition to the queen against these monstrous abuses, or rather robberies of the people; but she had returned a stern refusal, and protected her courtiers in their oppressions. On the 20th of November, therefore, Mr. Laurence Hyde brought in a bill, the object of which was to prevent letters patent, granting monopolies, from being issued. For four days a violent debate took place in the house on this bill—such a debate as had never occurred within its walls before; and it was felt that the temper of the house threatened

oratory with her servants to pray. A little before eight her physician persuaded her to take some bread and wine; and she had scarcely done so, when a tap at the door announced the arrival of the sheriff and his attendants.

Taking a little ivory crucifix from the altar, she left the room, conducted by the sheriff and two other gentlemen; for, by a refined cruelty, her servants were not permitted to follow her. At the foot of the staircase she was received by the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent. Her old steward, Sir Robert Melville, was there also waiting to see her. Falling upon his knees, the old man burst into tears, and said with a voice almost choked with emotion—"Madam, it will be the most sorrowful message that ever I carried, when I shall report in Scotland that my queen and dear mistress is dead." Mary bore the fearful ordeal through which she was passing with heroic firmness; but the tears stood in her eyes as she replied—"You ought to rejoice rather than weep; for the end of Mary Stuart's troubles is now come. Thou knowest, Melville, that all this world is but vanity, and subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can wash away. Tell my friends that I die true to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. God forgive them that have thirsted for my blood as the hart longeth for the water-brooks! O God! thou who art the Author of all truth, and truth itself, thou knowest the inmost recesses of my heart!—thou knowest that I was ever desirous to preserve an entire union between Scotland and England, and to obviate the source of all these fatal discords. Commend me, Melville, to my son, and tell him that I have done nothing that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland."

Having parted from Melville, she begged that her servants might attend her to the scaffold. To this the stern Earl of Kent objected, saying they would only trouble her, or perhaps seek to dip their handkerchiefs in her blood, to keep as relics, which could not be allowed. Mary promised they should do nothing of the sort; and, after some consultation, her request was granted. Four men-servants and two of her maids attended her; and the procession of death then moved slowly forward to the great hall of the castle, in which the scaffold had been erected.

Mary mounted the steps without any change of countenance, and seated herself on a low stool covered with black velvet. The Earls of Kent and Shrewsbury stood on either side of her, and before her was the executioner and his assistant, both dressed in black. After the warrant had been read, Dr. Fletcher, a Protestant clergyman, rose and began an address, in which, under pretence of religious consolation, he cruelly insulted the unhappy Mary. He had the assurance to say that the Queen of England had shown a tender care of her, and the bigotry to assert that, unless she changed her religion, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness—into a place where there shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth. The queen interrupted him once or twice, and at length said earnestly, "Trouble not yourself any more about this matter. I was born in this religion; I have lived in this religion; and I will die in this religion."

Turning from the dean, the queen prayed first in Latin, and then in English. Her devotions being ended, the executioners knelt, and desired her to forgive them; on which she replied, "I forgive you with all my heart; for now I hope you shall make an end of all my troubles." After this she began to disrobe herself; for she had dressed that morning with unusual care, and wore a rich black satin dress, with a long veil of white crape, and a high Italian ruff. When she was stripped to her petticoat, her two maids again burst into tears; but she turned to them with a cheerful smile, and said, "Do not cry; I have promised you should not." Then her maid, Kennedy, bound a handkerchief over her eyes, and the assistant executioner led her to the block. Her last words were, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit!" The axe then descended; but the hand of the executioner trembled, and it took a second blow before the head fell with a hollow sound on the boards of the scaffold. As it did so, the dressing of lawn came off, and although Mary was but in her forty-fifth year, the hair was as grey as that of a person of seventy. It is related that her lips moved up and down for a quarter of an hour after the head was severed from her body.

The executioner lifted the bleeding head from the ground, and holding it at arm's length, cried out, "God save Queen Elizabeth!" The vindictive Dr. Fletcher added, "So perish all her enemies." The Earl of Kent alone answered, "Amen!" All the other spectators looked on in a pitying and awe-struck silence. When the body was about to be removed, Mary's little pet dog was found nestled under her clothes. It required some force to take the faithful creature away; but still it would not leave the corpse, laying down mournfully between the head and shoulders. The unhappy queen, the crimes of whose early life were almost forgotten in the heaped-up misery she afterwards suffered, had endured a sad dreary imprisonment in England of nearly twenty years. Her execution took place on the 8th of February, 1587.

When Queen Elizabeth was informed of Mary's death, she burst into tears, and put on deep mourning. She threw all the blame on Davison and her ministers, whom she declared were guilty of an unpardonable crime, in putting her dear sister and kinswoman to death, contrary to her fixed determination, as the warrant was not

to have been executed till her further orders. She even caused her secretary, Davison, to be arrested and sent to the Tower, for letting the warrant go out of his hands. He was also tried for disobedience, and condemned to pay a fine of £10,000; and he remained in prison for seventeen years; indeed, until he was released in consequence of the death of the queen.

Elizabeth also wrote a letter of apology to Mary's son, James, the King of Scotland, in which she described the execution of his mother as an unhappy accident, and appealed to the Supreme Judge of heaven and earth to attest her innocence. She said she abhorred dissimulation, and deemed nothing more worthy of a prince than sincere and open conduct; adding, that she loved him more dearly than herself; and trusted that he would consider every one his enemy who endeavoured, on account of the sad accident that had occurred, to excite any animosity between them. On receiving the news of the death of his persecuted mother, James burst into tears, and threatened to raise an army to avenge her fate: but he soon cooled down; and when Elizabeth granted him an addition to the pension she had long been paying him, this heartless man said no more about the matter, but became better friends with the English queen than before. Elizabeth pacified the court of France by similar means; and if she did give Davison the warrant, with an intention that it should be immediately acted upon, it is impossible to imagine greater falsehood and deceit than she practised. On Davison's trial, Sir Roger Manwood, the Lord Chief Baron, said, that "the instrument was not so peremptory and irrevocable as he took it; nor a sufficient warrant for any kind of proceeding against the Scottish queen, neither by his associates, nor any other." We would rather suppose, therefore, that Davison erred through a misconception of his instructions, than that Elizabeth was the depraved hypocrite she must otherwise have been.

From the commencement of her reign, Elizabeth had been nominally at peace with Philip II., of Spain; but a bold seaman, Sir Francis Drake, with three others—Cavendish, Frobisher, and Hawkins—had made repeated descents on the Spanish colonies, and had plundered Spanish vessels in the West Indies, Spanish America, and the Pacific Ocean. These unjustifiable raids produced angry negotiations; but Elizabeth apologised, restored a part of the booty, and peace was preserved. The connection between the queen and the Protestants of the Netherlands, however, excited the anger of Philip; whilst his bigoted attachment to the Roman faith caused him eagerly to join with the pope, Pius V., in the desire to bring back England to the Catholic church. Before the death of Pius, Philip had commenced his armaments for the invasion of England; and at the close of 1586, he had numerous vessels, in almost every harbour in Spain, fitting out for a descent upon this country. His preparations came to the knowledge of Elizabeth; who, in April, 1587, sent Sir Francis Drake, with a small fleet, to destroy the Spanish ships. He entered the harbour of Cadiz on the 19th of April, where he burned or sunk about thirty ships. From there he proceeded to Cape St. Vincent, and on his way took or destroyed nearly seventy more; capturing, besides, a large treasure ship, one of the richest prizes ever taken. He then returned home in triumph; and these exploits delayed the intended expedition against England for upwards of a year.

Though checked, Philip did not cease from his exertions, and Elizabeth prepared for the coming blow. The royal navy of England did not amount to more than thirty-six ships, many of which were very small ones. But the whole mass of the people gladly came forward to serve their queen, and save their country. Many wealthy persons fitted out ships at their own expense; and all the great towns of England were required to furnish vessels. The citizens of London gave a remarkable proof of their loyalty and patriotism. Having asked how many ships they were expected to supply, it was answered fifteen, when they of their own accord cheerfully furnished double that number. But Elizabeth had something more than ships at her command: she had brave and talented seamen—men who had almost lived upon the ocean; who had seen it in its storms and its calms; who loved it as their homes; and firmly believed that upon its azure bosom the flag of England was always to triumph. These men were commanded by the brave and prudent Lord Howard of Effingham, and under him were such courageous and experienced captains as Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher. So zealous was the preparation of the people, that the English navy soon consisted of a fleet of 191 vessels, manned by 17,400 seamen. A land force was also collected: many of the regiments were certainly very inexperienced; but the whole amounted to an enormous number.

As it was expected that the Spaniards would attempt to sail up the Thames and attack London, Gravesend was strongly fortified, and a great camp formed just opposite to that town, at Tilbury fort, where 22,000 foot, and 2,000 horse, were stationed, under the Earl of Leicester. Elizabeth appeared, and reviewed her troops. Her conduct was very fearless, and just the thing to inspire courage in the hearts of all who beheld her. Then, before the assembled army, while the Earls of Essex and Leicester held her bridle-rein, she delivered the following eloquent speech to her soldiers:—"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I

assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear; I have so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good-will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a King of England too; and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm! To which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

Dr. Lingard and others say that the queen did not visit the camp till the 9th of August, when all danger was over; and doubt whether this speech, which would not have been applicable at that time, was ever delivered. In a tract, however, entitled *Copy of a Letter to Mendoza*, published in 1581, and reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellany*, the writer, who says he was an "eye-witness," speaks of her majesty's repeated visits to the Tilbury camp, "day by day" before the armada was seen, and of her being received "with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness and willingness to fight for her." We therefore follow the chroniclers and historians, who say this speech was addressed to the soldiers when the prospect of an invasion was before them, and they expected to have to fight the enemy on their native soil.

It was not at Tilbury alone that troops were collected. The capital was defended by an army of 28,000 men, under Lord Hunsdon, and 10,000 of the inhabitants were also in arms. A celebrated Italian, Frederico Giambelli, had fortified the banks of the Thames; and men were stationed at different points along the eastern and southern coasts, so that there was not a spot on which a hostile descent could be made, where 20,000 men could not be concentrated in a few hours. When it was known, therefore, that Philip's preparations were complete, and that his fleet, which had been blessed by the pope, and was styled the INVINCIBLE ARMADA, comprised 131 vessels, carrying 2,431 guns, with 20,000 troops on board, exclusive of the seamen, no fear as to the result was felt by the people of England.

When the armada was ready to sail, before it put to sea, Philip sent a brief note to Elizabeth, demanding—1st. That no further aid should be given to the Protestants in the Netherlands. 2nd. That she should restore the treasure captured by Drake. 3rd. That she should acknowledge the supremacy of the pope. "I will obey you at the time of the Greek kalends," wrote Elizabeth; which, as the Greeks did not reckon by kalends, was a contemptuous refusal of his demands.

The armada was collected in the port of Lisbon: on the 29th of May it sailed; and a gallant sight it must have been to have seen those giant ships riding over the blue waves, with their streamers and flags spread proudly to the breeze. Hope beat high in the breast of every Spaniard, who believed that the proud island heretics would crouch for mercy beneath the weapons of his countrymen. This pride was soon to receive a check. The very next day a storm arose: the Spanish fleet was scattered; a few of the smallest ships sunk, and the remainder forced to put into Corunna to refit. There was great joy when this news reached England, where it was said that the enemy's ships had suffered so much, they could not possibly proceed on their expedition this year. Upon this, Elizabeth, who professed and practised economy with a view to save expense, issued an order, which might have led to the ruin both of herself and the country. She commanded a letter to be written to Lord Howard, the English admiral, directing him to lay up some of the larger ships, and to discharge their crews. That patriotic nobleman replied, that rather than dismantle any of his ships, he would take upon himself to disobey his mistress, and keep them afloat at his own cost. They first sailed for the Spanish coast, to ascertain the position of the armada; and saw, and gave chase to, fourteen Spanish ships. The wind changing, Howard returned to Plymouth; where, with the kindred Howards, Lord Thomas and Lord Charles, Lord Sheffield, Drake, Hawkins, Frobisher, and many other gallant men, he kept his crews on the alert—all eager to meet the enemy, and sustain the honour of the English flag.

The armada soon repaired its damages, and again put forth to sea. Philip's plan was, that his fleet should come over to this country, drive away the English ships that it met on its way (for he had no idea that they would dare to fight), then sail up the Thames, land the whole of the Spanish army, which

included volunteers from the noblest families in Spain, and thus conquer England at one blow.

On the 12th of July the armada left Corunna, and, on the 20th, it appeared in sight of the English fleet: it was sailing majestically along, in the form of a crescent, and covering, from point to point, no less a space than seven miles. Lord Howard permitted it to advance up the Channel, and, falling behind, merely hung upon its rear, and harassed it with skirmishes. The Spanish ships, though very large, were also very clumsy; and soon a number of them were left behind the rest. This was exactly what the English admiral wanted: the entire fleet was too formidable for him to attack altogether; but when it was disunited, there was no such difficulty. The English ships attacked those of the enemy that had fallen behind, and in a little while one great Spanish galleon was made a mere wreck, and another taken. This skirmish gave great spirit to the English; for they found that the size and height of the Spanish vessels was a disadvantage to them. They were unmanageable; more exposed to the fire of the English; and their cannon were placed so high that they shot over the heads of the latter.

The Spaniards collected their straggling ships; and the two fleets met near Portsmouth on the 23rd of July, and fought nearly the whole day. Night separated the combatants; and though both sides had suffered considerably, neither had gained any great advantage. The Spaniards began to fear that the English would not be conquered quite so easily as they thought at first; but the action was renewed occasionally during several days, and, on the 27th, the armada anchored at Calais. It was placed there in such an excellent position, like a line of strong floating castles upon the sea, that the English admiral saw that he could not encounter it without great danger. He therefore thought of a stratagem, which was successful. Smearing eight small ships with pitch, and filling them with tar, resin, and gunpowder, he got two brave captains to take them secretly, during the darkness of the night, right up to the Spanish fleet. Having effected this dangerous feat, the captains took to their boats, fired the trains, and returned in safety.

The explosion threw the Spaniards into the greatest fear and confusion: cutting their cables, most of the ships were launched out to sea, without knowing where they were going. The fire-ships burnt out, and the Spanish admiral gave a signal that his vessels might return in safety; but many of them were driven far out to sea, or stranded on the coast of Flanders. When the sun again rose, the English attacked the disordered fleet, and a battle of savage ferocity took place. The Spaniards fought with great bravery; but the chances of war were against them: twelve of their ships were taken or destroyed, and others greatly injured.

Disheartened by this blow, and seeing that the English were more likely to capture him than he to subdue them, the Spanish admiral hoisted sail, and the so-called *Invincible* Armada prepared to return home in disgrace. But the troubles of these arrogant invaders, who presumed to dictate a religion to the English people, and threatened to take from them all liberty, both of body and soul, were not yet over. A high wind prevented their passage through the Channel; so they resolved to sail through the North Sea, round England and Ireland, and home to Spain by that roundabout way. For some time the English fleet followed them; and it is probable that, had it not used nearly all its powder, the whole of the armada would have been captured or destroyed. But a fate nearly as disastrous awaited it. As it passed the Orkney Islands it was overtaken by a fearful tempest; and it seemed to the zealous Protestants, that the unseen, mysterious hand of an offended God was raised to smite their enemies, and complete the destruction that man had begun.

The Spanish sailors were struck with terror: they were unacquainted with the seas in those parts; their great ships were unmanageable; and they feared each hour to be thrown upon hidden rocks or quicksands. In despair they yielded to the fury of the storm, and let their vessels drive without control. Some were wrecked upon the western isles of Scotland; some upon the shores of Norway; others were driven upon the Irish coast: and others sank with their miserable crews beneath the surging waves of the ocean. The fate of those poor wretches who reached the shore was scarcely better than that of those who perished at sea. In Scotland they were seized as prisoners, and in Ireland brutally murdered. Of the 131 vessels that sailed so proudly from Spain, only about 60 returned to it, and those in a miserably-shattered condition. The soldiers and sailors in them were so worn out with hardships and sickness, that they looked as if they had been the sweepings of hospitals, instead of the flower of the manhood of their nation. They excused their sad defeat and failure by wild tales of the desperate valour of the English, and of the stormy seas by which they were surrounded.

Though Philip was extremely hurt by this richly-deserved punishment, yet he received the news with remarkable fortitude. Falling upon his knees, he expressed himself resigned to the will of God, and thankful that the calamity was not greater. The Spanish priests who had blessed the expedition, and predicted its certain success, were at first much abashed. They were at a loss to understand how a Catholic king should have

been thoroughly beaten by a nation of heretics. The lesson might have taught them some humility and toleration; but it only sharpened their bigotry and love of persecution. Soon recovering their usual confidence, they pretended that the Deity had suffered so great a calamity to fall upon the Spanish people, because they had permitted the infidel Moors to live amongst them.

CHAPTER LXIV.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.—A.D. 1588—1603.

NOT long after the armada had been destroyed, the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's profligate favourite, was taken suddenly ill, and died on the 4th of September, 1588. Fond as she had once been of him, she did not regret him much. Her eye had been caught and her fancy captivated by another nobleman—the young, handsome, and accomplished Earl of Essex.

The winter of 1588 passed away; and, in February, 1589, parliament and convocation assembled. The expenses connected with the threatened invasion by Spain were laid before them; and the Commons, in anticipation of a renewed attempt on the part of Philip, voted a liberal supply.—At that time the English people longed to revenge themselves on the Spaniards for the alarm they had put them to. Elizabeth shared this feeling; and she took up the cause of Don Antonio, a Portuguese refugee of royal blood, who had some claim to the crown of that country, which was then under Spanish rule. But though she supported Antonio, she had not the means to aid him, as she had expended all her money, contracted a large debt, and needed the supply voted by parliament for other purposes. Upon this, a number of her subjects, at the head of whom was Sir Francis Drake, took the chief expense of the expedition upon themselves.

In a short time a fleet of 200 vessels, with Don Antonio on board, sailed to claim the crown of Portugal, and to take revenge upon the Spaniards. Drake and his companions first sailed to Corunna, where they burnt some ships of war, defeated an army of about 5,000 men, and gave the lower town to the flames. They afterwards proceeded to Lisbon; but that city contained a strong Spanish garrison, and the people were afraid to rise in favour of Don Antonio. Sickness and famine also appeared among the English; so that, after having inflicted some great cruelties, and experienced many sufferings, they were glad to sail home again, with a loss of about half their number.

For several subsequent years England was quiet; and few events of great historical importance took place, though the English fleets continually punished the Spanish king by attacking his vessels, and by other warlike actions. But Philip of Spain had recovered his spirits; and there was a talk of invading England with another tremendous army. The gallant Lord Howard of Effingham, who had repulsed the armada, thought that a new attack upon the Spanish coast would be the best means of striking terror into Philip, and making him keep a respectful distance from the white cliffs of old England. Accordingly, on the 1st of June, 1596, a noble fleet of 150 vessels, with 14,000 land troops on board of them, started from Plymouth, and sailed to the bay of Cadiz, where, having fought their way into the harbour, in defiance of a terrible firing from batteries and men-of-war, a fierce sea-fight took place. After a severe struggle, which lasted for six hours, the Spanish ships were obliged to give way, three of the largest of them being taken, and about fifty others plundered and burnt. The English mariners had fulfilled their errand of destruction; and the Earl of Essex, who commanded the land troops, resolved to imitate their example. Landing his soldiers, he attacked the city of Cadiz with impetuous fury, and forced it to surrender at the point of the sword. He permitted the inhabitants to ransom their lives; but all their wealth and rich merchandise fell into the hands of the victors. Such was the importance and riches of the city, that it was calculated the loss suffered by the Spaniards amounted to the enormous sum of 20,000,000 of dollars. The Earl of Essex, to whom this success was mainly owing, was a brave, enthusiastic young soldier; but he was quite as reckless as brave. He wished to remain at Cadiz, and keep it for the English as a means to help them to other conquests; but Lord Howard and the rest thought enough had been done, and insisted on returning home.

King Philip was extremely annoyed at the destruction of his wealthy city; and, although he so constantly got the worst of it, was not quite tired of fighting yet. To revenge the ruin of Cadiz, he prepared for another in-

vasion of England, and the English government again collected vessels for the purpose of striking the first blow. On the 9th of July, 1597, a powerful English fleet sailed once more from Plymouth, under the command of the Earl of Essex, whose desperate valour had caused him to be regarded as a hero. But he was not quite so fortunate this time as in his former expedition. His ships were driven back by a storm; and so much time was lost in consequence, that when the fleet sailed again, on the 17th of August, he was unable to attack the Spanish coast. He succeeded, however, in capturing three large treasure-ships of that nation returning from Havannah, and valued at £100,000. Still his expedition was considered a failure in England; and when he returned, the queen received him in a stern and very cold manner. The favourite was a man of high spirit, and he retired from court in a fit of ill-temper. Elizabeth was so attached to him that she felt quite unhappy in his absence, and caused him to return by promoting him to the dignity of Earl-Marshal of England.

A peace with Spain was now talked about; but Essex strongly opposed it; and his reasons were thought so important, that although the war was not continued, no treaty of peace was entered into. Soon afterwards, on the 13th of September, 1598, Elizabeth's arch enemy, the bigoted tyrant, Philip of Spain, died in his seventy-first year. Elizabeth's famous minister, the wise and prudent Lord Burleigh, who had directed her councils for forty years, also went to his grave a short time before, at the age of seventy-eight; he died on the 4th of August. The queen was so much affected at the death of her old servant, that she shed tears. His son, Sir Robert Cecil, continued to serve her, and became in his turn a celebrated statesman.

Before Lord Burleigh died, the Earl of Essex had a curious quarrel with the queen. In a debate about the affairs of Ireland, which took place in her cabinet, Elizabeth spoke to the earl with that abusive sharpness which was common to her. Hurt by her words, he forgot the duty he owed to his sovereign and the politeness due to a lady, and turned his back upon her in contempt. Elizabeth's keen eyes flashed with anger at this insult, and giving her favourite a hearty box of the ears, she told him, in language more forcible than graceful, to go to the devil. The fiery young noble was filled with astonishment; and placing his hand on his sword, he swore he would not have taken such an insult even from her father, Henry VIII., himself. With these words he abruptly left the room, and retired, chafing with passion, to his country-house. One of his friends wrote begging him to return and sue for the queen's pardon. Essex sent a refusal; and he kept from court till Elizabeth (though much offended, as she was excessively fond of the most submissive attentions) recalled him, as she, no doubt, missed the compliments and sprightliness of her handsome favourite.

Ireland had long been an enormous trouble and expense to the English queen; and at this time the wild chieftains of that country were engaged in a rebellious war against her authority. Headed by the Earl of Tyrone, they had been fortunate enough to defeat a small English army, and were so delighted at their unexpected victory, that they resolved to drive the English altogether out of the country.

Alarmed at the serious turn things had taken, the queen sent the Earl of Essex to Ireland, with the title of governor of that country, and an army of 16,000 foot and 1,300 horse. She thought that, with such a force, so brave a soldier as Essex would soon compel the rebels to submit in tranquillity. The earl—who left London for Dublin at the end of March, 1599—was rather a brave man than a wise general; and, although he did his best, he was unable to conquer the powerful Tyrone, with whom, at last, on account of the sickness of his troops and their dread of the enemy, he was compelled to enter into a truce, which was concluded on the 8th of September. When Elizabeth heard of this ill-success she was extremely enraged, and being also offended at some peevish letters he had written to her and her council, she sent him a stern rebuke; but told him to remain in Ireland until he received her further commands.

The impatient noble feared that he should altogether lose the favour of the queen; and to prevent that, he determined to run the risk of disobeying her orders. He started instantly for England, and, on the 28th of September, arrived at the court before any one had become aware of his intentions. It was but ten in the morning, when Essex, splashed with mud, disordered by travelling, and a little excited with wine, passed through the rooms of state, and actually entered into the queen's bed-chamber. She had not long risen, and was sitting with her hair hanging over her face. Falling on his knees, he kissed her hand, and the coquettish old queen smiled and spoke kindly to the man for whom she had once felt a feeling of tenderness and attachment. Surprised as she was, still her manner was so gracious, that as the earl left her apartments, he was heard to thank God that though he had suffered much trouble, and many storms abroad, he had found a sweet calm at home.

Sir Robert Cecil, Lord Burleigh's son, hated Essex; and that day when he attended the queen, he represented that Essex had acted in direct opposition to her commands, in returning to England, and leaving Ireland in confusion. Elizabeth at once saw that her partiality for the earl had led her into a momentary forgetfulness of his fault; and, as she never suffered her attachments

to master her judgment, when Essex waited upon her in the afternoon, he found the manner of his mistress changed. She called him to account for his conduct; and, in an imperative manner, commanded him to consider himself a prisoner in his own room. The next day he was examined before the lords of the council, and although his conduct was calm and submissive, he was committed to the custody of the lord-keeper.

Grief and disappointed ambition soon threw him into so severe an illness, that his life was in danger. On hearing this, the queen's affection returned for a time, and she sent her own physician to attend upon him, and also to say, that, if she thought such a step proper and consistent with her dignity, she would visit him herself. This royal attention was very consoling to the earl, and he soon began to recover; but his enemies persuaded the queen that his illness was all a sham to move her pity; and although she liberated him from confinement, she became almost as cold and stern as before. In his distress he sent to her a very humble letter, which ended with these words—"This farther degree of goodness doth sound in my ears as if your majesty spake these words: 'Die not, Essex, for though I punish thy offence, and humble thee for thy good, yet will I one day be served again by thee.' My prostrate soul makes this answer: 'I hope for that blessed day.' And in expectation of it, all my afflictions of body and mind are humbly, patiently, and cheerfully borne by me."

The constant accounts which the queen received of the disorders in Ireland, kept up her anger against the earl. Accordingly, she subjected him to a sort of trial before her privy council, which sentenced him to be deprived of his offices, and confined to his own house during her majesty's pleasure. Nor did her anger end here: he had long possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and this privilege brought him in an immense sum of money. The royal patent by which he held this monopoly having expired, he petitioned the queen to renew it. His fortune had been so much injured by his extravagance and misfortunes, that its renewal was necessary to save him from ruin. The stern queen, however, denied his request, saying, in a contemptuous manner, that, in order to manage an ungovernable brute, he must be stinted in his provender.

This severity made the impetuous Essex desperate; and he entered into a wild, foolish conspiracy to remove Sir Robert Cecil and other courtiers, who were his enemies, forcibly from the presence of the queen. He was much loved by the people on account of his bravery and generosity, and he did all he could to win their affection more strongly. He secretly corresponded with the Catholics, and paid open court to their extreme foes, the Puritans; and he even went so far as to write to King James of Scotland, urging him to insist on an open declaration, by Elizabeth, of his right to succeed her. In his folly, he laughed at the person of the queen, saying publicly, that she was an old woman, and had grown as crooked in her mind as she was in her body. Elizabeth, who was in her sixty-eighth year, and still had the absurd vanity to believe she was extremely beautiful, was very irritated at this rude remark. She knew also of his secret correspondence; of his having formed a plan for seizing the palace; compelling her to summon a parliament; remove his enemies from her person, and remodel the government: and, on the 7th of February, 1601, she sent a command to him to appear before her privy council.

To go would have been to surrender himself to certain punishment, and probably to death, as a traitor. What should he do? His mind was soon made up to dare the worst; and the day after receiving the message he collected several noblemen and 300 gentlemen at his house. This desperate party was about to sally forth on some wild scheme (probably to attempt to seize the palace), when Egerton, the chancellor, presented himself, accompanied by the Earl of Worcester, Sir William Knollys, and the Lord Chief Justice Popham. Essex admitted them by a wicket-gate, but would not suffer their attendants to enter. On informing him that they came from her majesty, to demand the cause of such a tumultuous meeting, the passionate earl replied—"There is a plot laid for my life; letters have been forged in my name; men have been hired to murder me in my bed; mine enemies cannot be satisfied unless they suck my blood." The chief justice said he should explain his case, and the queen would act with impartiality; but such a tumult arose among the earl's followers, who wished to kill the messengers from the queen, that he placed them in an inner room for safety, and having bolted them in, set a guard over them.

The earl then rushed into the streets with his drawn sword in his hand, and was followed by most of his wild associates. Hurrying into the city, he called out —"For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" The citizens flock around in amazement, and many cried, "God bless your honour!" but none of them armed in his cause. Thus disappointed he went to the house of one of the sheriffs, and stopped there about two hours, debating what was best to be done. It ended in his resolving to return to Essex House; but he found the streets barricaded, and guarded by companies of armed men. A skirmish took place; several persons lost their lives; and the earl contrived to reach the river, enter a boat, and regain his own house. The doomed noble fortified the

building (which was soon surrounded by an armed force), and resolved to stand on his own defence. At length some pieces of cannon were pointed against the edifice, and he surrendered.

Conduct of this character could not lightly be passed over; and Essex and his friend, Lord Southampton, who had shared in his insurrection, were, on the 19th of February, placed upon their trial as traitors. Essex pleaded not guilty, and called the Deity to witness that he had done nothing except in his own defence. But his treasonable actions had been committed in open day, in the sight of all men; and, as might have been expected, he was sentenced to suffer death as a traitor. Essex acted as if he expected this fate, saying that though he would not despise the mercy of the queen, he would make no cringing submission to obtain it. Southampton behaved very submissively, and, although he met the same sentence as his friend, was afterwards pardoned.

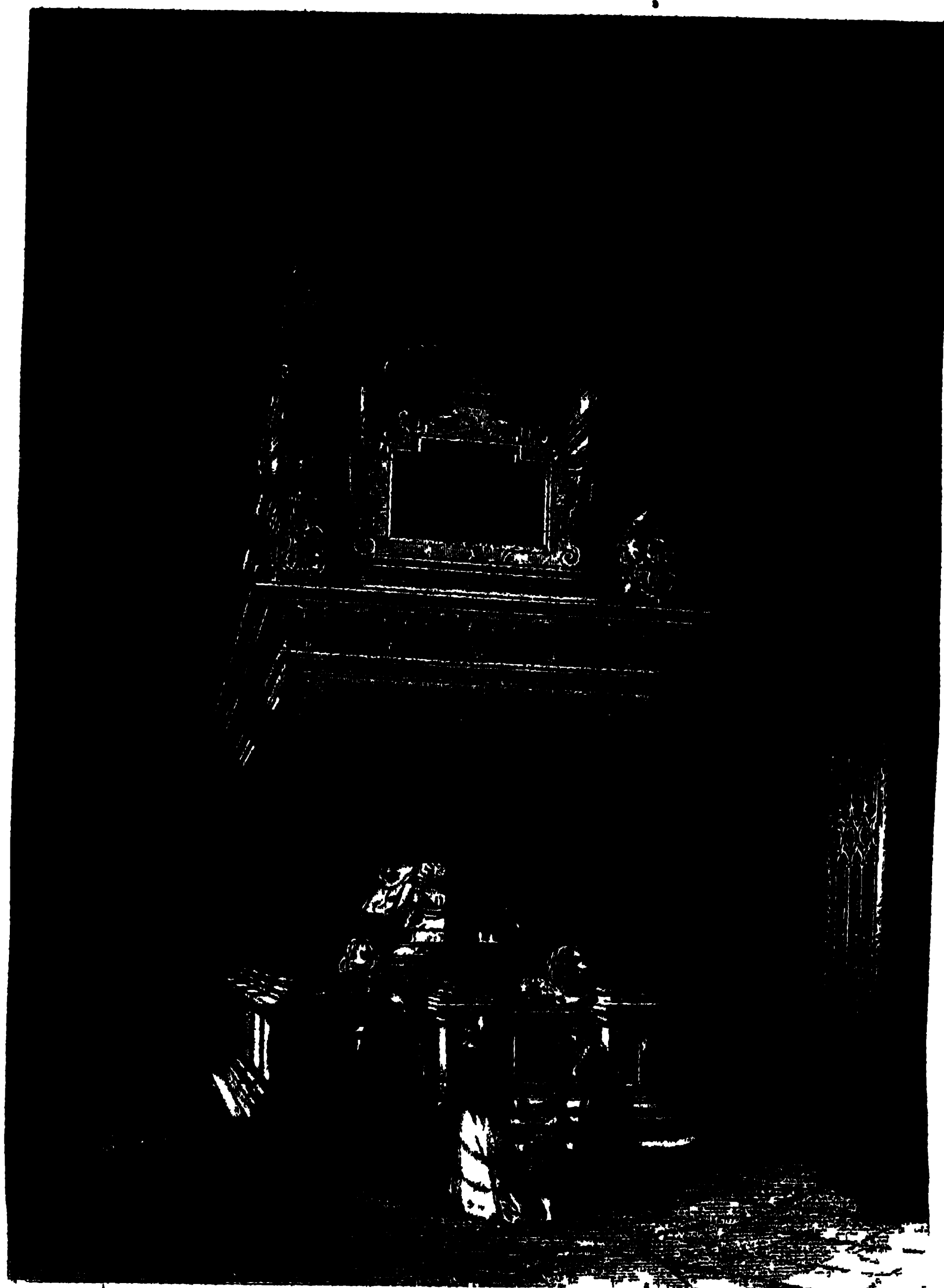
There was one event connected with this trial that must be deplored by every one who regrets that the loftiest human genius should be contaminated by the basest ingratitude. Francis Bacon, afterwards the great philosopher, Lord Bacon, though not one of the crown lawyers, voluntarily appeared as a prosecutor of the earl. That nobleman had been his patron and kindest friend, and had acted towards him with a generosity actually romantic. Having, on one occasion, vainly begged for Bacon the office of solicitor-general, the open-hearted noble presented him with an estate near Twickenham, worth about £2,000, to make up for the disappointment. Yet this very man, to obtain the queen's favour, did not hesitate to do all he could to procure the condemnation of one who had acted towards him in so liberal and kindly a manner. He compared the conduct of Essex to that of Pisistratus the Athenian, who, pretending to be in danger of assassination, inflicted some wounds upon himself, and having made the people believe that his enemies had done the violence, obtained a guard of soldiers to protect him, by whose assistance he afterwards established tyranny in his country. Well might Alexander Pope, a poet of a later age, exclaim—

——— "See how Bacon shined,
The wisest, greatest, *meanest* of mankind."

The unfortunate Essex was privately beheaded in the Tower, on the 25th of February, 1601. He bore his fate with calmness and dignity, and was much pitied by the nation. He was only thirty-four years old when, by his rashness and violence, he fell a victim to the offended laws of his country. He was a man of many talents, much literary taste, and a writer of great elegance and power. It is said that the queen was much grieved at his fate, and hesitated for a long time before she could prevail on herself to sign his death-warrant. Some momentary pang she might have felt; but her tenderness for him had long departed, and the stories about her anguish in consequence of his execution, appear to be without foundation. Some of Essex's friends and dependents were afterwards put to death as accomplices in his treason. The unhappy earl had been so much beloved by the people, that the queen lost much of her popularity by his death.

On the 27th of October, 1601, Elizabeth met her last parliament. The brown shrivelled leaves, which every gust of wind swept from the almost bared branches of the trees, was a type of her condition. Age had done its work; and, although she was dressed more magnificently than ever, she was suffering from the decay of her constitution; her eye was dim, her hand trembled, and her step was feeble. The war in Ireland, which was not yet concluded, had cost her enormous sums, and she was extremely in want of money. This the Commons did not grudge her; but the reforming spirit was active amongst them, and they came prepared for a struggle. For some years the nation had been groaning under an oppression so monstrous, that at last it could scarcely be borne. This was the system of monopolies. The queen had, from time to time, rewarded the services of her servants or courtiers by granting them patents, which secured to them an exclusive right of selling some particular commodity, and of charging what price they pleased for it. These monopolies were exercised in a very extortionate manner, and a check was put upon all industry and commerce.—So impudent were some holders of them, that in certain places salt was raised from 1*s.* 4*d.* a bushel to 14*s.* or 15*s.* Many of the articles most necessary for subsistence or comfort were given over to some rapacious courtiers. Wine, coals, iron, lead, saltpetre, currants, starch, oil, glass, paper, leather, and other such things, were included in the list. When an account was read to the house, one member asked if bread was not in the number? "Bread!" cried every one with surprise. "Yes, I assure you," continued he, "if affairs go on at this rate, we shall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament."

The Commons had, some time before, presented a petition to the queen against these monstrous abuses, or rather robberies of the people; but she had returned a stern refusal, and protected her courtiers in their oppressions. On the 20th of November, therefore, Mr. Laurence Hyde brought in a bill, the object of which was to prevent letters patent, granting monopolies, from being issued. For four days a violent debate took place in the house on this bill—such a debate as had never occurred within its walls before; and it was felt that the temper of the house threatened



a crisis, the consequences of which no one could foresee. The wise and prudent queen prevented it, however, and saved her fast-declining popularity, by sending, on the 25th of November, a message to the parliament, that she would abolish all those monopolies which should be proved to be injurious to her people.

The joy and gratitude of the Commons exceeded description: they were prepared for an angry struggle; but this timely submission of their sovereign instantly disarmed them. One member declared, with tears in his eyes, that if a sentence of everlasting happiness had been pronounced in his favour, his joy could not have been greater than it then was. The house voted the queen a liberal supply of money, and a committee of the members waited upon her on the 30th of November, when the Speaker expressed their gratitude in a very fulsome and extravagant speech.

In the last year of Elizabeth's life, Tyrone and the rest of the Irish rebels were defeated, and tranquillity restored to that country, by Lord Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex as lord-lieutenant. The queen's long career was now closing; and although everything was done by her courtiers to render her life happy, and to make her forget that she was old and infirm, yet she sunk into a deep melancholy, from which no one could arouse her. Many inquiries were made as to the cause of her grief; and a romantic story has been told about it, which is, however, entitled to very little credit. It was said that, in a moment of fondness, she gave the unfortunate Earl of Essex a ring, and told him to keep that as a pledge of her affection; for whatever prejudices or anger she might at any time be induced to feel against him, yet, if he sent her that ring, the sight of it would recall her former tenderness, and she would listen favourably to his excuse. Essex, it was added, kept this gift to the last extremity; but when condemned to die, he gave it to the Countess of Nottingham, and requested her to deliver it to the queen. The husband of the countess hated Essex, and persuaded her not to fulfil the charge she had undertaken; and the consequence was, that Elizabeth was so vexed at what she thought the obstinacy of her favourite, that, after many struggles between resentment and affection, she signed the warrant for his execution. When at the point of death, the countess was seized with remorse for the treacherous part she had acted, and having induced the queen to visit her, she craved her pardon and revealed her own cruel conduct. The astonished Elizabeth burst into a furious passion—shook the dying woman in her bed, and crying out, that "God might pardon her, but she never would," abruptly left the room, and from that moment resigned herself to the wretchedness of profound sorrow and despair.

This account of the cause of the queen's melancholy is generally believed: though some suppose that it arose from constant suffering, want of sleep, and a dread of death. She could not be persuaded to take to her bed, from a fear that she should never rise from it again; and for several days she sat or lay on cushions placed upon the floor. During this time she was oppressed with burning fever, and such an accumulation of phlegm in her throat, that she was sometimes in danger of being strangled by it. Her attendants at length induced her to go to bed; for it was plain that her last hour was approaching. The next day, Sir Robert Cecil, together with the chancellor and the lord admiral, begged her to mention whom she desired to be her successor. With a slight start she gave this mysterious and singular answer—"I will have no rascal to succeed me!"

The courtiers looked at each other with amazement; and then Cecil asked her for a more particular explanation. She replied that she would have a king to succeed her; and who could that be but her cousin, the King of Scots? Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, then offered up prayers, and advised her to fix her thoughts upon God. She answered she did so, nor did they at all wander from Him. Soon afterwards her speech failed, and she sank into a sort of torpor. At three o'clock in the morning of the 24th of March, 1603, this famous sovereign died gently, without any seeming pain or struggle. She was in the seventieth year of her age, and the forty-fifth of her reign.

In the character of this great princess there was a strange mixture of virtues and vices; and although her reign produced much good to the English nation, it is hard to say which were the most prominent. She possessed uncommon talents, and an iron will that broke down opposition and triumphed over difficulties; was familiar with Greek and Latin; and wrote or translated several books herself. She was active, wise, subtle, and had great readiness of address. She was a woman of immense ambition; always dignified in her manner; sometimes proud even to haughtiness, though occasionally extremely condescending. Attached to her people, and careful of their property, her care in this respect amounted to parsimony; but she was sometimes generous. She was loved by her subjects, especially by the Protestants, who, until long after the death of Mary Stuart, believed that the prosperity of the reformed religion depended upon her existence. With an arbitrary temper she united wisdom, and always knew when to yield to the just demands of her people. Though she treated the Catholics with great severity, it was not only on account of their religious tenets, but because she believed them to be disloyal to herself, and desirous of placing Mary upon the English throne. Elizabeth

was no bigot; and could she have relied upon the Catholics as faithful subjects, would no doubt have granted them a liberal toleration. Though rather capricious, her affection for her male favourites was sometimes powerful, yet her passions were always under her control. It should be added, that her strength of mind was shown by the fact, that surrounded as she was by men of remarkable talents, she never suffered any of them to gain an ascendancy over her. However much she needed their advice, she had always the tact to remain their sovereign, and not descend to be their companion.

Here ends the list of her good qualities; and they were many: the reverse of the picture is very displeasing. She had a strong disposition to tyranny, which was checked sometimes by her sound sense, but more often by the opposition of her people. She was heartless, unforgiving, and cruel. Ridiculously vain; frivolously fond of dress; strangely envious; and very bitter in her hatred; sometimes coarse in her conversation; and a great swearer. But her greatest vice was her insincerity: she was constantly acting a false part, and seemed positively fond of dissimulation. Even if, in one or two things we have mentioned, Elizabeth has been misrepresented, still her conduct to Mary, Queen of Scots, will remain a lasting blot upon her character. If her faults had not been redeemed by virtues, she would have been despicable; but, mingled as they were, they formed a woman whom few could have loved, but a sovereign whom, to this day, all Englishmen remember with a feeling of great admiration.

CHAPTER LXV.

THE GREAT ENGLISHMEN OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THE time during which Elizabeth governed England, or the Elizabethan age, as it is called, produced so many great and brilliant men, especially in literature, that it is necessary to devote a chapter to a very brief account of the most famous of them. Foremost of all stood those two wonderfully-gifted men, the prince of poets and the prince of philosophers—William Shakspeare and Francis, Lord Bacon. Though in widely different paths, they were, perhaps, equal in genius; but great as both were, Shakspeare deserves the pre-eminence, because, unlike the lordly philosopher, no dark shadow obscures the brilliancy of his name.

Very little is known with certainty of the life of Shakspeare; but the main facts of it are as follows:—His father was a respectable townsman of Stratford-on-Avon, where he carried on the trade of a wool-stapler. William was born on the 23rd of April, 1564, and was one of a family of eight children. He was educated at the free grammar-school of his native town; and before he reached the age of nineteen he married Anne Hathaway, the daughter of a substantial yeoman, who lived in the neighbouring village of Shottery. Anne was nearly eight years older than her youthful husband; and although the marriage seems to have been a love match, it did not turn out a very happy one.

When he was about one-and-twenty, Shakspeare went to London, literally to seek his fortune. There is an old story, that he and several foolish companions shot a deer in the park of a neighbouring magistrate, Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlcote; and that he went to London to avoid the anger of that gentleman; but many doubts are held about its truth. As he was very fond of poetry and acting, on arriving in the metropolis he applied to the players, and was employed in some way about the theatre. First he became an actor, and then a writer of plays, which were so full of exquisite poetry and humour, that in a few years he was considered the greatest poet of his time. But he had many trials to undergo, and many difficulties to overcome, before he arrived at that point. Though naturally a very cheerful man, his troubles were at one time so great, and his prospects so dark, that he almost fell into despair; but he was patient, industrious, and persevering, and at last made a handsome fortune; became a favourite of the court; and his plays were frequently presented before Queen Elizabeth, who was so pleased with them, that she rewarded the poet with many an approving smile. He lived after the death of Elizabeth, and became quite as great a favourite with her successor, James I. In the year 1613, Shakspeare retired to his native town, which is a place of great rural beauty, to pass the rest of his life in tranquillity. Unhappily, he did not enjoy the result of his industry very long: he died during the month of April, 1616, on his 52nd birthday. He was buried in the calm, solemn-looking old church of Stratford-on-Avon. A few years after his death a monument was erected over his grave, on which was

placed an epitaph in Latin, worthy of his illustrious memory. It is thus rendered into English:—

"In judgment a Nestor—in genius a Socrates—in art a Maro:
The earth covers him; the people mourn for him; Olympus has him."

There are some more lines in English, very complimentary, but not remarkable in any other way. Though much admired in his own time, Shakspeare has been thought a great deal more of since his death; and he is now considered the greatest poet that England, or perhaps the world, ever produced. A modern writer says—"Poetry is in some minds a disease, a passionate outburst of frenzy, or a piteous wailing to the stars about the wrongs done on earth; but in Shakspeare it was an ever-varying and refreshing fountain, wholesome and cheering. His mind was so finely balanced, that it is difficult to say which faculty predominated in it—judgment, imagination, fancy, wit, humour, or benevolence. Each in its turn bore sway, and each united in producing an inexpressible charm throughout his works. I cannot describe him otherwise than by saying that he possessed a combination of intellectual gifts. He was a mind of gigantic power, and that, too, in all directions: in most things he would have been great—as distinguished, perhaps, as a statesman or a warrior, as a poet."

Francis Bacon, who is spoken of in the last chapter, and who eventually became Baron of Verulam and Viscount of St. Alban's, was born on the 22nd of January, 1561. His father was Sir Nicholas Bacon, who, for the first twenty years of Elizabeth's reign, held the great seal of England. When a boy, Francis showed that he possessed a very powerful intellect; and as the death of his father obliged him to follow some profession for a livelihood, he chose the law. Lord Burleigh was his uncle; but that distinguished statesman disliked his nephew, and would do nothing for him. For a long time he struggled with what may be called poverty for a man in his position in society; and how he was assisted by the generous Earl of Essex, and how ungratefully he turned against his friend, has already been mentioned. He even blackened the character of that nobleman after his execution, in a paper which he wrote at the command of the queen. So severe was he upon the memory of his unhappy patron, that his conduct provoked general disgust.

When James ascended the English throne, Bacon was received into his favour. Having obtained the honour of knighthood, he soon afterwards married an attractive young lady, named Alice Barnham, the daughter of a wealthy alderman, and was made solicitor-general. He now began to publish those wonderful and profound works, which have gained for him the names of the apostle and reformer of modern philosophy. In 1605 appeared his work *On the Advancement of Learning;* and, in 1610, that *On the Wisdom of the Ancients.* The next year he became judge of the Marshalsea Court, and registrar of the odious Star-Chamber. In 1619, he was created Lord High Chancellor of England, and raised to the peerage. In the January of 1620, he entered his sixtieth year, and soon afterwards produced his great work, called the *Novum Organum*, or the nature of things—a book so extraordinary as to draw forth eloquent praises from the most distinguished men in Europe.

It might have been expected that a life so brilliant and so far advanced would have been closed without dishonour. It is painful to say that this was not the case. He was accused, in the year 1621, by the House of Commons, of accepting bribes in his office of chancellor, and of giving false judgments for money. Twenty-three charges of corruption were brought against him; and the great philosopher was compelled humbly to confess his guilty conduct, and throw himself on the mercy of the House of Lords. When a number of nobles called upon him to inquire whether his confession was really signed by himself, he replied in a voice made tremulous by a profound sense of degradation—"My lords, it is my act, my hand, my heart. I beseech your lordships to be merciful to a broken reed." The peers felt for the fallen scholar, and treated him with respect. But he was sentenced to pay a fine of £40,000; to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; and declared to be incapable of ever again holding any place or employment.

Still, such was the admiration held of his great talents, that King James released him from the Tower, remitted his fine, took him again into favour, and gave him a pension of £1,200 a year. He then continued his philosophical studies, wrote several other works, and died in the year 1626, at the age of sixty-five. He perished a martyr to those noble pursuits which had occupied the best and purest part of his life. Having thought that snow might be used in preventing animal food from becoming putrid, he stepped from his carriage near Highgate, and entering a cottage, bought a fowl, and stuffed it with snow with his own hands. While thus employed, he felt a sudden chill, and was soon so indisposed that he was carried to a house in the neighbourhood, belonging to his friend the Earl of Arundel. There he got rapidly worse, and died in about a week afterwards.

In an eloquent essay on the life and philosophy of Lord Bacon, by that delightful writer, Macaulay, the author says—"What was the end which Bacon proposed to himself? It was, to use his own emphatic

expression, '*fruit.*' It was the multiplying of human enjoyments, and the mitigating of human sufferings." Again, in comparing the ancient philosopher (Plato) with the modern one (Bacon), the same writer remarks —"To sum up the whole, we should say that the aim of the Platonic philosophy was to exalt man into a god. The aim of the Baconian philosophy was to provide man with what he requires while he continues to be man. The aim of the Platonic philosophy was to raise us far above vulgar wants. The former aim was noble, but the latter was attainable. Plato drew a good bow; but, like Acestes in Virgil, he aimed at the stars; and therefore, though there was no want of strength or skill, the shot was thrown away. His arrow was indeed followed by a track of dazzling radiance, but it struck nothing. Bacon fixed his eye on a mark which was placed on the earth, and within bow-shot, and hit it in the white. The philosophy of Plato began in words, and ended in words—noble words indeed—words such as were to be expected from the finest of human intellects, exercising boundless dominion over the finest of human languages. The philosophy of Bacon began in *observations*, and ended in *arts*."

Next to Shakspeare, the most famous poet of the time of Queen Elizabeth was Edmund Spenser. The work upon which his reputation stands is an allegorical poem, of great beauty, called the *Faëry Queen*. It is extremely imaginative and romantic, and the language is gorgeously eloquent—indeed dazzling, on account of its uninterrupted brightness; but, for that very reason, apt to fatigue those who read much of it at a time. Spenser was born in London, in the year 1553, and educated at the university of Cambridge. Having dedicated a work, called the *Shepherd's Calendar*, to a brother poet (Sir Philip Sidney), that gentleman procured him a valuable appointment in Ireland. He lived for some time in that country, returning occasionally to England; and having, on one of these visits, dedicated a part of his *Faëry Queen* to Elizabeth, she graciously conferred on him a pension of £50 a year. He was ruined by the Irish rebellion, under the Earl of Tyrone, which compelled him to flee into England to save his life. His house had been set on fire by the rebels; and, in the confusion of flight, his infant child was left behind, and perished in the flames. These misfortunes broke the heart of the gifted poet, and he died a few months afterwards—on the 16th of January, 1599, when but in the meridian of life; for he had not reached his forty-sixth year. It is said that he died in great poverty; but this has been doubted, because he was buried in Westminster Abbey, at the expense of the liberal Earl of Essex, who, it is rationally supposed, would not have allowed him to want. Several brother poets attended his funeral, and, in admiration of their departed friend, threw copies of verses into his grave.

The name of Sir Philip Sidney is usually mentioned after that of the musical Spenser; but, though very famous as a poet in his own time, he owed his reputation partly to his accomplishments as a soldier and a statesman. He was born at Penshurst, in Kent, on the 29th of November, 1554. His most distinguished work is a pastoral romance, which, in honour of his sister, who had married the Earl of Pembroke, he called *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. It is a mixture of prose and verse; but it is not much to the taste of modern readers. He also wrote *The Defence of Poetry*; *Astrophel and Stella*; and some minor pieces. He was considered the very model of an accomplished gentleman; and after a life spent in literature and the exercise of chivalry, was killed by a musket-ball in the year 1586, at the battle of Zutphen, in the Netherlands. His humanity was as great as his talents. While lying upon the field of battle, mangled with wounds, and parched with that feverish thirst which they occasion, a bottle of water was brought to relieve him. As he was about to raise it to his lips, he saw a wretched soldier near him, who seemed to be suffering more severely than himself, and he immediately gave him the bottle, saying, "This man's necessity is greater than mine."

Sir Walter Raleigh was distinguished as a writer, traveller, soldier, and statesman. The incidents of his life are numerous, and so varied that they read like a romance. He was born in 1552, at Budleigh, in Devonshire: his father was a gentleman of that county. Sir Walter won the favour of Elizabeth by a graceful, though extravagant, act of politeness. The queen was one day walking, attended by a crowd of courtiers, when her path was obstructed by a muddy puddle. On observing this, Raleigh immediately took off his richly embroidered velvet cloak, and spread it upon the ground before her, as a foot-cloth. At the age of seventeen Raleigh made one of a volunteer corps, composed of a hundred gentlemen, whom Queen Elizabeth permitted to go to France in aid of the Huguenots. He served in France five years, and subsequently in the Netherlands, as a volunteer under the Prince of Orange. Returning from the continent in 1576, and finding that his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, had obtained a patent to colonise any part of North America not settled by the allies of England, he engaged with a considerable number of gentlemen to go out to Newfoundland; but the expedition proved unsuccessful, and he returned to England in 1579, after having been exposed to several dangers. The following year he proceeded to Ireland, in command of a company of the royal troops sent to suppress the

rebellion raised by the Earl of Desmond, and became so conspicuous for his bravery in quelling the insurgents, that he was most graciously received at court; and soon after, his handsome person and attractive manners so far gained him the favour of the queen, that he was knighted, made Captain of the Guard, Seneschal of the County of Cornwall, and Lord Warden of the Stannaries; and he was also presented with a large grant of the forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond, and a lucrative patent for licensing the vendors of wine in England. In the year 1584 he got up a society for making discoveries and settlements in North America. Having led an expedition to the New World, he returned to England, and wrote a book about his travels, full of absurd stories. He said that he had visited the fabled El Dorado, or land of gold, and that in it was a city called Manoa, which shone with gold and silver, and was so large that it took two days to walk through it; that there was a nation composed of Amazons, or warlike women, and a tribe of men whose heads were placed in their bosoms. Raleigh subsequently, in connection with a relation of his, Sir Richard Grenville, attempted to found the settlement of Virginia, to which Sir Walter gave that pretty name in honour of Elizabeth, who was a virgin queen. Almost the only fruit of this expedition, which cost Raleigh a large sum, was the introduction of tobacco and potatoes into England.—Sir Walter was very greedy and avaricious, and his character was a strange mixture of virtues and vices: unfortunately, the latter have thrown a dark shado over his otherwise brilliant reputation. He bitterly hated the Earl of Essex; and, having helped to procure his condemnation, had the ill-feeling secretly to witness his execution from a window of the armoury. His career of prosperity ended with the life of Elizabeth; and some years afterwards (in 1618), he himself perished by the hands of the executioner. What led him to so terrible an end forms part of the history of the next reign.

After Shakspeare, the two most famous dramatic poets of that age were Christopher Marlowe and Ben Jonson. Of the first very little is known. He was a writer of some genius; but his works are extravagant and bombastic; and his conduct was extremely wild and dissipated. He perished in the early summer of his life, being killed in a tavern during a quarrel about a worthless woman.

Of Ben Jonson we have the fullest particulars; for he was a very vain man, and continually writing about himself. He was born in 1574, and was the son of a clergyman, whose death left his family in great poverty. His widow, therefore, married a man of the homely trade of a bricklayer, and Benjamin was brought up to that occupation. This was not to his taste; so he left home, enlisted as a private soldier, and was engaged in actual warfare in Holland. On his return to England he determined to become an author, and by some means he contrived to enter the university of Cambridge; but he was too poor to be able to remain there long. He then obtained an engagement as an actor at a small theatre in Shoreditch, called the Curtain; but having killed a fellow-performer in a duel, he was sent to prison, and narrowly escaped being put to death as a murderer. While in confinement he was converted to the Romish church by a Catholic priest who attended him; but after remaining a member of that faith for twelve years, he returned to the Protestant communion. On being set at liberty he turned dramatist; and at length won the favour of James I., who made him poet-laureate—that is, his own poet, who was to celebrate every important event which might happen in the royal family. He lived also to enjoy the favour of Charles I.; but he was improvident and died in poverty. The cause of his death was an attack of palsy, which terminated his existence in 1637.—He is an author of whose talents most people speak with great respect, but whose works are very little read. They show a great deal of learning and carefulness, but little or no genius. They are extremely indecent, and quite unfit to be read aloud. His comedies, though they have a good deal of humour, are vulgar, forced, and unnatural; and his tragedies are more learned and declamatory than eloquent or touching. The characters he creates are rather oddities than copies from nature: he drew the fashions and absurdities of his day, and not the emotions by which men and women are influenced in all times and ages; still, there are passages in his poems which are dignified and noble. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, which shows that he was much thought of in his own time.

There is still another poet—or rather poetess—who has not yet been mentioned. We think it is not generally known that Queen Elizabeth herself wooed the muses, in a style little, if at all, inferior to that of the writers whose names are handed down to us as the greatest geniuses of the age in which they lived. A specimen of her majesty's talents in this direction is appended. It is a "love poem," or rather a "lament," written when the projected matrimonial alliance with the Duke d'Anjou finally came to an end. At this time the duke had left England, after his interview with the queen. We have not given extracts from the other writers of this period, as it would far exceed our limits; but as these verses of Elizabeth's will be a novelty to many, if not to the majority, of our readers, we think they should have a place. They certainly prove that there was a manifest struggle between duty and passion when Elizabeth sacrificed her own inclina-

tions to the wishes of her people and parliament, by giving up her marriage with the Duke d'Anjou. The verses are preserved in the Ashmolean collection.

"ON MOUNT ZEUR'S DEPARTURE.

"I grieve, yet dare not shew my discontent;
I love, and yet am forced to seem to hate;
I dote, but dare not what I ever meant;
I seem stark mute, yet inwardly doe prate;
I am, and am not—freeze, and yet I burn;
Since from myself, my other self I turn.

"My care is like my shadow in the sun—
Follows me flying—flies when I pursue it;
Stands and lives by me—does what I have done:
This too familiar care doth make me rue it.
No means I find to rid him from my breast,
Till by the end of things it be suppressed.

"Some gentler passion steal into my mind
(For I am soft, and made of melting snow);
Or be more cruel, Love, or be more kind,
Or let me float or sink, be high or low;
Or let me live with some more sweet content,
Or die, and so forget what love e'er meant.

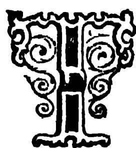
"Eliza Regina."

Amongst the other famous men of this period may be reckoned Lord Burleigh, the great statesman; and his son, Sir Robert Cecil: the learned Bishop Jewel, whose famous book, the *Apology for the Church of England*, was translated into seven different languages, and said to have had more effect in bringing about the Reformation than any other work ever published: Richard Hooker, a celebrated clergyman, who acquired a great reputation by writing a work to defend the established church from the attacks of the Puritans: and Sir Thomas Gresham, a London merchant, who built the first Royal Exchange, and endeavoured to erect a university in the metropolis. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins were also contemporary with Elizabeth; and as the valour and abilities of these brave navigators greatly assisted in first making the English name terrible at sea, it will be necessary to give a short sketch of their lives. Drake was born at Tavistock, in Devonshire, in the year 1545. His father, who was a staunch Protestant, had, during the reign of Queen Mary, taken up his residence in Kent, to avoid being persecuted on account of his religion. He was subsequently appointed vicar of Upnor, near Chatham; and his celebrated son Francis was bound apprentice to a neighbour, the master of a vessel engaged in the coasting trade. On the death of the latter, young Drake engaged in the royal navy, under his relative Sir John Hawkins, and was distinguished for the courage he displayed in the last adventure of Hawkins against the Spaniards. It was here Drake gained his reputation, but lost his property; and a desire to revenge himself on the Spaniards took possession of him. He soon joined with other adventurers in fitting out a vessel, and made some money by various enterprises that must be considered of a piratical nature. In 1570, he obtained a commission from Elizabeth, and was subsequently employed against his old enemies the Spaniards. Having visited South America, he entered two of the Spanish colonies, and brought home a rich booty. He subsequently equipped three frigates at his own expense, and with these served under the Earl of Essex in Ireland. His services were so highly appreciated at court, that he was favourably received; and Queen Elizabeth did him the honour to partake of an entertainment given on board his ship, on which occasion he received the honour of knighthood. He further distinguished himself, in 1587, by the strenuous efforts he made to upset the designs of the Spaniards; and when the Invincible Armada approached these shores, his daring, as we have already recorded, contributed largely to its total discomfiture. At a later period he represented Plymouth in the House of Commons, and was often employed against the Spaniards. His last experiment, connected with an attempt to cross the isthmus of Darien, proved unfortunate. He lost many men from sickness, and died himself in 1595, fuller of honours than of years. His old companion in arms, Hawkins, was born at Plymouth, in 1520. In 1562 he equipped a small fleet, some merchants participating in his venture; and having procured, partly by purchase and partly by violence, 300 negroes, he carried his human cargo to Hispaniola, and there sold them. He was the first European who introduced the inhuman traffic of the slave-trade into the West Indies. He engaged in other expeditions of a similar character; but at length, having been made a rear-admiral, he served his country against the Spanish Armada, receiving from Elizabeth the distinction of knighthood for the services he had rendered. In 1595, he was selected, in conjunction with Drake, to command an armament sent against the Spanish colonies in the West Indies, where he died in the same year. He was the founder of an hospital at Chatham for poor and sick seamen.

Many more such men there were, deserving honourable mention;—men who contributed to make the time in which they lived a glorious period, in spite of all its wrongs—a period on which every Englishman reflects with an excusable national pride and respectful admiration.

CHAPTER LXVI.

THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST.—A.D. 1603—1606.



HE royal family of Tudor perished with Queen Elizabeth, and her successor was the first member of THE HOUSE OF STUART that governed England.

James was thirty-seven years of age when he became King of England. He had been married, fourteen years before, to the Princess Anne, a daughter of the King of Denmark, on which account the lady was called Anne of Denmark. Therefore James, on his accession, was of a mature age, and a husband and a father. He was a considerable scholar, and had written several books, especially one upon witchcraft; but he was a very unkingly person in his appearance and manners. He had light, meaningless, goggle eyes; his tongue was too large for his mouth; and this gave him, not only an impediment in his speech, but a disagreeable habit of slobbering over his dress, which was generally slovenly, and sometimes even dirty. He had also a weakness in his legs, which made him waddle in his walk; he talked with a broad Scottish accent; and was altogether very ungraceful and undignified.

On receiving news of the death of Elizabeth, James started from Edinburgh on the 5th of April, and travelled, in a very leisurely manner, to London, where he arrived on the 7th of May. At Newark-upon-Trent, a thief, who had contrived to mingle with his attendants, was taken in the act of picking a pocket. James ordered him to be hanged at once, without any trial, saying a rope was the best cure for such offences. As no one dared to expostulate, the command was obeyed; but the people looked very serious at this unpromising beginning of a reign.

The new king wished to win the affection of the nation; and to obtain it he knighted nearly every gentleman that entered his presence. Elizabeth had been very slow in conferring honours; but titles cost James nothing, and he gave them away with a profusion that excited ridicule. Before he had been six weeks in England he had created 237 new knights. Sir Robert Cecil became his minister, and was made Lord Cecil; afterwards he was called Viscount Cranborne; and at last Earl of Salisbury. Elizabeth had been buried without much pomp, in Westminster Abbey, before James arrived at London; and the new sovereign was crowned, in the same venerable building, on the 25th of July, 1603. There was much feasting, and many shows and pageants; but it must have been rather a melancholy ceremony; for, notwithstanding the time of year, the sky was black with clouds, it rained incessantly, and the plague raged in London.

Immediately after James's coronation, he was waited on by ambassadors from the European states, most of whom were anxious to obtain the friendship of England: to all, the king's answer was, "Peace at home and abroad! above all things, peace."

While James was so desirous for peace abroad, a wild, mysterious conspiracy was got up against him at home. This affair has never been clearly understood; but it seems there were two plots: the object of those engaged in the first being, to seize the king, and keep him in confinement until he promised to change his ministers, grant a toleration of the Catholics, and a pardon for the conspirators. Those engaged in the second plot had the still more serious intention of attempting to depose James, and place the Lady Arabella Stuart on the throne in his stead. This Lady Arabella had a distant claim to the crown, being descended from Henry VII.; and some desperate men who had forfeited the favour of James, wished to exalt her to the royalty of England.

Two Catholic priests, named Watson and Clarke, and George Brooke, a gentleman, were put to death as traitors for being concerned in the first; and the accomplished Sir Walter Raleigh, together with the Lords Cobham, Grey, and other persons, were arrested and tried for the second conspiracy. When Raleigh was placed on his trial, he defended himself with wonderful learning and eloquence. Sir Edward Coke, the famous lawyer, who was then attorney-general, was the prosecutor on behalf of the king, and he abused the prisoner in a very gross and savage manner. He called him an atheist, a spider of hell, and a vile and most execrable traitor. Raleigh interrupted him by saying, "You speak indiscreetly, barbarously, and uncivilly."—"I want words," continued Coke, in a flaming passion; "I want words to express thy viperous treasons."—"That is true," replied the witty prisoner; "for you have spoken the same thing half-a-dozen times over already." In the end, Raleigh was found guilty, and sentenced to death as a traitor. But the time of that great, but unprincipled, wit and scholar had not yet come. James granted him a reprieve, and sent him back to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner for thirteen years. Lords

Cobham and Grey, and a gentleman named Sir Griffin Markham, who had shared in Raleigh's treasons, were taken to the block, and pardoned after they had laid their heads upon it. But this dilatory mercy was little better than death; for the king seized their property, and committed them to close confinement. Grey died in the Tower; Cobham escaped, and perished from want in a miserable garret in the Minories.

The cause of these conspiracies was, that James declared he would not tolerate any religion except that of the established church of England, or the Episcopalian, as it was called; that is, a church governed by bishops, in imitation of the one founded by the apostles. The Catholics had been kept down, in the previous reign, by a cruel persecution; but the Puritans had been gaining in power and in numbers. Before James had been a year on the throne, they petitioned him to reform the ceremonies and abuses of the church, and to grant them a conference with the bishops. The king, who loved discussion and making speeches, granted their request; and a meeting was held at Hampton Court, between the bishops and the Puritans, he himself presiding as moderator.

The object of this conference was to decide which form of religion was the best—that of the Anglican church, or Puritanism. Such a meeting seemed very fair and just; but James had made up his mind which party to decide for before he heard the arguments; for he had long entertained a bitter dislike to the Puritans. It was very natural that he should; for the Puritans of Scotland had constantly thwarted and vexed him in his own country; and they had cruelly persecuted his unfortunate mother. He knew, also, that they cherished the principles of liberty, and were even suspected of thinking that the nation could get on very well without a king at all. This was sufficient; and James made up his mind to decide in favour of the bishops.

The conference began on the 14th of January, 1604: on one side were about twenty bishops; but James would only permit four Puritan divines on the other. The latter demanded, amongst other things, that the Book of Common Prayer should be revised; that the sign of the cross in baptism should be abolished, together with the ceremony of confirmation; the use of the ring in marriage; the reading of the Apocrypha; and the bowing at the name of Jesus. The bishops rested the dispute principally upon the Prayer Book, which they earnestly contended for; and then James himself wound up a long speech in their favour by saying—"No bishop, no king." Afterwards he said—"If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agrees as well with monarchy as God with the devil. The Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick shall meet, and, at their pleasure, censure me and my council, and all our proceedings." He then dismissed the Puritan divines in an insulting manner, and decided in favour of the bishops. The latter flattered the king in a very gross fashion; one of them declaring, upon his knees, that his majesty spoke by the special assistance of the Almighty Spirit.

James, however, made a few trifling alterations in the Prayer Book; and then he issued a proclamation, commanding a strict conformity to the established Protestant church. In consequence of this, 300 preachers, attached to the Puritan principles, were driven from their livings, and thrown upon the world to labour or to starve. The Catholics, also, were hunted about like wild beasts; and, in a little time, the prisons were full of persons, whose only crime was, that they practised a different form of religion to that sanctioned by the king, and which was now followed by the majority of the people. While men were thus pining in dungeons for professing what they believed to be truth, James spent almost the whole of his time in hunting, of which amusement he was immoderately fond.

On the 19th of March the king met his first parliament. He had given an indirect command that neither Catholics nor Puritans should be elected members of it; but there were many of the latter in the new House of Commons. Before proceeding to business, a dispute arose between the members and the king about the legal election of one of their number. James, assuming that he was an *absolute* king, sent a command to the Commons, which they declined to obey, and, in the end, he was compelled to give up the point. Having voted the king a small supply of money, the Commons set zealously to work to reform the abuses of government. Monopolies were not yet put down; and the parliament wisely saw that these abuses were ruining the commerce of the country. They turned their attention, also, to the abolition of wardship and purveyance. Wardship was the right to become guardian to all rich young people who had lost their parents, and to receive the rents of their estates until they came of age, without giving any account of the money. Purveyance was the right which the English kings had long exercised, of taking anybody's corn, cattle, or horses, and paying what price for them they pleased—which was never a price that satisfied the lawful owner. It was proposed to buy these privileges of the king; but so many difficulties were found in the way of doing a just action, that, for the present, it was abandoned. The parliament, however, showed such a disposition towards improvements, and the assertion of its own liberties, that when they had sat scarcely four months, James prorogued or put off their meeting until the February of the next year. Before they parted they begged the king to put into rigid practice all the severe laws against the Catholics.

That the Protestant form of the Christian religion is more pure, more simple, and more in unison with the teachings of its Divine Founder than the Catholic one, was conscientiously believed by most people. But that is no reason why those who preferred the Catholic form should have been hated, persecuted, and driven about like so many wild beasts. Elizabeth treated them with severity because she thought they were not loyal subjects; but a little lenity and consideration would, no doubt, have won them at least to a respectful submission to their sovereign. When James ascended the throne, they expected more favour than they had lately enjoyed; and it is even asserted that he had secretly promised to tolerate their mode of worship. They were extremely irritated on finding that they were deceived, and many were rendered desperate by the heavy fines inflicted upon them—fines so enormous as to reduce them and their families to beggary.

One of the sufferers was a Catholic gentleman, named Robert Catesby: he was of an ancient family, wealthy, accomplished, and exceedingly brave. Added to this, he was a religious fanatic, who thought, as many others of that day did, that to destroy all heretics was to do service to the Almighty, and win his eternal favour. This man, after brooding for a length of time upon the wrongs of his church, conceived the horrible idea of destroying the King, Lords, and Commons at one blow. His design was, to dig a mine beneath the parliament-house, and, having filled it with gunpowder and other combustibles, to set fire to them when the king in person re-opened the parliament. By this atrocious scheme, he intended that the king, the nobles, bishops, and all the members of parliament should be involved in one hideous and instantaneous destruction.

Revolting as this plan of wholesale murder was, Catesby had the courage to mention it to several other persons. Amongst them was Thomas Percy, a relation of the Earl of Northumberland; John Wright, Percy's brother-in-law; Thomas Winter, a gentleman of Worcestershire; and Guido (commonly called Guy) Fawkes, a dare-devil Englishman and zealous Catholic, who had lately been an officer in the Spanish service. These men swore a solemn oath to be true to each other; never to reveal the project they had undertaken; and never to give it up until it was accomplished. After this, they attended mass, and took the sacrament, which was administered to them by Gerard, a Jesuit, who, there is no doubt, was well acquainted with their intention.

Percy held some office about the king's person, which obliged him to live near the court; he therefore hired a house, the back of which leaned against the wall of that in which the parliament met. One dark night in December, 1604, the conspirators entered, and, having laid in a stock of provisions, descended to the cellar, and began digging through the wall which led to the vaults of the parliament-house. The wall was three yards thick, and the labour of boring through it was immense; but they were urged on to exertion by the cruel execution of six Jesuits, or seminary priests, who were put to death at that time for remaining in England in opposition to an act of parliament, which had prohibited them from staying in the country. Such atrocious severity gave fresh strength to the conspirators; but still they got on very slowly with their work.

Suddenly the king determined to put off the meeting of parliament from the 7th of February till the 3rd of October, in consequence of which the traitors separated until after Christmas. Before they met again at Westminster, their number was increased to ten. The new desperadoes were—Robert Kay, a poor gentleman; Christopher Wright, a brother of Thomas Wright, who was already in the plot; Robert Winter, the brother of Thomas; John Grant, a melancholy, discontented gentleman of Warwickshire; and Thomas Bates, Catesby's servant, who was admitted because it was found that he suspected what was going on. In the February of 1605, they again met at Westminster, and resumed their labour of boring through the wall. They worked watchfully, and in fear; their guilty souls being awe-struck at the slightest sound. Hardened as they were against remorse, thirsting for blood, and toiling stealthily at midnight in the cause of murder, yet they felt something, at times, of superstitious dread as they stopped occasionally, and peered into the gloom of the cellar, almost fearing to behold some strange and watchful face gazing from the darkness. Once they fancied they heard the solemn tolling of a bell, deep in the earth; and it smote upon their ears like a supernatural death-knell for the crowd of lords and senators whom they intended soon to hasten, bruised and blackened, to their graves. So distinct and real did this strange sound seem to be, that they thought it was the work of the arch-enemy of man, and sprinkled holy water upon the earth to drive it away.

One morning a strange rumbling noise was heard almost over their heads, which proved to be no delusion. They feared they were discovered, and Fawkes undertook to go and see what it was. He soon returned with a cheerful face, and the news that it was only a man named Bright, removing his stock of coals from a cellar beneath the parliament-house to some other place. The cellar was to let; and, as the conspirators had not yet bored through the wall, they at once resolved to take it. Percy hired the cellar; and thirty-six barrels of gunpowder were rowed over, at night, from a house he had engaged on the opposite bank of the river, and

hid in the vault. Large stones and bars of iron were thrown in between the barrels, to make the explosion more destructive, and the whole was then covered over with faggots of wood.

Everything being ready, the conspirators once more separated, confident of success when the day set apart for the massacre should arrive. In the meantime, three other Catholic gentlemen were admitted to the plot. These were, Sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rokewood, and Francis Tresham. The latter was a wealthy man, but of a weak, uncertain nature; and Catesby was afterwards very sorry that the secret had been confided to him. The day was near at hand; and the king, the queen, and their eldest son (Prince Henry) were all expected to be present at the opening of parliament. As to Prince Charles, he was to be seized, or made away with; and the young Princess Elizabeth was to be proclaimed queen, because, being the youngest of the royal family, she could the more easily be converted to the restored Catholic religion.

From the first the conspirators had been trying to invent some scheme to keep the Catholic nobles and members away from the parliament-house on that dark day of slaughter. Several of them had friends or relatives whom they were anxious to save; but Catesby told them that most of the Catholics would be absent in disgust, because they could not prevent the passing of new laws against their religion. "But," he added, "with all that, rather than the project should not take effect, if they were as dear unto me as mine own son, they also must be blown up." Francis Tresham was particularly anxious to warn Lord Monteagle, who had married his sister. Catesby, Fawkes, and the others refused; for they feared that, if any warning were given, their plot would be discovered, and themselves lost. Tresham went gloomily away; and, ten days before the meeting of parliament, Lord Monteagle received the following letter, delivered by a stranger, who instantly departed:—"My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is passed as soon as you have burned the letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it; unto whose holy protection I commend you."

At first, Lord Monteagle was inclined to think this letter a foolish hoax; but, on second thoughts, he took it to Sir Robert Cecil, Secretary of State. That statesman laid it before the king; and either one or the other of them came to the conclusion that it seemed to threaten some danger from gunpowder. It was accordingly thought proper to search the vaults beneath the houses of parliament. But this search was not made until the day before parliament opened, so that the plot might ripen, and the conspirators be arrested.

On the afternoon of the 4th of November, Suffolk (the Lord Chamberlain) and Lord Monteagle went on a visit of discovery to the parliament-house. On descending to the vaults and cellar beneath it, they threw open the one in which the powder was concealed. There they noticed the great piles of wood, and beheld Fawkes (who had undertaken to watch) standing in a dark corner. Lord Suffolk put on an easy, careless manner, and asked him who he was. Fawkes answered, that he was Mr. Percy's servant, and engaged in looking after his master's coals. "Ah!" observed the chamberlain, "your master has laid in a good stock of fuel." The two noblemen then left the vault; but they had seen enough to arouse suspicion: they felt sure, from the soldier-like manner and keen glance of the conspirator, that he was not what he described himself; and they resolved to obtain assistance, and pay another visit to the place before the next day. When they were gone, Fawkes hurried to his comrades, and, putting them on their guard, had the desperate courage again to return to this now dangerous spot.

It was past midnight when Sir Thomas Knevet (a magistrate of Westminster) and a party of soldiers descended to the vaults, and there they seized Fawkes, who had just finished his preparations, and was about to leave for the last time. Fortunately they contrived to seize him suddenly; for if he had only had sufficient time to light a match, he would have fired the train, and blown them and himself to atoms together. Having bound him hand and foot, they searched his pockets, and found some touchwood, tinder, and slow matches. A dark lantern, with a light burning in it, was also found behind the door. Turning over the logs of wood, they saw the barrels of gunpowder; and the nature of this fierce and savage plot was disclosed.

Bound as he was, Fawkes was at once carried to Whitehall, and questioned before the king and his council. Still bold and defiant, he declared that his name was John Johnson, and that he was a servant of Mr. Percy; though he admitted that his purpose was to have destroyed the king and his parliament. James inquired how he could have the heart to destroy his children, and so many innocent persons as must have suffered. "Dangerous diseases require desperate reme-

dies," replied the undaunted conspirator. When told to reveal the names of his accomplices, he refused to mention any one, and he was then taken to the Tower.

As soon as the danger from which the king and parliament had so narrowly escaped was known in London, horror and rage were pictured upon every face, and a cry arose for vengeance upon the traitors. Percy, Rokewood, and the other conspirators who were in London, mounted their horses, and rode with furious speed to the house of Sir Everard Digby, at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire, where a party of Catholic gentlemen had assembled, in expectation of some great event which was to take place in favour of their party, though only a few of them knew exactly what it was. When it was understood that the plot had failed, most of these gentlemen stole quietly away, and left the conspirators to their fate. Sir Everard, Catesby, Percy, Rokewood, and a few others were left alone; and these desperate men, still hoping that they might at least raise an insurrection in favour of the Catholics, again mounted their horses, and rode through Warwickshire and Worcestershire, calling upon all of their religion to rise and join. The appeal was in vain; men looked on in fear and amazement; but no one joined in the little band of would-be assassins. Thus disappointed, they took refuge in a house at Holbeach, on the borders of Staffordshire. By this time the alarm was spread throughout the country, and the house was soon surrounded by the sheriff and an armed force. Here some damp gunpowder, which had been set to dry, blew up, and injured Catesby and several others so much, that they were no longer capable of defending themselves. Then they began to think (as well they might) that their plot was so savage, that the hand of God was against them; and Rokewood and others knelt before a picture of the Virgin, and prayed for forgiveness.

As the conspirators still refused to surrender, the sheriff and his men made an attack upon the house. Catesby and Thomas Winter stood back to back, resolved to fight to the last, and, in that position, both of them were killed with one shot. Percy and the two Wrights also perished, and the rest were made prisoners. Francis Tresham, who is supposed to have sent the letter to Lord Monteagle, never left London; but he was arrested, and sent to the Tower a few days afterwards.

In the meantime, Guido Fawkes had been placed upon the rack, and tortured in such a shocking manner to make him confess, that when at last he did so, he was unable to sign his name to the document. To the credit of this desperate man, it must be said that he would reveal nothing until his comrades discovered themselves by their flight, and then he told scarcely anything more than the king and his council knew already. Fawkes and his fellow-traitors were condemned to be hanged and quartered—a sentence which was executed upon them in all its repulsive details. Tresham, who was suspected of other treachery besides having written the letter which led to the discovery, died suddenly in the Tower; but not before he had accused Father Garnet, and some other Jesuits, of being acquainted with the particulars of the conspiracy. These wretched men were first racked to make them confess, and afterwards put to death as traitors. A few Catholic nobles were arrested on a charge of knowing of the existence of the plot, and heavily fined or imprisoned, although nothing was really proved against them.—Thus ended one of the wildest, most savage, and remarkable conspiracies ever recorded in the startling pages of history.

CHAPTER LXVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST.—A.D. 1606—1618.

THE parliament which was to have been blown into the air on the famous 5th of November, met on the 21st of January in the following year (1606). The members longed to revenge on the Catholics the wicked intentions of a few men belonging to that party. To the credit of King James, it must be said, that he tried to appease this angry spirit. In a speech to the parliament, he remarked, that though religion had induced the conspirators to attempt so dark a crime, they were not to suppose all Roman Catholics equally guilty, or disposed to commit such enormous barbarities. Many holy men had been seduced to concur with that church in her religious doctrines, who had never approved her seditious principles; that nothing could be more hateful than to condemn alike the guilty and the guiltless; and that while he would always punish the one, he would uphold and protect the other. But these generous sentiments were not shared by the parliament; and several severe and most

oppressive laws were passed against the Catholics. Indeed, these laws were so bitterly vindictive and irritating, that it seemed as if the parliament actually wished to drive the Roman Catholics into a rebellion, so that an excuse might be found for altogether extirpating them.

Amid all this excitement, the Commons did not forget the liberties of the Protestant part of the nation; and they would not vote the king a grant of money until he took a long list of grievances into consideration. James had a strong objection to listen to anything of the kind; and, about this time, a report was spread that he had been assassinated while hunting in Berkshire. Some people said that he had been shot; others, that he had been stabbed with a poisoned knife; and a third party, that he had been smothered in his bed. There was a great deal of alarm; but James soon arrived in London; and when the people found that he was neither stabbed, shot, or smothered, they received him with enthusiastic cheers, and the Commons granted the money without saying anything more about the grievances. It has been suspected that the report about the assassination was a trick of James's own.

On the 18th of November the parliament met again; and the king submitted to the members a plan for a perfect union between England and Scotland. James was very anxious for this union; but the two nations were not yet prepared for it. They had battled with and hated each other too long to become good friends so suddenly. The Scots feared that they should lose their national independence; and the English, who were the more numerous and wealthy people, objected to admit the Scots on an equality with them as their fellow-subjects. After a great deal of ill-feeling had been shown, the English parliament refused to naturalise all Scots born before James became sovereign of the two kingdoms. James was offended, and told the Commons that he objected to their great freedom of speech; but they answered in a high tone, and he was obliged to give way.

During the spring of 1607, an insurrection broke out among the peasantry of Northamptonshire, and some neighbouring counties. The discontented people chose for their leader one John Reynolds, to whom they gave the surname of Captain Pouch. He seems to have been a madman; for he declared that he was sent from heaven to be the saviour of poor men: he also told them that his skin was bullet-proof, and he would protect them against harm so long as they kept from swearing, and other bad language. James feared it was a rebellion of the papists; but it turned out to be only the rising of a number of peasants, who were determined to level the fences with which many of the gentry in those parts had lately enclosed their lands. An army was sent against those poor mistaken men; and after a good deal of bloodshed, the insurrection was put down, and the crazy Captain Pouch hanged as an example. A few other executions took place, but not many; for James did not often behave with cruelty.

The king disliked business, and spent most of his time in hunting and drinking; but though he carried both of these pleasures to excess, neither of them gave his subjects so much offence as his constant favouritism. He had always some one near him on whom he showered favours; and, about this time, he conceived an extraordinary attachment for a Scottish youth, named Robert Carr. Though of good family, Carr was extremely poor; but he was very handsome and graceful, and dressed expensively. At a tilting-match, held at Westminster, he had to present a shield to the king. As he was advancing to do so, his horse accidentally threw him almost at the feet of his sovereign, and his leg was broken on the spot. James pitied him, commanded that he should be taken care of, and afterwards paid a visit in person to the suffering page. His appearance had made a strange impression upon the monarch; and, shortly after his recovery, James took him into favour, conferred on him the dignity of knighthood, and made him a gentleman of the bedchamber. Soon, James was never happy unless Carr was with him; and every one who had a suit to beg of the king, was obliged first to win the favour of the fortunate Scottish youth by presents and compliments. This fancy of the king's was the more remarkable as Carr was very ignorant; but he had a most able counsellor in his friend, Sir Thomas Overbury, to whom he constantly applied for advice.

James seldom met his parliaments without quarrelling with them, so he thought he would try if he could not raise money without their assistance. Accordingly, he laid a duty (amongst other things) upon currants; and a merchant, named Bates, refused to pay it, saying that it was illegal; as it certainly was. Bates was accordingly proceeded against; and the barons of the Court of Exchequer impudently decided, much to the delight of James, that the king had a right to levy taxes without the consent of his parliament.

The following year (1610) the parliament met on the 9th of February; and Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, and Lord Treasurer, explained the wants of the king, and urged the necessity of granting a large supply of money. The parliament had no intention of doing so before it had grappled with the new grievance, and it proceeded to declare the decision of the barons of the Exchequer to be unlawful. The Commons laid down the principle, that the king could not impose taxes on his people without the consent of the lower house;

and, although James sent them a message to say that they must not talk upon such subjects, they would not give up the point. He then called them before him, and made an arrogant and impious speech, in which he likened himself to the Almighty, and told them that it was sedition in subjects to dispute what a king might do; that kings were before laws; and that all laws were granted by them as a matter of favour to the people.

To this assertion of the "rights of kings," in which James confidently believed, the Commons replied, that it was their ancient and undoubted right freely to debate upon all subjects that concerned the people; and that the kings of England could make laws and impose taxes with the consent of their parliament, but not without it; and they passed an act abolishing the duties James had lately imposed. As he was very much in debt, his treasurer proposed to the Commons that they should at once allow the king a liberal income for his life; and that he, in return, should redress their grievances, and abandon all other means of raising money. To this they consented, and immediately made a list of the wrongs of the people of England. The chief of them were the Ecclesiastical High Commission Court, which was constantly interfering, in a very tyrannical way, with the liberties of the nation; and the incessant proclamations of the king. James issued his royal commands, in the shape of proclamations, so frequently, that the parliament said, there was a general fear that, in the course of time, they would grow to have as much power as laws, by which means the ancient freedom of the nation would be much blemished, if not quite taken away. To these were added the old grievances of wardship and purveyance. But the king and his parliament could not agree as to how much a year he should have for reforming those abuses: he wanted too much, and they offered too little; so on the 9th of February, 1611, he dissolved his first parliament, after it had been in existence nearly seven years.

At this time, the Lady Arabella Stuart was again, unfortunately, brought into notice. The king entertained a jealous fear of that accomplished young lady, because she was of royal descent. Accordingly, he gave her a small pension, and kept her about the court, that she might be under constant surveillance; for he was resolved she should live and die single, that she might have no children to dispute the crown with his own. Arabella was quite contented, for a long time, and had no wish to marry; but at length an attachment sprung up between her and a young courtier named William Seymour, a son of Lord Beauchamp. This was discovered by the king, who sternly reprimanded them both; but love is more powerful than the dictates of a monarch, and it was soon discovered that they were privately married. James, on learning this, sent them both to separate places of confinement, from whence they escaped, with an intention of proceeding to France. Before Arabella had got fairly out to sea her flight was discovered, and vessels sent after her in all directions. Unhappily, she was captured, and being sent to the Tower, fell into such a despairing state, that after languishing for a few years she went mad, and so died on the 27th of September, 1615. Seymour was fortunate enough to escape; but he never saw his accomplished and wretched wife again. Soon after the imprisonment of this unfortunate lady, James's chief adviser, the Earl of Salisbury, went to his grave, to the great joy of the people. He was heartless and unprincipled, but possessed of considerable talents as a statesman.

The year in which Salisbury died (1612) was the last in which any one was burnt to death in England on account of religion. Bartholomew Legate expired in the flames during the month of March; and, in the following month, one Edward Wightman (who seems to have been a lunatic, for he declared that he was the Holy Spirit spoken of in the Scriptures) was also put to death in the same barbarous manner. Soon afterwards, another victim was condemned; but the people of England had grown more merciful than either their king or their laws. An ominous murmur of disgust and horror arose throughout the land; James and the persecuting part of the church were startled; the "heretic" was sent back to prison to live and die in captivity; and the fires of Smithfield were never lighted again for the purpose of religious persecution.

The king's eldest son, Prince Henry, was the idol of the nation, and deservedly so. Though scarcely eighteen, he possessed more dignity, and commanded more respect, than his father. He was handsome in his appearance; graceful and active in his demeanour; sincere and open in his manners. His education had been a military one; he loved horses and martial sports; and it was supposed that, when he became king, he would be a famous warrior. Though not very fond of books and learning, he had a great admiration for the captive Sir Walter Raleigh, of whom he said, that no other king than his father would keep such a bird in such a cage. Swearing was a fashionable vice at that time. James used to swear in a very gross manner; but the prince never swore at all, nor permitted any one about him to do so. On one occasion, he said all the pleasure in the world was not worth an oath. Notwithstanding his warlike fancies, he was very religious; and the Puritans thought he favoured their principles. They were so confident of this, that they regarded him as sent by heaven to complete the

Reformation, by purging it of all the Catholic ceremonics that yet remained. In this hope, they used often to repeat the following quaint rhyme:—

> "Henry VIII. pulled down the abbeys and cells,
> But Henry IX. shall pull down bishops and bells."

The expectations of men, however, often burst like bubbles in the sunbeams, and dissolve away like the wild fancied forms we sometimes see in the gold and crimson-tinted clouds on a summer's evening. The prince was seized with a sudden and dangerous illness, under which he sank rapidly, and died on the 6th of November, 1612. His premature death threw the whole nation into sadness and mourning.

James had been an indulgent father; but still he frequently felt a little jealous of the great popularity of his son, and did not lament him much. He was, at the time, thinking of his daughter Elizabeth's marriage; who, it had been arranged, should be united to the Elector Palatine. This marriage was planned by Salisbury before he died. The princess was a cheerful, handsome girl, only sixteen; and the marriage was celebrated on the 14th of February, 1613.

James's favourite (Robert Carr) continued to win upon the attachment of the king, who, in March, 1611, had created him Viscount Rochester, and gave him a princely fortune. But he did not deserve this royal favour; for he was an unprincipled profligate. In a little time he contrived to seduce the young and beautiful wife of the Earl of Essex. This lady, though scarcely more than a mere girl, and so graceful and lovely that she looked like an angel, possessed the evil passions of a demon. Rochester's affection was so great for this guilty creature, that, not content with their stolen interviews, he desired that she should be divorced from her husband (whom she disliked, and had already refused to live with), and then married to him. When he told his wish to his friend, Sir Thomas Overbury, that gentleman strongly dissuaded him from the idea of such an adulterous marriage. This came to the ears of the countess, who fell into a fit of violent passion, and vowed she would cause the death of Sir Thomas. The ungrateful Rochester entered into her views. He first induced the king to offer Overbury the post of ambassador to Russia; then persuaded his friend to refuse it; and the king, for his disobedience, sent Sir Thomas to the Tower, where he was treated with great severity.

The Countess of Essex then sued for a divorce from her husband, and, having obtained it, was married to Rochester. The ceremony was performed, with great magnificence, on the 26th of December, 1613; the king himself attending it, having previously created Rochester Earl of Somerset, that he might be equal in rank to his bride. This marriage gave rise to a feeling of disgust and anger in the minds of the people, who thought it a very disgraceful affair; and this feeling was turned to horror when it was discovered that Sir Thomas Overbury had, on the 14th of September, died in a sudden and mysterious manner in his prison. No examination was permitted: he was hurriedly buried; but people scrupled not to report that he had been poisoned by Somerset and his vindictive wife. This report was true, although the crime was not proved against them until some years afterwards. The remorseless countess, wicked as she was beautiful, unable to forget the opposition of Sir Thomas to her marriage, had induced her equally guilty husband to send his early friend to a frightful death.

James was so displeased at the manly spirit shown by his late parliament, that he again tried the experiment of seeing how he could get on without one. His difficulty was, to get money enough to support his state and household; and to do this, he sold baronetcies —the only hereditary order of knighthood, first created, at the suggestion of Salisbury, in 1611—and other titles, to whoever would be simple enough to buy them; —simple, because titles that are bought for money, and not earned by some public service or noble conduct, are valueless in the eyes of all sensible men. Many of James's subjects entertained this opinion, and were not willing to part with their solid cash for a few empty-sounding words. But some wealthy men were actually forced to buy titles, even against their will. The king tried other indirect means of raising money, and, among them, revived the scandalous imposition of *benevolences:* but all would not do, and he was, ultimately, obliged to summon another parliament.

The legislature met on the 5th of April, 1614. During the elections, Sir Francis Bacon, and some other courtiers, had promised the king that they would undertake so to manage them, as to secure a majority for the court in the new House of Commons. This became publicly known, and Bacon and his associates were contemptuously called *undertakers.* Wise as the great philosopher was, his confidence in this instance was far above his skill. Directly the Commons met, they demanded a meeting with the Lords, to consider whether the king had any right to tax his people without the consent of parliament. The Lords asked the opinion of the judges; and the judges, who did not like to decide against the king, refused to give any opinion. The peers, thus left to their own guidance, declined to have any meeting with the Commons on the subject. The king also sent a message to the lower house to say, that if it did not at once vote the money he wanted, he should dissolve the parliament; but the Commons bravely refused to vote away the money of

the nation until the public grievances should be redressed. Upon this, the king, on the 7th of June passionately dissolved the parliament after it had sa for only two months, and before it had passed a single bill. In consequence of this, it was called the "Addled Parliament"—a term of contempt which the spirited Englishmen composing it by no means deserved. No satisfied with showing his ill-temper in the dissolution James committed four of the members to the Tower for speaking too freely. Three of them were liberated almost immediately; the fourth was kept in prison twelve months.

Ever since Somerset's marriage with the beautifu Countess of Essex, and the murder of his friend, Sir Thomas Overbury, the earl had become a sullen, melancholy man. The endearments of his wicked wife could not make him forget the crime he had committed; and he became morose in his temper, careless in his dress and no longer anxious to please the king. Accordingly, the fickle James got tired of his favourite, and began to seek for another. Perceiving this, his courtiers placed in his way a handsome young man of good family, named George Villiers, a younger son of Sir Edward Villiers, of Brooksby, Lincolnshire. Of the age of one-and-twenty, tall, graceful, and always elegantly dressed, he soon attracted the king's favour, and was made his cup-bearer. The two favourites are said to have quarrelled violently; but the fall of Somerset was at hand.

That courtier had many enemies; and they now took courage to accuse him of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury—a crime of which he had long been suspected. James, who wished to get rid of a man he was tired of, commanded the strictest investigation to be made; and, after long preliminary proceedings, during which 300 examinations were taken, several persons were arrested on a charge of being implicated in the murder. These were—Sir Gervase Elwes, the lieutenant of the Tower; Weston, the warder of that prison; Franklin, the apothecary, who supplied the poison; and Mrs. Turner, a widow, who had some hand in this mysterious crime, and was also accused of obtaining from Dr. Forman, of Lambeth, a professor of sorcery, charms and love-potions for her friend, the Countess of Somerset. They were tried on the 7th of November, 1615; condemned, and hanged at Tyburn. Mrs. Turner rode to the scaffold dressed as if for a ball, and with her cheeks highly rouged. Immense crowds of people, including many ladies of fashion, assembled to see her die.

Somerset, and his beautiful but vindictive wife, were not tried until the 24th of May, 1616. The trembling countess wept and pleaded guilty, but the earl vehemently protested that he was innocent. The proceedings, in his case, extended to the 11th of July, when the peers before whom the earl and countess had been arraigned, returned a verdict of guilty. He was sentenced to be beheaded, but offered his pardon if he would confess his guilt, and acknowledge the justice of his sentence; which he refused to do, declaring that he was an innocent man. The countess was liberated; but the earl was retained in prison till October, 1624; when, tired of his confinement, he consented to do what he had so long refused, and was liberated on the 7th of that month. He was promised the restoration of his property, but he never received it. The countess died in 1632; the earl survived her till 1645.—The year after the disgrace and trial of Somerset, George Villiers, the new favourite of whom the king had become ridiculously fond, was created, first Earl, then Marquis, and finally Duke of Buckingham; made Master of the Horse, and Lord High Admiral of England, besides receiving other profitable places. His younger brother, also, was created Viscount Purbeck, and honourable positions given to a number of his poor relations.

After having worn the English crown for fourteen years, James paid a visit to Edinburgh to see his Scottish subjects. He had been unable to do so before, on account of his poverty—the result of his extravagance; but having received a large sum of money from the Dutch, in recompense for some towns he abandoned to them, he started on his journey in the summer of 1617. His chief object in going there was to compel the Scottish preachers to adopt the doctrines and customs of the English or episcopalian church. For this purpose he summoned a parliament to settle the affairs of religion, which met in June. On the 13th of that month, he caused an act to be brought forward, which declared, that whatever the king determined respecting the external government of the church, should, if the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the clergy approved of it, immediately become law. The bold Scottish people had no idea of submitting to this ecclesiastical tyranny; and they raised such an outcry against it, that James was frightened, and ordered the bill to be quietly withdrawn. Soon after, the parliament was dissolved; but James could not persuade himself to abandon the subject. On the 10th of July, he called a great meeting of the bishops and clergy of Scotland at St. Andrew's, and told them he was resolved that they should adopt the ceremonies of the English church, whether they liked them or not. He said that it was his prerogative, as a Christian king, to command obedience in such matters, and that he did not regard heir disapprobation. The bishops begged him to refer his wishes to the consideration of a general assembly of he whole church, to which he consented, and summoned hat body to meet on the 25th of November. He did not remain till the assembly met. Following the example f the parliament, it evaded, rather than rejected, his

propositions; but, in the following year, he obtained a favourable vote.

On his return to England, James was much annoyed to see the Puritanical strictness with which the Lord's Day was observed in many places. It was kept more like a Jewish Sabbath than a Christian Sunday. It was not a day of rest, thanksgiving, and cheerfulness, but one of silence, humiliation, and gloom. Such was the severity with which the Puritans observed that hallowed day, that it might have been supposed it was a time of grief and mourning, rather than one of gratitude and joy. James wished to change this way of passing the Sunday, partly because he thought it was wrong, and partly because he hated the Puritans, who were the cause of it. Accordingly, he and some of the bishops wrote and published a little volume, called *The Book of Sports*, in which they said that running, dancing, archery, May-poles, and other innocent pleasures, might and ought to be indulged in after divine service on Sundays. This was, perhaps, going to the other extreme: not that such games are wrong in themselves, but because they are likely to lead to more levity and boisterousness than is proper on such a day.

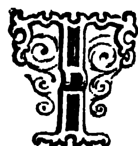
Sir Walter Raleigh, the famous scholar, soldier, and discoverer, had now been a prisoner in the Tower for thirteen years. During his captivity, he had written his *History of the World*, a book full of learning and elegance, although necessarily very imperfect, from his not being able to obtain all the information he wanted. At last he hit on a plan to obtain his liberty: he wrote to the king's secretary, and told him that, in his former visit to Guiana, in South America, he had discovered a gold mine, which he believed to be inexhaustible, on the banks of the great river Orinoco, and prayed to be permitted to go and work it. James did not place much faith in this story; but he thought it might be true: he longed to clutch some of the promised gold; and as Raleigh promised to give him a portion of all that was obtained, and to pay the expenses of the expedition himself, the greedy king ordered him to be set at liberty. Many of Raleigh's friends subscribed large sums towards the expedition, for there was a great talk and excitement about this famous gold mine; and on the 28th of March, 1617, the ill-fated scholar set sail with a fleet of fourteen vessels. Strangely enough, his own ship was called the *Destiny!*

At that time the Spaniards laid claim to the greatest part of America, and were extremely anxious to prevent any other nation from having anything to do with it. James, who feared and hated war, would not, therefore, grant Raleigh permission to go, until he had promised in no way to interfere with the Spanish possessions. Raleigh had assured the king he had no such intention; but he was led into a fierce attack upon the Spanish colony of St. Thomas, on the banks of the river Orinoco. A scene of horror followed; the town was fired, and the people massacred. The great gold mine was not to be found; the disappointed sailors mutinied, and returned, in disgrace and mortification, to England.

In the meantime, the Spanish ambassador had complained to James of the violence committed by Raleigh; and when Sir Walter reached England he was immediately arrested, and sent back to his old prison, the Tower. The Spanish court demanded that he should be punished; and James, fearful of a war, promised that the daring adventurer should be put to death. He might have been tried for disobeying the king's orders in attacking the Spanish colony; but James chose rather to have the old sentence, which had been hanging over Raleigh's head for so many years, put into execution. This was ungenerous and cruel, if not strictly unlawful; but James had no noble, manly feelings. Sir Walter was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 29th of October, 1618. He died with a calm resignation almost heroic. Having spoken an eloquent prayer, he raised the axe, and, feeling its edge, said with a smile—"This is sharp medicine, but it will cure all diseases." When he had laid his neck across the block, the executioner hesitated. "What dost thou fear?" exclaimed the victim; "strike, man!" The axe fell; and the accomplished Raleigh perished in his sixty-seventh year.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF JAMES THE FIRST.—A D. 1618—1625.



HE year after Sir Walter Raleigh's execution, James lost his wife, Queen Anne, who died on the 2nd of March, 1619. She was not a very important personage; very fond of dancing and finery; but not remarkable either for virtues or vices.

About this time James got dragged into a war against his will, though he managed it in a petty and contemptible manner. The people of Bohemia were governed by the emperors of Germany; but a religious insurrection having arisen in the former country, its inhabitants cast off the yoke of the emperors, and offered the crown to the Elector Palatine, Frederick V., who had married James's daughter, Elizabeth. That prince immediately accepted it, and led an army into Bohemia to protect the Protestant cause from the House of Austria, as the family of the emperor was called. The people of England applauded his conduct; and Frederick naturally looked to his father-in-law for assistance. A cry for war ran through the country; and this cry became quite furious when it was known in England that the emperor had, on the 8th of November, 1620, defeated Frederick at the great battle of Prague, and then fallen upon and seized his hereditary dominions. James, who did not like to see his daughter and her husband ruined, sent a little army of 4,000 men; but it was too small to be of much service.

Before James could do anything more for his son-in-law, he was compelled to summon a parliament to grant him a supply of money, though he dreaded taking this step almost as much as a war. It met on the 30th of January, 1621, and the Commons readily voted him a supply; but they complained of the abuses of the government, and of the oppression of the people. Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell were severely punished for making an extortionate use of a monopoly in their possession. Several distinguished men, amongst whom were a judge and a bishop, were impeached for taking bribes to pervert justice; and dishonesty seems to have been the general vice of public men. It was in this session that the profound philosopher, Lord Bacon, was accused of, and condemned for, accepting bribes in his office of chancellor, as already related. As the Commons positively refused to grant any more money, but insisted, instead, on proceeding with their reformation of abuses, James prorogued them till the month of November in the same year. To pacify the nation, he then issued a proclamation abolishing thirty-six of the monopolies: he thought by this means to gain the good-will of the Commons, but his tyranny and obstinacy had irritated them too deeply for that. At the very time, also, that he was trying to conciliate his parliament, he committed two nobles and several gentlemen to prison without any trial, merely for the offence of differing with him in opinion.

On the 4th of November the parliament met again, and went to work directly on the question of grievances. The Commons wrote out a strong remonstrance, which they intended to send to the king; but he heard what they were about, and sent a sharp letter, commanding them not to meddle with anything concerning his government, which, he said, was a subject far above their understanding. He added, that he should do as he pleased about imprisoning any man whose bold language in parliament offended him. To this insulting letter, they replied, on the 7th of December, that they could not understand how his honour and safety, and the state of his kingdom, could be matters unfit for their consideration in parliament, and that an undoubted liberty of free speech was an inheritance which they had received from their ancestors. James, who was at Newmarket, then wrote another letter to the Commons, dated the 14th of December, in which he repeated his former arguments; and ended by saying, that he could not allow them to claim freedom of speech as a right inherited by their ancestors, as their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of himself, and the kings who had reigned before him.

This was literally saying that the liberty of the nation depended wholly upon the whims of the king; and such an arrogant and absurd assertion put the Commons into a downright fury. After a vehement debate, on the 18th of December, they entered a protestation on the journals—asserting their right to freedom of speech, and their unbounded authority to give the king their advice when they thought proper to do so. In it they declared, "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted *birthright and inheritance* of the subjects of England!" When James heard of this, he was in a fury too: he had no idea about liberty being the birthright of his people; and, hurrying up to

London, he summoned his council for the 30th of December. When it met, he ordered the journals of the House of Commons to be brought to him, and tore out the protestation with his own hand. On the 4th of January, 1622, he prorogued the parliament, which, two days after, he dissolved. Shortly afterwards, he sent five more of the most distinguished members of the Commons to prison, for their freedom of speech. This tyranny began that great struggle between the king and parliament which, in the next reign, plunged the nation into a civil war, and led to a violent death upon the scaffold.

While James was thus at enmity with his parliament, of course he could not obtain money to assist his son-in-law (the Palatine) to recover his dominions. He tried what he could do by negotiations, and sent so many ambassadors to the emperor, that he became quite a laughing-stock; but matters remained just as they were, and the Palatine was still a fugitive. Indeed, James's position was a difficult one. He had long been in treaty with Spain for his eldest son Charles to marry the daughter of the king of that country: he was very anxious that this match should take place; but the King of Spain was in close alliance with the Emperor of Germany, and he could not be friends with one, if he made war on the other. The Spanish princess was, of course, a Catholic, like the rest of her nation, and that made the proposed match very much disliked in England, where the people, who remembered what their fathers had told them of the fearful burnings and persecutions in Queen Mary's time, feared and hated every one connected with the church of Rome. This added to the great unpopularity of James; for, to please the Spanish court, he released all the English Catholics who were in prison on account of their religion. It was only an act of justice; but people did not think it so in those times; and they suspected that the king wished to bring back popery to the country.

The Duke of Buckingham, who was as great a favourite with Prince Charles as he was with the king, persuaded him to undertake a journey in disguise to Spain, where he might see his intended bride, the Spanish Infanta. He told Charles that princes were generally very unhappy in their marriages, because they were contracted to strangers for whom they had no sympathy, and whom they had never even seen before. The Infanta, he said, could not but think of herself as a state sacrifice; but if he paid her a secret visit, the romance of the affair would attract her affection; and the marriage, instead of being an affair of state only, would also be an union dictated by mutual love. Charles was delighted, and begged his father's permission for Buckingham and him to undertake the journey. James gave a reluctant consent; for he thought the plan a dangerous one, as indeed it was, as he had no surety that the Spaniards would not detain Prince Charles a prisoner, and not release him until all their demands were granted. James afterwards regretted that he had given his consent, and calling Sir Francis Cottington, the prince's secretary, before him, he asked him what he thought of the journey. Cottington answered, that it was unwise and unsafe. "There!" cried the king, "I told you so—I told you so before; I shall be undone, and lose baby Charles"—that being the epithet he applied to the prince; while he called Buckingham *Steenie*.

But, in spite of James's repentance, Prince Charles and Buckingham got their way: on the 17th of February, 1623, they took leave of his majesty; and, on the 18th, started on their journey to the court of Spain. Having disguised themselves as private gentlemen, and taken two attendants only, the prince assumed the name of John Smith, and the marquis that of Thomas Smith. In passing through France, they obtained admission to a court ball at Paris, and there Charles beheld the beautiful Princess Henrietta Maria. The impression of her grace, cheerfulness, and fascination sank deep into his mind, and it is not improbable that he pursued his journey to see his Spanish mistress with a preoccupied heart.

Prince Charles and Buckingham were but poor actors; and their rank was discovered directly they arrived at the Spanish court. There the prince was treated with the greatest hospitality; the Spanish king loading him with presents, and giving him a golden key which unlocked all his apartments. Buckingham, however, conducted himself in such a manner as to cause general offence and disgust. During their stay at Madrid, the marriage articles were arranged; and to those made public, secret ones were attached, in which toleration to the professors of the Catholic religion was promised. While these articles were under discussion, the pope, Gregory XV., wrote to Prince Charles, expressing a hope that, as he was about to marry a Catholic lady, he would return to the religion of his ancestors. Charles, in his reply, is reported to have held out an intimation that the pontiff's hope would be realised. However this might be, Gregory granted a dispensation for the marriage: but he died before it was delivered; and the nuncio at Madrid, to whom it had been sent, refused to part with it till it was ratified by the fresh pope, Urban VIII.; who delayed doing so, in the hope that the conversion of Charles might be first effected. The prince and Buckingham left Madrid before the dispensation was renewed; the latter, on account of his treatment there—treatment entirely the result of his own behaviour—resolved that the marriage should not take [place]. He had acquired such an ascendency over

Charles, that the prince agreed to break off the Spanish alliance; and it is not unlikely that a remembrance of the lovely Henrietta Maria had some influence in causing him thus to commit a breach of faith. The prince and Buckingham returned to England on the 5th of October; and from that time the former sought means for effecting his purpose. The question of the palatine led to a rupture. James considered the restitution of that territory to his son-in-law a necessary consequence of the Spanish alliance; but he was willing to leave that restitution to be effected by future arrangements. When Buckingham returned from Madrid, however, he induced the king to demand from Philip of Spain ample security for its immediate and complete accomplishment. Philip gave the Earl of Bristol, then ambassador from England at Madrid, a written undertaking to procure the restitution of Frederick's dominions by persuasion; and if that failed, to use other means. This was not considered sufficient; and Philip then broke off the marriage; ordered the Infanta to drop the title of Princess of Wales, which she had borne since Gregory had granted the dispensation, and to cease the study of the English language. He then began to prepare for war. Disappointed of the sum of money the Spaniards were to pay as the dowry of the princess, and in danger of war with so powerful a nation, King James was compelled once more to summon a parliament to assist him.

When it assembled on the 19th of February, 1624, James addressed the members in a very different style to that which he had used towards them before. He said he remembered and regretted the former misunderstandings that had occurred; and that he earnestly desired to do his duty, and show the love he bore to his people. He declared that he never had an idea of favouring the Catholics; and that he wished, above all things, to exalt the Protestant religion. The king, in his speech, and Buckingham subsequently, gave a deceitful account of the quarrel with Spain, in which all the blame was thrown on the king of that country. Prince Charles stood by, and confirmed all the duke's impudent untruths; having been induced, by his representations, the delay in the issue of the papal dispensation, and some other causes, to believe in the insincerity of the Spanish king. In the end, James asked for an enormous sum to commence a war with Spain, and the Commons voted him £300,000—about half what he desired. James, in reality, only wanted the money: he did not wish to go to war: he dreaded the very name; and there was no war with Spain so long as he lived. Indeed, the Spaniards so despised his cowardice, that they laughed at the idea of his making war upon them. Having voted the king a supply of money, the Commons presented a petition, begging him to put into strict execution all the severe laws against the Catholics. James was displeased; but he said he would do so, and declared with an oath, that he had never intended to grant the smallest indulgence to the Catholics. This was a deliberate perjury; for he had certainly promised the King of Spain that he would give a liberal toleration to all Catholics in England.—After a fresh declaration against monopolies, and the impeachment and disgrace of the Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer of England, for receiving bribes, the parliament was prorogued on the 29th of May, and did not meet again during James's life.

Though the Spaniards ridiculed the timid King James, they had not forgotten that Englishmen could fight, and they were by no means anxious for war. There were two ambassadors from Madrid then at the English court—the Marquis Ynoiosa and Don Carlos Colonna. They were unable, through the artifices of Buckingham, to obtain a private interview with James; and Ynoiosa slipped a note into his hand, and gave him a sign to read it by himself. It declared that the king was no better than a prisoner; that the chief power of the state was usurped by Buckingham; and urged upon him the necessity of cutting off so dangerous a subject. For a time James seemed angry with the duke; but the favourite soon contrived to make his peace, though he never entirely recovered the old king's favour.

While preparations were being made for a war with Spain, it was proposed to the French king, Louis XIII., that Prince Charles should marry his sister, the attractive Henrietta Maria—the lady whose winning looks had induced Charles to act so badly to the Spanish princess. The French were very willing to enter into an alliance with England, and the negotiations were soon concluded. The only difficulty consisted in the fact that the lady was a Catholic; and the people were much opposed to their future king marrying a princess of that faith. The French insisted, not only that she should be allowed freely to follow her own religion, but that English Catholics should be permitted perfect liberty of worship so long as they remained true and faithful subjects. Both the king and his son had solemnly sworn that they would not tolerate popery in England; but they assented to this condition, and also to the insertion of an article in the treaty, providing that the princess should have charge of the education of her children till they were ten years old—a condition which formed one of the articles in the marriage treaty with Spain. This would have caused a violent outcry from the Puritans if it had been known; but these promises to the French were secret ones.

King James did not live to see the completion of this marriage. His health had been long feeble, and was rendered still more so by gluttonous eating and

drinking, which brought on severe attacks of gout. On returning one day from a hunting match, to his seat at Theobald, he was seized with a tertian ague. His physicians were summoned, and encouraged him with hopes of a speedy recovery; but he himself feared that death was at hand. He was right, for his last hour was rapidly approaching. As his regular medical attendants were unable to arrest the progress of the disorder, he took some quack medicine given to him by the mother of the Duke of Buckingham. It was not likely that, where regularly educated medical men had failed, mere pretenders should succeed; and, as might be expected, the king got rapidly worse. He died, after fourteen days' illness, on Sunday, the 27th of March, 1625. He was in his fifty-ninth year, and had been king of Scotland from his infancy. His reign over England had lasted for twenty-two years and some days.

James's character was as unkingly and undignified as his personal appearance: the latter he could not alter; for the former, the courtiers by whom he was surrounded in early years, were greatly responsible. He had received an excellent education, and was a good scholar; but his extreme pedantry frequently made him ridiculous: still, he occasionally showed much shrewdness and talent. His character was tainted with insincerity; he sometimes even committed perjury; and he frequently resorted to Machiavelian tricks, which he called kingcraft. Like others who resort to deceit, he was frequently deceived himself. Though not generally cruel, and certainly of a much milder temper than Elizabeth, he did some cruel things. As Henry IV. had the infamy of being the first English king who sanctioned the atrocity of burning people to death for their errors in religion, so James was the last who did so. He was despotic in his notions, and would have been a tyrant, had he dared. His ideas of the authority of a king were so arrogant, that they would have been ridiculous if free from blasphemy. Wise monarchs, who have wished to exercise despotic power, have generally tried to persuade the people that they were free; but James made such a foolish parade of his authority, that he roused the parliament, and, very much against his own wishes, actually forwarded the cause of liberty. Six children were the issue of his marriage with Anne of Denmark; but only two survived him—his son, Charles, who succeeded him, and his daughter Elizabeth, the wife of the ruined Palatine Frederick.

CHAPTER LXIX.

THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.—A.D. 1625—1628.

JAMES died on a Sunday; and on the following Monday, the 28th of March, his son Charles was proclaimed King of England, though he was not crowned until the February of the next year. He was a handsome man, of dignified and serious manners, and five-and-twenty years of age. His reign began gloomily enough, for the plague broke out in London a few days after his proclamation; but the people had great expectations of the abilities and good intentions of their new sovereign.

On the 1st of May, Charles was married, by proxy, to the French princess, Henrietta Maria. The Duke of Buckingham, who was now a greater favourite than ever, went over to Paris, and brought the lady home. She arrived in England in the month of June, and Charles hastened to Dover to meet her. Being witty, graceful, and interesting in her appearance, the people were at first delighted with her; but she was accompanied by a train of thirty Catholic priests, and that circumstance soon turned the joy of the nation into suspicion and dislike. Charles allowed the mass to be celebrated privately in the queen's chamber at Whitehall: but the priests were not satisfied with that: they wanted a large and handsome chapel built for them; and, in a very short time, proved themselves to be meddling, troublesome people.

Charles summoned a parliament to meet on the 7th of May, for he was greatly in want of money to pay his debts, and carry on the war with Spain. It did not, however, assemble till the 18th of June. The members of the House of Commons were loyally disposed; but they were careful of the people's money, and they desired to curb the pretensions and power of their kings, which had lately gone beyond all limits. Besides this, they were jealous of the great influence of the Duke of Buckingham, and they resolved not to make the king independent of them by granting too much money at a time; therefore they voted him a most insignificant sum—only £110,000—and the duties called tonnage and poundage for one year only, instead of during his life, as had been usual for a very long period. There were many Puritans in this parliament, and they

thought Charles was too lenient towards the Catholics. The sight of the queen's priests about the palace filled them with fears, lest popery should be brought back to England: they even doubted Charles's sincerity in the Protestant cause, and presented a petition to him, imploring that all the severe laws against the Catholics might be put into execution. Charles was in a difficult position. He had promised the French court, on his marriage, that the Catholics should be allowed to follow their religion in peace; but he was now obliged to promise the Commons that he would put into practice all the cruel laws which existed against those who still clung to the ancient faith. A coldness soon arose between Charles and his parliament, caused by the inadequacy of the supplies, and the Catholic question. It was increased by Dr. Montague, one of his chaplains. The doctor had published a book, suspected of leaning towards the doctrines and customs of the Roman church, and the Commons directed him to be taken into custody, and commanded him to appear at the bar of their house, to answer for what he had written. Charles had very high notions about the dignity of a king: his flatterers told him that a king was something more than human—a being second only to the Deity himself; and Charles was vain and foolish enough to believe them. Accordingly, he was angry with the Commons, and said that it was for him, and not them, to reprove his chaplain, if it should be necessary. They replied, they had a right to punish dangerous opinions in any servant of the court; and they would not set the chaplain at liberty until he had given heavy bail for his reappearance, whenever they chose to question him further. At this time the plague, which had lately broken out in London, became so alarming, that it was found necessary to adjourn the parliament on the 11th of July; to reassemble on the 1st of August, at the ancient city of Oxford.

Before the parliament reassembled, a little episode occurred, which has been much misrepresented by Charles's enemies. When James deserted the Spanish alliance, he promised to supply Louis XIII., who was entirely destitute of a naval force, with eight armed vessels, to be employed, according to the French negotiators, against the Genoese. Charles carried out this promise by sending over eight ships to Dieppe as soon as his marriage was concluded. When the vessels arrived at that port, the officers and seamen learnt that they were to be employed against the Huguenots at Rochelle. They refused to fight against their brethren in the faith; and Pennington, the commander, brought the whole fleet back to the Downs. Buckingham, the Lord High Admiral, immediately ordered them to sail again to Dieppe; and a rumour was spread that Louis had concluded a peace with the Huguenots. On reaching Dieppe, the sailors found they had been deceived; and although only one commander, Sir Ferdinando Gorge, succeeded in bringing off his ship—the French getting possession of the others—all the crews, except one gunner, left their vessels, and got home as soon as they could. Some writers say these vessels were sent to France in consequence of a secret treaty between Charles and Louis, in which the former undertook to assist the latter to put down the Huguenots. The transaction, however, originated in the promise of James; which we do not believe he would have made, if he had entertained any idea that the vessels were to have been sent against Rochelle; nor do we think Charles would have carried out the promise, had he been aware of their destination. Buckingham was decidedly wrong in sending the vessels back; but for that act he alone appears to have been responsible.

The parliament met at Oxford in a bad temper. Both the people and former parliaments had been anxious for that war in which Charles was now engaged; but when he explained the alliances into which he had entered, detailed the measures that were to be taken for the recovery of the palatinate, and asked the Commons for more money to enable him to carry on the war, they told him they hardly knew who they were at war with. Though pressed very much, they would not grant any more money, or alter the vote which gave Charles the duties of tonnage and poundage for a single year only. They were resolved to have a reform of grievances; to have the laws put in force against the papists; and to inquire into the conduct of the Duke of Buckingham, who was severely censured for sending the vessels back to Rochelle. After the Commons had sat for nine days, Charles sent them a rude and haughty message, threatening a dissolution unless they voted him further supplies at once. The Commons were no longer such obedient servants of the crown as they were in the time of Henry VIII.: since his death they had been gradually becoming bolder and more powerful. The talented and crafty Elizabeth was compelled several times to submit to their demands, and Charles's conduct only made them less inclined to serve him. They drew up a spirited but loyal answer; but before they had time to present it, the king suddenly summoned them before him on the 12th of August, and abruptly announced their dissolution.

Charles soon found that to dissolve the parliament was not the way to fill his empty pockets; but he fancied that he should obtain immense wealth by attacking and capturing the rich treasure-ships of Spain. Accordingly, he adopted several very illegal and tyrannous means of collecting money, to enable him to fit out a fleet. Amongst other ways, he compelled his nobles, gentry, and clergy to lend him large

sums, whether they wished to do so or not, which procured him as much dislike as assistance. However, he got money enough by these improper ways to collect a fleet of eighty vessels, and to put an army of 10,000 men on board of them. Both fleet and army were placed under the command of Sir Edward Cecil (Viscount Wimbleton)—a gentleman who knew nothing about sea affairs, and who was therefore despised by the sailors. The expedition was extremely unfortunate. It sailed on the 4th of October; and was first overtaken by a storm in the Bay of Biscay, and much injured: then the incompetent commander permitted many rich Spanish ships to escape him; and, after having done nothing more than take a paltry fort near Cadiz, the plague broke out among the sailors: a great number of the men perished; and Sir Edward led his dishonoured fleet and army home again. So annoyed were the English people at this disgraceful affair, that they hooted him through the streets of Plymouth, where he arrived on the 8th of December.

Charles had made himself almost a beggar to provide this fleet against Spain; and its utter failure reduced him to such distress, that he actually sent Buckingham to Holland to raise money on his plate and crown jewels; but the cash he got by this proceeding—£300,000—did not last him long; and he was compelled, against his will, to call another parliament. Before doing so, he endeavoured to win the favour of that body by issuing an order, that all Catholics should be disarmed, although there was no fear of any insurrection or disturbance among them; and, at the same time, he enforced the laws inflicting harassing and oppressive fines upon them.

The new parliament met on the 6th of February, 1626; but it was just as resolved upon a redress of grievances as the old one. The Commons, also, were irritated by the absence of several popular members of former parliaments, through an act of the king's. Sheriffs were not allowed to be elected to sit in parliament; so when a list of those officers for the year to come was presented to Charles, he struck out seven names, and filled up the places with the names of seven of the most talented, patriotic men who had sat in the late parliament, whom he compelled to accept the office, and thus kept them out of the new one. This injudicious exercise of his prerogative disgusted the country, and did the king more harm than good.

The Commons immediately appointed a committee to draw up a list of grievances, and very justly resolved to make the supplies they would vote depend upon the redress they obtained. The committee named sixteen grievances, which were considered fatal to the liberties of Englishmen; and all those evils, they said, were caused by that "great delinquent," the Duke of Buckingham. Charles expected that they intended to impeach his favourite; and he sent word to the Commons that he would not allow them to question the conduct of any of his servants; adding an implied threat in the words, "I wish you would hasten my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves." This roused the spirit of the Commons: they replied, that it was "the ancient, constant, and undoubted right and usage of parliaments to question and complain of all persons found dangerous to the commonwealth, in abusing the power and trust committed to them by the sovereign;" and they proceeded more vehemently than before against the duke.

Buckingham was first impeached, in the House of Lords, by the Earl of Bristol; and shortly afterwards, on the 22nd of April, by a committee of the House of Commons. They accused him of having grasped many of the highest offices of the state, and of having purchased two of them—those of the Lord High Admiral, and Warden of the Cinque Ports; of culpably neglecting to guard the seas, so that many merchant ships had, in consequence, fallen into the hands of the enemies of England; of having extorted £10,000 from the East India Company; of putting an English fleet into the hands of the French king, to fight against the Protestants of Rochelle; of selling honourable situations; and of other serious offences. The duke treated these accusations with contempt; and the king was so incensed, that, on the 1st of May, he caused Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges (two of the members who had impeached Buckingham) to be arrested and sent to the Tower. The Commons resented this infringement of their liberties with so much spirit, that, in a few days, Charles was compelled to release the gentlemen he had so unlawfully imprisoned.

So contemptuously did the king treat his parliament, that even while the two impeachments were proceeding against Buckingham, he exerted his influence to secure, on the death of the Duke of Suffolk, the election of his favourite as chancellor of the university of Cambridge—an office to which he was elected on the 1st of June, by the members of that university. A week afterwards the duke commenced his defence in the House of Lords; but Charles, who feared for the result, wished to obtain the supply of money he required, and then dissolve the parliament, to prevent any further proceeding against his friend. In consequence of this, he sent a message to the Commons, saying, that if they did not grant him a subsidy without any delay or conditions, it would force him to take other measures. This threat did not improve the temper of that body: they determined that they would not vote any money unless Buckingham was dismissed, and the abuses of the state reformed; and they drew up

a declaration to that effect, which they intended to present to the king. Before it was finished, they were summoned to meet their sovereign in the House of Lords; for that obstinate man had made up his mind to pronounce a dissolution. Many of his nobles, fearing that such arbitrary conduct would provoke serious results, begged him for a short delay. "No," said Charles, "not for a minute;" and thus, on the 15th of June, 1626, his second parliament was dissolved. It had not voted him a sixpence; and he was now poorer and more perplexed than ever.

It was necessary for Charles to obtain money by some means; and he adopted the most arbitrary and tyrannous methods. He issued a warrant, of his own authority, for levying duties on all imports and exports; he wrung large sums, by way of fines, from the Catholics; he extorted loans from his nobles and merchants; and insisted that the citizens of London should lend him £120,000. Besides this, all seaport towns were commanded to supply ships for the protection of the English shores, and the lords-lieutenants of counties to collect troops to put down insurrection at home, or meet invasion from abroad.

This was irritating and tyrannical enough; but it soon became worse. News arrived in England, that his uncle and Protestant ally, the King of Denmark, had been totally defeated, on the 27th of August, by the troops of the emperor; and that the affairs of his brother-in-law, the Palatine, and even the Protestant cause in Europe, seemed desperate. Charles was bound to assist his allies; and he urged forward the work of illegal extortion in England with increased vigour. His council, on the 7th of October, issued a proclamation, announcing that there was no time to call a parliament, and that the nation must consent to a universal loan, to which every person should pay according as he was rated in the last subsidy. Many persons refused to lend money or pay any tax that had not been properly voted to the king by the parliament. They were, in consequence, harassed by commissioners, who compelled them, upon their oaths, to answer the most inquisitorial questions. Those who still refused were sent to prison; and amongst them were Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir John Eliot, and Mr. John Hampden, who all of them became afterwards famous for their talents and patriotism; though the first, when he found that something more than redress of grievances was wanted, joined the friends of the king.

Some of these gentlemen had the spirit to demand their liberty, as due to them by the laws of their country. No reason had been given for their confinement, except the command of the king; and it was justly said, that no Englishman could be lawfully imprisoned in such a manner. This important question was brought to trial before the King's Bench, and the whole nation awaited the result with a feverish anxiety. But Charles did not permit the trial to proceed without an attempt to gain a decision in his own favour. Early in 1627, he caused the chief justice, Sir Randolph Carew, to be deprived of his office, and appointed Sir Nicholas Hyde in his place, because the latter was ready to become a supple tool of royalty, and an instrument of injustice. Even then the judges would not proceed further against the patriots than by refusing bail, and, on the 28th of November, remanding them to prison.

Many of the bishops and clergy were extremely active in supporting those proceedings of the king, by which he endeavoured to assert his prerogative as paramount over the law. This never was so by the terms of the English constitution; though several of Charles's predecessors had made it so, and the parliaments had sanctioned the innovation. William Laud (who, though the son of a clothier, had, by his talents and acquirements, risen to the episcopal bench) was employed by the king to draw up a set of instructions to the clergy, by which they were directed to preach that his authority was from God; and that the duty of his subjects was, to yield a passive obedience to all his commands, and pay their money freely whenever he required it. Two clergymen in particular (Dr. Mainwaring and Robert Sibthorp) made themselves conspicuous by the extreme lengths to which they went in support of the doctrine of passive obedience. The first declared that the king was not bound to observe the laws of the realm; that the parliament was only an inferior sort of council; that the king had a right to impose what taxes he pleased on his people; and that if they refused to pay money for his use in this world, they would certainly be punished for it in the next. The second contended, that even if the prince should command a thing contrary to the laws of God or of nature, still the subjects were bound to submit to the punishment, only praying secretly that heaven might turn him from the error of his ways, but offering no resistance or railing—nothing but a passive obedience.—Sibthorp wished to publish this sermon; but the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Abbott, refused to grant the necessary license. For this he was deprived of his office, which was put in commission. Laud was one of the commissioners, and they granted the required license.

Although Charles was exceedingly poor—engaged with a powerful enemy in a war which he had no means of carrying on, and on the worst terms with his people—yet at this very time he actually permitted the Duke of Buckingham to engage him in a war with France! The secret cause of this war was very disgraceful. Buckingham, when in France, had dared to

make dishonourable professions of love to the queen o that country, at which, it was said, she was not so displeased as she ought to have been. The affair was observed by the French king; and when Buckingham announced his intention of again visiting Paris, that monarch forbade him to do so. In a fit of passion, the duke declared, "that he would see the queen, in spite of all the power of France;" and from that moment he exerted himself to cause a quarrel between the two nations.

At that time Soubize, the brother of the Duke de Rohan (both leaders of the Huguenots), was in London, soliciting Charles to become the protector of that persecuted and distressed class of the French people; and Buckingham induced the king to give them some effective aid. This Charles was further prompted to do by intelligence he received from the Venetian ambassador, that at the instigation of the pope, a treaty between France and Spain had been signed at Paris, on the 10th of April, 1627. By that agreement, those two powers bound themselves to make war on England, because the secret articles of the treaty of marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria had not been carried out. Having determined to send a force to Rochelle, 100 ships and 1,000 men were fitted out for that purpose, and placed under the command of Buckingham; who, though personally brave, knew nothing of war. This force sailed from Portsmouth on the 27th of June, 1627, and appeared before Rochelle on the 9th of July. The inhabitants closed their gates against the troops, though they were sent for their relief, probably mistrusting Buckingham. He then attacked the Isle of Rhé; but so mismanaged the siege, and took such ineffective measures for the protection of his troops, that after remaining on the isle till the 29th of October, he was compelled to re-embark, in the presence of a large French army which attacked the retreating force, occasioning great loss, notwithstanding the bravery displayed by all—Buckingham being conspicuous for his gallant bearing. This unlucky affair is generally called the expedition to the Isle of Rhé.

Though Buckingham returned in disgrace to England, Charles received him with open arms; and when the whole country evinced indignation at the misconduct of the expedition, he declared that Buckingham was not responsible, as the failure arose from his not receiving supplies.

It now became a serious question what was to be done to carry on the government. Charles was penniless, and the people were so incensed against the illegal modes of extortion used to collect money, that to repeat them was felt to be dangerous. Although the king hated the very name of a parliament, still he was obliged to call one to vote money to help him out of his difficulties. To prevent the members, when they met, from again impeaching Buckingham, it was arranged that the favourite himself should be the first person to propose in council that a parliament should be called. The writs were issued on the 29th of January, 1628; but before the houses of legislature could meet, the king, not knowing what to do for an immediate supply of money, arbitrarily appointed commissioners to collect it from the people, whom they were to tell that, if they dutifully paid what was required of them, he would meet the parliament; but if not, he would think of some quicker way of obtaining what he wanted. This dishonest equivocation produced such a loud cry of anger from the nation, that Charles was frightened, and recalled his commissioners.

Before parliament met, on the 17th of March, Archbishop Abbott had been restored to his see; and seventy-five persons who had been imprisoned for refusing to contribute to a forced loan, were liberated. On assembling, the Commons were found to be more resolved than ever upon a reform of abuses, and the establishment of English liberty. They were not, however, a restless body of men, who opposed the king from a quarrelsome spirit, or who wanted change only for the sake of change. Far from that: they were most of them wise, prudent, wealthy, and religious men, who saw that it was necessary to restrain the tyrannical proceedings of Charles, to preserve the honour, independence, and prosperity of the nation. Unprincipled people, who have nothing to lose, frequently like to see confusion and revolution in states, because they think they may gain something in the struggle; but there was nothing of this kind in Charles's parliament; and the patriotic statesmen who composed this one were so wealthy, that their property was considered to be three times as great as that of the whole House of Peers.

On opening parliament the king again addressed the members in a most imprudent speech, which lost him all the popularity he had tried to win by liberating so many prisoners. "I have called you together," he said, "judging a parliament to be the ancient, the speediest, and the best way to give such supply as to secure ourselves and save our friends from imminent ruin. Every man must now do according to his conscience; wherefore if you—which God forbid!—should not do your duties in contributing what this state at this time needs, I must, in discharge of my conscience, use those other means which God has put into my hands to save that which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as a threatening (I scorn to threaten any but my equals), but as an admonition from him that, both out of nature and duty, hath most care of your preservation and prosperities."

Perhaps Charles thought, by this language, to frighten the Commons into a passive submission to his will; but the effect of it was to rouse them to a more resolute defence of the rights of the nation. They voted the king a liberal supply of money, but resolved that he should not have it until he admitted the venerable and sacred liberties of the people, and gave a solemn pledge to redress their grievances. During the debate, bolder and nobler language was spoken than had been uttered in an English parliament for ages. Sir Francis Seymour said—"This is the great council of the kingdom, and here with certainty—if not here only—his majesty may see, as in a true glass, the state of the kingdom. We are called hither by his writs, in order to give him faithful counsel, such as may stand with his honour; and this we must do without flattery. We are also sent hither by the people, in order to deliver their just grievances; and this we must do without fear. Let us not act like Cambyses' judges, who, when their approbation was demanded by the prince to some illegal measure, said, 'that though there was a written law, the Persian kings might follow their own will and pleasure.' This was base flattery, fitter for our reproof than our imitation; and as fear, so flattery taketh away the judgment. For my part, I shall shun both, and speak my mind with as much duty as any man to his majesty, without neglecting the public." In the course of his speech, this gentleman alluded to the many people who had been sent to prison for refusing to lend money to the king, and inquired—"To countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached in the pulpit, or rather prated, that all we have is the king's by divine right? But when preachers forsake their own calling, and turn ignorant statesmen, we see how willing they are to exchange a good conscience for a bishopric." * * * "That man is not a good subject: he is a slave who will allow his goods to be taken from him against his will, and his liberty against the laws of the kingdom."

Before the act voting the money to the king was actually confirmed, the Commons passed several resolutions against forced loans, taxes without consent of parliament, and arbitrary imprisonments of the people merely at the will of the king. That house still distrusted Charles: he had prevaricated so much, and so often broken the laws of the country, that they wished for some security for his better government in future. Therefore they framed a bill, to which they desired the assent of the king, and called it THE PETITION OF RIGHT. This document has become celebrated in the annals of history as being next to the famous Magna Charta, the foundation of English liberty. After alluding to the liberties enjoyed by Englishmen during times past, and the manner in which those liberties had been violated by the king, this petition declared that no taxes could be levied by the sovereign without the authority of his parliament; and that no Englishman should be fined, imprisoned, or in any other way punished, except according to the judgment of his peers, and the law of the land. It then mentioned several other abuses of justice, and ended by begging that they should cease for ever, as being inconsistent with the laws of the land and the liberties of the people.

Charles did not recognise the extensive liberty the Commons claimed, and intended to keep his royal prerogative—that is, his peculiar and exclusive privilege as a king—unfettered. He appeared, at times, not to understand that a king owed any *duties* to his people, or that subjects possessed any *rights*. Instead of reflecting that a monarch is the first magistrate of his kingdom, and should be the father and protector of his people, he looked upon the country as a property of his own, and his people as living merely for the purpose of paying taxes. Still, he was terribly in want of the five subsidies the Commons had voted him; and he knew that he should not get them without giving his consent to the Petition of Right. He therefore promised to do so; but, to enable him to evade that promise, should circumstances require it, he gave his sanction, not in the usual manner, but in the following words:—"The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrongs or oppressions contrary to their just rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged as of his own prerogative."

The king gave this qualified assent to the petition on the 2nd of June. It did not, of course, satisfy the Commons; who, instead of granting the five subsidies, complained of Dr. Mainwaring (the king's chaplain) and the Duke of Buckingham, whom they declared to be the grievance of grievances, and the cause of all the evils from which the country was suffering. This brought Charles to his reason; and when he received a new petition from both Lords and Commons, desiring him to give a more direct answer to the Petition of Right, he confirmed it in the usual form. A shout of joy rang through the house; the whole nation was delighted; and Charles obtained the large supply of money that had been voted him.

This famous act was passed on the 7th of June, 1628: it was obtained by a sort of bargain between the king and his parliament. The members of that body gave him gold for an assurance that he would respect the laws of the land and the liberties of his subjects; and happy would it have been, for him and his people, if he had rigidly kept his engagement. He had many

irritations, many crosses, of which the English monarchs, in this age, know nothing; and there is one great fact which ought always to be remembered—that the party which contended so strenuously for liberty, was ignorant of its true principles. That party denied civil and religious liberty to a large class of his majesty's subjects; and one cause of their quarrel with the king was, his disposition, frequently shown, to relax the penal laws against the Catholics. But that does not justify the Machiavelian policy of Charles; which, however he might conceive himself justified in adopting it, and however that policy might be brought in operation (as it undoubtedly was at times) against him, all lovers of honourable, straightforward dealing must condemn.

Charles's consent to the Petition of Right had been given so grudgingly that it did not procure him the affection of the Commons; and they immediately afterwards proceeded against Dr. Mainwaring and the Duke of Buckingham. The king left the clergyman to his fate, who was fined £1,000, suspended for three years, and his sermon ordered to be burnt by the common hangman. Charles, however, resolved that nothing should be done against his favourite. The Commons agreed to present a remonstrance, in which they mentioned many grievances and infringements of the liberties of the nation, and said that all these things arose from the bad conduct of the duke. They also declared that levying the duties of tonnage and poundage without their consent, was a violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an infringement of the petition so lately granted. Charles heard what they were about; and to prevent them from presenting their remonstrance to him, or proceeding against the duke, he had again recourse to a dissolution. Hurrying down to the parliament-house on the 20th of June, he told the members that he did not intend to give up his right to tonnage and poundage, which it was a part of his prerogative to collect, without any permission from them. He then abruptly prorogued them, and thus showed how little he intended to observe the Petition of Right, to which he had just given his assent.

All this time the poor Protestants of Rochelle were besieged by the army of the French king, and they made an urgent appeal to the English for assistance. Another fleet was accordingly fitted out, and Buckingham himself intended to sail with it to Rochelle, to see if he could not wipe away the shame he had before acquired there. But he was never again to bring disgrace upon the national character. The hatred borne to him by the whole people was so great, that Dr. Lambe, his physician, was, on the 13th of June, set upon by a mob, and beaten so cruelly, that he died shortly afterwards. The following savage rhyme was then shouted by the excited murderers, and soon muttered all over London:—

"Let Charles and George do what they can,
The duke shall die like Dr. Lambe."

Buckingham's name was George; and this wicked threat was soon fulfilled.

In the August of 1628, the duke went down to Portsmouth to embark for Rochelle. On the morning of the 23rd, he got up in excellent spirits, and cut a caper with the lightness and frolicsome spirit of a boy. After breakfast, he had a little dispute with some French gentlemen who had come to him from Rochelle; and as he proceeded to his carriage, several of them followed, gesticulating with much violence, according to the custom of their countrymen when they are excited. As he passed through the hall, he stopped for a moment to speak to Sir Thomas Fryar, one of his officers. At that moment a clenched hand reached over Sir Thomas's shoulder—a bright weapon gleamed in the light, and was buried, as swift as lightning, in the left breast of the duke. He staggered, and fell, and after exclaiming, "The villain has killed me!" instantly expired.

There was great alarm and confusion: no one had seen the assassin; suspicion, therefore, fell upon the Frenchmen who had been talking to the duke, and it was with some difficulty that they were saved from the fury of his attendants. While this was proceeding, a hat was picked up, in which was sewn a paper, containing the following words:—"That man is cowardly, base, and deserveth not the name of a soldier, that is not willing to sacrifice his life for the honour of his God, his king, and his country! Let no man commend me for the doing it, but rather discommend themselves as the cause of it; for if God had not taken our hearts for our sins, he had not gone so long unpunished.—JOHN FELTON."

When this paper was read, many soldiers and gentlemen rushed into the house, exclaiming, "Where is the villain?—where is the butcher?" A stern-looking man, in the garb of a Puritan, calmly advanced, and said, "I am he! here I am!" Drawing their swords, they would have killed him on the spot, but some persons of authority interfered, and caused him to be placed in a private room under a guard. To endeavour to ascertain his motives, they soon afterwards told him that the duke was not dead, and that there were hopes of his recovery. The enthusiastic assassin smiled contemptuously as he replied, "It is impossible; I had the strength of forty men, assisted by Him who guided my hand."

John Felton was a gentleman of education and good family, but of a melancholy disposition, and a zealot in

religion. He had served as a lieutenant in the army which Buckingham had led to the Isle of Rhé, but had thrown up his commission in disgust, because he could not obtain his pay, and because a promotion due to him had been bestowed on another man. The feelings of anger which, on these accounts, he felt towards the duke, were increased by the complaints he everywhere heard of the conduct of that courtier, and the assertion of the Commons, that he was the cause of all the evils that afflicted the country. Long brooding on this subject almost turned Felton's brain; and at length he fancied that his duty, both to God and his fellow-creatures, demanded that he should offer up the duke as an acceptable sacrifice to heaven. These were the feelings that induced the unhappy man to stain his hand in blood. He was sent from Portsmouth, under a strong guard, to the Tower of London; but on his road the people blessed him, and prayed for him as their deliverer: one woman even hailed him with the title of David.

At first, Felton gloried in the deed; and when asked his motives, answered, "I killed him for the cause of God and my country." He persisted that he had no accomplices; and when Lord Dorset threatened him with the rack, he replied firmly, "I am ready; yet must I tell you, my lord of Dorset, that I will accuse you, and no one but yourself." The exhortations, however, of the clergy brought him to consider himself as a murderer. He was tried on the 27th of November; condemned for his crime; and hanged, on the 29th, at Tyburn.—The king was much grieved at the death of Buckingham, whom he called his martyr. Indeed, Charles was very anxious to have Felton tortured before being put to death, in order to induce him to disclose his accomplices; but the judges declared, that although such shocking practices had been common, they were against the law. The duke was buried secretly in Westminster Abbey, in the night of the 18th of September; for he was hated so much by the people, that it was feared they might stop the funeral procession, and tear the dead body out of the coffin, if the ceremony took place during the day.

Buckingham being no more, the English expedition was put under the command of the Earl of Lindsay. It sailed on the 10th of September, and appeared before Rochelle on the 18th. A gallant attempt was made to force an entrance into the port, but it failed, and on the 23rd the fleet returned to England. On the 18th of October, Rochelle surrendered to the French army; and the cause of the reformed religion was, for the time, crushed in France.

CHAPTER LXX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.—A.D. 1629—1631.

THE parliament reassembled on the 20th of January, 1629. The Commons were very ill-disposed towards the king, who had, since their last meeting, in defiance of the Petition of Right, gone on collecting tonnage and poundage without its having been granted to him; permitted that infamous court, the Star-Chamber, illegally to sentence a man to have his ears cut off; and had circulated copies of the petition through the country with his first equivocal answer attached to it. Besides this, he had favoured and promoted all those clergymen who had been most forward in preaching slavish doctrines, and who were suspected, without any just grounds, of only watching a safe opportunity to restore popery in England.

But what most incensed the Commons was, the case of Mr. Rolles, a merchant and a member of their house, who complained that his goods had been seized because he had refused to pay the illegal dues of tonnage and poundage. "Cast your eyes which way you please," said one gentleman, "and you see violations of the liberty of the subject. Look on the privileges of this house: they knew the party was a parliament man; nay, they said if all the parliament was with him, or concerned in the goods, they would seize them just the same." During the debate which took place on this subject, Charles sent a command to the Commons not to proceed with it until after they had an interview with him the next day at Whitehall. There he told them that he wished to do away with all cause of misunderstanding between him and them; that if they would at once pass the bill, making the payment of tonnage and poundage legal, that source of dissension would be removed; and that he had not taken those duties as his right, but that it was his intention to receive them as the gift of his people.

This partial submission of the king to the laws of the land and the wishes of the people came too late;

for both nation and parliament had, at last, come to suspect him of insincerity in everything he said or did. The Commons were resolved not to vote tonnage and poundage to him, either for life or for a single year, unless he gave some pledge that he would govern, for the future, in a more straightforward and less arbitrary manner. They were, also, very dissatisfied with the conduct and doctrines of the chief ministers of religion in the country, and resolved on a strict inquiry into both before they said a word about tonnage and poundage; for they declared that the business of the kings of this world should give place to the business of the King of Heaven. Though William Laud was not yet Archbishop of Canterbury, yet Charles had trusted him with the chief authority in the church. Laud entertained the opinions of Arminius, a celebrated professor of divinity at Leyden. These opinions were not in themselves objectionable; but, on the contrary, both probable and charitable. Still they were much disliked by the Puritans, who held a sterner and stricter doctrine; and they were the more disliked because Bishop Laud adhered to those forms and ceremonies which the church had always observed, but which the Puritans condemned. They deemed them relics of popery; and accused Laud—who, whatever his faults, was a sincere member of the Anglican church—with being more than half a papist in his heart. Thus, though Arminianism had, in reality, nothing to do with popery, it came to be connected with it in the minds of the people.—Charles was very anxious to get the vote which should sanction his collection of tonnage and poundage, and he sent several messages to the Commons, desiring them to pass that before they did any other business. But they were resolute; for they did not like this interference, and therefore kept to their debates about popery and Arminianism. However, they sent the king an apology for delaying the bill granting the supplies; but, at the same time, gave him to understand that they regarded his repeated messages as inconsistent with their dignity and privileges.

In the course of this debate, a singular-looking man, of about thirty years of age, rose to speak. It was the first time he had ever addressed that solemn assembly, and all eyes were immediately turned upon him. He was dressed in a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an awkward country tailor; his linen was scarcely so white as it should have been; his ruffles were old-fashioned; his hat was without a band; he wore his sword ungracefully; his features were coarse and red; and his voice thick and harsh. Such a figure might have provoked contempt, if it had not been for his serious, manly air, his meaning eye, and an indescribable manner that inspired respect. In the course of his speech he said—"I have heard that Dr. Alabaster hath preached flat popery at St. Paul's Cross, and that the Bishop of Winchester commanded him, as his diocesan, to preach nothing to the contrary; and Dr. Mainwaring, so justly censured for his sermons, has been preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to church preferment, what may we not expect?" The name of this speaker was Oliver Cromwell, the son of a brewer of Huntingdon—a man who, some years afterwards, rose to be the "Protector" and governor of England.

The result of the debate, which continued from the 14th to the 23rd of February, was, that the Commons appointed a committee to draw up a report concerning the abuses in the church; and the house adjourned, on the last-named day, to the 25th, when Mr. Pym, as chairman of the committee, presented a report, in which the members denounced the innovations of Laud, and the doctrines of Arminianism: they desired that candlesticks should be removed from the communion-tables, and pictures and images from the churches; they required that slavish books, written by clergymen, inculcating the wicked doctrine of the divine right of kings to do as they pleased, and the duty of the subject always passively to submit, should be publicly burnt; and they desired the king to take the advice of his council in appointing pious and learned men to vacant bishoprics.

In the midst of their attention to religion, the Commons did not forget the illegal collection of taxes. They compelled the sheriff of London, who had seized Mr. Rolles' goods for tonnage and poundage, to beg pardon on his knees at the bar of their house, and then sent him to the Tower. They also summoned the officers of the customs to the bar of the house; who urged, as an excuse, that they had made the seizure in consequence of their having had a warrant to do so from the king. Sir John Eliot, one of the patriotic members, on the 25th of February, produced a remonstrance to his majesty against the illegal collection of tonnage and poundage, and other oppressions which injured the trade of the country. Before it was read, an order was received from the king that the Commons should adjourn till Monday, the 2nd of March. It was fully understood that a prorogation was to take place on that day, to be followed by a dissolution; and the leaders of the opposition—Denzil Holles, Benjamin Valentine, Walter Long, William Strode, John Selden, William Coryton, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, and Sir John Eliot—had previously concerted that the Speaker should not leave the chair till the reports and resolutions prepared on the subject of religion, and tonnage and poundage, had been adopted. As soon as the house met, therefore, and the Speaker took his

seat, Holles and Valentine placed themselves on either side of his chair. Sir John Eliot was the first to rise immediately after prayers; but, before he could utter a word, the Speaker rose, and said he had the king's command to adjourn the house till the 10th of March. He was about to step from the chair, but he was held in it by Holles and Valentine, and Sir John Eliot proceeded with his address, and then presented the report, which both the Speaker and the clerk refused to take. The former was leaving the chair; but he was again forced back by Valentine and Holles; and as he refused to read the report or declaration, after Selden and Sir Peter Hayman had reproached him for his obstinacy, Sir John Eliot read it himself.—In the meantime, the sergeant-at-arms attempted to remove the mace, which would have put an end to the sitting; but that, and the key of the house, were taken from him, and, the Speaker being still held in the chair, Sir Miles Hobart locked the door.—Sir John Eliot then proceeded with the report. When he had finished, resolutions founded upon it were also read, put to the house by Holles, and carried by vast majorities.

Charles, in the meantime, had gone to the House of Lords, and he sent the Usher of the Black Rod to summon the Commons to attend. But Sir Miles Hobart kept possession of the key till the business before them was concluded, paying no attention to the repeated knocks, and summons to open, of the king's officer. The resolutions being carried, the Speaker was released, who immediately left the chair, and the key being returned to the sergeant-at-arms, he opened the door. The members simultaneously adjourned the house to the 10th of March, and began to disperse. They were just in time; for the king had sent for the captain of his guard, who, with a band of pensioners, was found at the door, just about to force an entrance. —The next day, the 3rd of March, a proclamation appeared, declaring the House of Commons dissolved, but as no date was given, his majesty went to the House of Peers, which assembled on the 10th. After a brief speech, in which he placed the conduct of the peers in favourable contrast with that of the lower house—applying, some reports say, the term "vipers" to certain parties in the latter—he declared the parliament to be at an end.

On the 4th of March, the nine members before named, as having arranged the proceedings of the 2nd of March were summoned to appear before the privy council All obeyed, except Strode and Long, for whose apprehension a reward was offered by a proclamation issued on the 27th, when they gave themselves up. All were sent to prison; some to the King's Bench, others to the Tower, and several to the Marshalsea—a prison then existing in High Street, Southwark, but which was taken down in 1842, and the prisoners removed to the Queen's (formerly the King's) Bench.—There were long and tedious arguments before the judges, as to whether the prisoners were entitled to be admitted to bail. The law officers of the crown contended, strongly, that they were not; and some of the judges were of their opinion. On the 30th of September, it was decided that they were entitled to bail, "on giving security for their good behaviour." Seven then remained in prison; Hayman and Coryton having, by petition to the king, obtained their liberation in April. Of these seven, all, except Long, refused to give the required security; because the meaning put upon the words "good behaviour," would have prevented them from exercising the parliamentary privileges, and doing their duty to the public. When Long found that his colleagues had refused to comply with the decision of the judges, he would have withdrawn his recognizances; but he was not allowed to do so.—The term during which he was bound to good behaviour, however, expired before the trials came on, and as he refused to renew his sureties, he was sent to the Marshalsea. The trials did not take place till February, 1630. The prisoners were indicted for sedition displayed in their speeches in parliament, and their conduct to the Speaker. They refused to plead, before an inferior court, for what they had done as members of a superior one. As they persisted in refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, they were pronounced guilty *par contumace*, and sentenced to be imprisoned till they made due submission to the king. Eliot, Valentine, and Holles were also sentenced to pay a fine—the former of £2,000, the two latter of £500 each. After some delay, all obtained their liberty, except Sir John Eliot, who steadily refused to submit to what he considered an unjust sentence. After he had been two years in prison, his health began to fail, and he twice petitioned Charles for his release—once in very humble terms. but as he refused to express regret for the past, and to promise better behaviour in the future, he was kept in prison, till he died on the 27th of November, 1632.

Having thus got rid of his third parliament, Charles resolved to rule without those assemblies, and to levy, by the exercise of his royal prerogative, those taxes which parliament had formerly granted to the sovereigns. This experiment he tried for a period of *eleven years*—a period, as may well be imagined, of excitement, confusion, and oppression. One act alone, which occurred in the beginning, was enough to rouse the anger and hatred of the nation against the king; who, though far from being tyrannous in his general administration, enforced what he really believed to be his rights, with respect to tonnage and poundage, in the most arbitrary manner. Richard Chambers, a merchant

of London, refused to pay any other duty on a bale of silks than could be demanded by the law of the land. The silks were accordingly seized by the custom-house officers; and Chambers, irritated at his loss, exclaimed, "That merchants had more encouragement, and were less screwed and wrung, in Turkey than in England." For this speech he was summoned to the Star-Chamber, and sentenced to pay a fine of £2,000, and to sign a paper, declaring that he had spoken the words insolently, falsely, and maliciously. He signed the infamous document in the following manner:—"All the above contents and submission, I, Richard Chambers, do utterly abhor and detest, as most unjust and false, and never till death will acknowledge any part thereof." The judges then sentenced him to imprisonment, which he endured for twelve weary years; and though he was set at liberty by the Long Parliament, he was a ruined man, and died at last in want.

Charles found several of the patriots far less steady in adhering to their principles than Eliot had proved himself. Of the nine whose names we have given, he was the only one who remained in prison. Of those who had followed in the train of the leaders, Sir Dudley Digges deserted his principles, and accepted the situation of Master of the Rolls. Noy and Littleton (two distinguished lawyers) followed his example; the first being made attorney-general, and the second solicitor-general. But the greatest of these renegades, as they are termed, was Sir Thomas Wentworth, who afterwards became so famous under the title of the Earl of Strafford. He was a gentleman of property, a brave soldier, a brilliant orator, and a man of immense and varied abilities. His countenance, at once thoughtful, austere, and melancholy, seemed to belong to one born for command; and his overbearing will generally enabled him to trample down all opposition. He had always professed unshaken loyalty to the king, who, he said, was misled by evil counsellors. And—whether he thought the patriots and Puritans went too far, or whether he was seduced by honours and advantages held out to him—there was not, from the time of Eliot's imprisonment, a more staunch supporter of the king's prerogative. That famous patriot, Mr. Pym—a name that will ever remain illustrious in English history—had been Wentworth's friend; but when he abandoned the party opposed to the court, Pym exclaimed bitterly, "You are going to leave us, but we will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders" The time came when Pym kept his word.

For some time Charles's councils were chiefly directed by Sir Thomas Wentworth, and by Laud, then Bishop of London. Wentworth was a great and brilliant minister; Laud's talents were not equal to those of his colleague; and he devoted his attention chiefly to ecclesiastical measures. He had many private virtues; was a man of great learning and piety; and there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his religious belief. The reports relative to his attachment to the church of Rome, led the pope twice to offer him a cardinal's hat, which was promptly refused; but, no doubt, he thought Puritanism as great a deviation from Christian truth as the Roman superstition; and he persecuted its followers without remorse. This refusal to tolerate a difference in religious opinions was Laud's great fault; but the Puritans would have been equally intolerant if they had possessed the power. Bishop Laud did not exert his influence merely to introduce superstitious mummeries in religion, and to oppress those who would not adopt them, as his enemies assert. He was equally relentless against licentiousness and immorality, sparing neither rank nor station. In this he was supported by the king; and Charles's court had a very different aspect from that of his predecessor; being, in fact, more free from abuses, and much more refined, than that of any of the other three Stuart kings.

Charles and his two ministers suffered nothing to interfere with their attempts to raise money for the purposes of his court—far from an expensive one—and government. The king persisted in levying tonnage and poundage, in defiance of the Petition of Right. He revived an old feudal law, by which all persons possessed of £40 per annum were summoned to receive the honour of knighthood; and if they declined accepting a title which they had no means of supporting, they were compelled to pay a considerable fine to be excused. He also revived the old forest laws, and expelled many people from their lands, because they had at some remote time been royal chases. Monopolies had been abolished both by Elizabeth and James; but Charles brought these harassing modes of extortion again into use, and invented some that had not before existed. Royal proclamations, also, were frequently issued, and all who disobeyed them were fined heavy sums. Indeed, Charles scarcely left any mode of extortion untried by which he might raise the money he should have received only from the grants of his parliament; and this was the great error of his life—the prominent fault of his government.

Laud was terribly active in the career of persecution. A Scotch preacher, named Alexander Leighton, had written a violent fanatical book, in which he had abused the queen and the bishops. He was summoned to the Star-Chamber on the 4th of June, 1630; and although he apologised, and endeavoured to excuse himself, he was sentenced to be degraded from the ministry, to be publicly whipped, placed in the pillory, have his ears cut off, his nostrils slit, and the letters S. S.—*i. e.*, Sower of Sedition—burnt, with a hot iron, upon each

cheek. When these shocking barbarities had been inflicted, the unhappy man was thrown into prison, there to remain a horrible and dreadful spectacle until death released him. He obtained his liberty after ten years of captivity; but that was when neither the king or bishop had any longer power to detain him. Many other honest fanatics were driven from their pulpits, imprisoned, fined, ruined, scourged, and branded, because they insisted on worshipping God in the way they believed to be the purest and best. In consequence, numbers turned their backs upon their native land—that land which they deemed no longer a fit dwelling-place for free-born men; and shaking off the dust of their feet against it, proceeded to America, where they founded a new home in the solitudes of the virgin forests of the New World. These men—some of the founders of the great American people—were long afterwards called by the honoured title of the "Pilgrim Fathers."

In 1633, Charles visited his kingdom of Scotland, to hold a parliament, and go through the ceremony of his coronation. He left London on the 12th of June, and was crowned at Edinburgh on the 18th. The ceremony, conducted with all the pomp and practices of the Catholic church, greatly shocked the rigid notions of the Scots. The parliament met on the 19th of June. It voted a liberal supply of money—which was the chief object of its being assembled. A bill was introduced for establishing the articles of the church of England, and the use of the Prayer Book and the surplice, so much hated by the Scotch Presbyterians. This bill was strenuously opposed; but it was declared to be carried, though the Presbyterian leaders averred that a majority of both estates—Lords and Commons—was against it. On the 28th of June parliament was dissolved; and Charles returned to England, leaving behind him much ill-will, that afterwards made itself painfully manifest. Soon after the king's arrival in London—on the 4th of August—Abbott, the Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and Laud became primate of England.

When he had entered upon that high office, another striking case of persecution occurred. Mr. William Prynne (a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and a zealous Puritan) published, in 1633, a large volume, with the title of *Histrio-Mastix; the Player's Scourge, or Actor's Tragedie.* Its object was to cry down all plays, music, dancing, hunting, Christmas festivities, Maypoles, and village sports; and he only enforced the principles of the Puritans, who deemed these amusements sinful. He was a great man among that sect; and was, therefore, thought a fit object for prosecution; his book being illegally published, not having the required license. The queen was fond of dancing; and the king frequently had masks, and other entertainments, presented at court; Prynne was, therefore, charged with casting aspersions upon her majesty, and of stirring up the people to discontent against the king. He was prosecuted in the Star-Chamber; found guilty; and condemned to pay a fine of £5,000, to be imprisoned for life, to stand twice in the pillory, to have his ears cut off, his nostrils slit, and to be branded with a hot iron on the forehead. These revolting punishments, which have long been banished from this country, were enforced. The victim stood in the pillory in Palace Yard on the 7th, and in Cheapside on the 10th of May, 1634; losing an ear each time. He bore the infliction, we are told, with the placid courage of a hero.

While Laud was prosecuting Puritans, and enforcing the use of the church ceremonies, Sir Thomas Wentworth was made Baron Strafford, Lord President of the North, and, in 1632, Lord Deputy of Ireland. In that country he ruled with an arrogant despotism; and his extortions enabled him frequently to send large sums of money to the king. His despotism in Ireland, however, had a good effect. There had been no satisfactory, established rule; and the various chiefs, whilst they quarrelled and fought against themselves, robbed the people on every side. Strafford put a stop to these exactions, compelled all to obey his behests, and, if he did not establish law, he certainly restored peace and order; and Ireland was more prosperous under his administration than it had been since its conquest.

CHAPTER LXXI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.—A.D. 1631—1640.

IN the year 1631, Charles had recourse to a new scheme for raising money. He issued writs to the great towns of England, commanding them to equip and man ships of war for his service. This had been done by Elizabeth when the country was threatened by the Spanish Armada: but even at such a time as that, the seaport towns only were required to furnish ships to protect themselves. Charles now, in a time of peace, demanded ships, or money instead of them, from the *inland* counties also—a stretch of kingly power which excited a universal murmur throughout the land. Notwithstanding, a formidable fleet of sixty sail was fitted out, under the Earl of Northumberland, with which British commerce was protected, and the rights of the fishermen preserved, especially against the Dutch, who had made great encroachments in the English seas.

The people of London, and of other great towns and cities, complained loudly of this new mode of taxation; but it was in Buckinghamshire that a resolute stand was first made against it. That county was assessed, in 1636, at a ship of 450 tons, or a sum of £1,500. There lived in that part a wealthy country gentleman, named John Hampden—a man of noble, handsome features, a polite education, great courage, integrity, amiability, and animated by a patriotic love of his native land. He had sat in parliament; but had not as yet acquired any great distinction among that august assembly of orators and statesmen, though he was esteemed as a champion of liberty that no tyranny could either intimidate or corrupt.

Hampden had long grieved for the oppression of his country, and he now resolved, if possible, to check the tyrannical practices of Charles. The amount demanded from him for ship-money was but a trifle to a man in his circumstances—only 20*s.*; but he refused to pay it on principle; for he thought, that, by resolutely persevering in this refusal, the cause between the king and his subjects must be brought to an open trial. Many other gentlemen of the county, encouraged by Hampden's firmness, followed his example.

As Hampden resisted the payment of ship-money on the ground that it was illegal, Charles had this question proposed to the judges—"Whether, in a case of necessity, for the defence of the kingdom, he might not impose this tax; and whether he were not sole judge of the necessity?"—The judges, who would seem to have been more ready to do what they thought would please the king than to declare what really was the legitimate rule of law, replied, on the 12th of February, 1637, in the affirmative. As Hampden still refused to pay the tax, the trial proceeded; and the question was argued, in Michaelmas term, 1637, before all the judges of England. Judgment was not pronounced till the 12th of June, 1638. It was—four of their lordships dissenting—against Hampden, and in favour of the king. No doubt the patriot had expected this result; and it had rather the character of a victory than a defeat. This remarkable case had aroused the whole nation to a spirit of resistance against the despotic encroachments of Charles. Many people who had before paid ship-money now resisted it; the discontent of the nation was daily increasing; and a dark storm was gathering over the head of the obstinate monarch. During this trial Hampden gained great fame by the calm and respectful firmness of his manner; nearly all men spoke in his praise, and even the courtiers regretted that they had such a man for an enemy. But he knew very well that his resistance had made him a marked man; that Charles was longing and watching for an opportunity to crush him. Feeling England no longer a safe home, he resolved to emigrate to America; and his cousin, Oliver Cromwell, also packed up his things to go with him. It is said they had actually embarked on board of one of eight vessels then lying in the Thames, filled with emigrants, anxious to leave a land which they regarded as the home of tyranny, when an order from the king compelled them all to disembark, and remain in England. Thus, by a course of conduct which looks almost like fatality, Charles forcibly kept in England the man who helped to hurl him from his throne and send him to the scaffold.

Before the end of the trial between Hampden and the king about ship-money, Archbishop Laud had prosecuted Dr. Bastwick, a physician; Mr. Burton, a clergyman; and Mr. Prynne (who was then a prisoner in the Tower), for publishing "seditious and libellous books" against the church and the government. These books were very violent; and were, of course, unlicensed. The offenders were tried in the Star-Chamber, on the 14th of June, 1637, and condemned to pay a fine of £5,000 each; to stand in the pillory; Bastwick and Burton to lose their ears; and Prynne to be branded. All these (as we now consider them) disgusting bar-

barities were performed, to the horror of many of the people, who looked upon the unhappy gentlemen as martyrs, and offered them money, and said many things to comfort them. There were some who looked on approvingly, and thought the offenders had only obtained their deserts. To the masses, however, these prosecutions were most unacceptable: they rendered the king and the archbishop more unpopular every day; but, unfortunately, they were not aware of the storm of indignation they were provoking, nor of the danger it threatened.

A few months afterwards, Laud summoned two persons, named John Lilburne and John Warton, to the Star-Chamber, for printing seditious books in defiance of his decree—that no book should be published without a licence. When Lilburne was required to take an oath to answer all the questions that should be put to him, he replied boldly, that he would do no such thing; for he was a free-born Englishman, and therefore not bound, by the laws of his country, to accuse himself. The Puritans were delighted with this speech, and gave him the name of "Free-born John." The Star-Chamber, however, sent both Lilburne and his companion to prison for contemptuous behaviour; fined them £500 each; and sentenced them to stand in the pillory. As Lilburne had been the boldest, he was condemned, in addition, to be whipped through the streets, from the Fleet prison to the pillory near the gate of Westminster Hall, and then whipped back again to prison. But neither whipping nor the pillory could subdue the spirit of "Free-born John;" and while undergoing his punishment, he spoke many bold things in defiance of his persecutors, and scattered pamphlets among the crowd.

Not contented with the feeling of disgust and resistance they had excited in England, Charles and the archbishop resolved to force the service of the English church upon the Scots. A new church service was, in December, 1636, sent to Edinburgh, and appointed to be read in all the Scottish churches on Easter Day, 1637. The people of that country, who were enthusiastically attached to their own simple form of religion, looked upon the English system as little better than popery. On the first Sunday that the new liturgy was to be read at Edinburgh, the people assembled in and around St. Giles's church. At first they were well-behaved and quiet; but no sooner had the Dean of Edinburgh stepped into the reading-desk, and began the obnoxious service, than an uproar arose as if all the inmates of Bedlam had broken into the church at once. The Bishop of Edinburgh tried to pacify them, but a shower of stones and dirt was thrown at him; and the furious people shouted, "A pope! a pope! Down with the priest of Baal! Antichrist! Throttle him! Stone him!" With much difficulty the service was continued to the end. On leaving the church, the dean escaped by throwing off his surplice; but the bishop was set upon by the mob, and narrowly got off with his life. Similar scenes took place in other Scottish churches; and some of the clergy were chased through the streets, followed by an enraged mob, pelting them with stones and filth.

These scenes were followed by violent riots at Edinburgh, which were not conducted by the poor and ignorant alone, but shared by the wealthy and educated. Some nobles even took part in the expression of popular anger; and the Earl of Traquair went to London, towards the latter end of December, to persuade King Charles to desist from his attempt to coerce the people in their feelings of religion. Charles not only refused to yield, but ordered all Scottish ministers who would not read the New Book of Common Prayer, to be turned out of their livings.

The Scottish people had far too high a spirit, and too great a love of religious liberty, to put up with dictation of this kind. They loved their own form of religion, and were ready to fight to the last gasp in defence of it. In December, 1637, an association of the nobles and people took place; and committees (or Tables, as they were called), which acted according to the directions of a permanent one, constantly sitting at Edinburgh, were formed all over Scotland. It was, indeed, a scheme of insurrection so admirably organised, and so quietly conducted, that its leaders were soon able to resist the authority of the English king. Accordingly, they demanded that the new Liturgy and the Book of Canons should be instantly removed, and the Court of High Commission (which also had been forced upon them) abolished. Charles, in reply, issued a proclamation—which was published at Stirling on the 19th, and at Edinburgh on the 21st, of February, 1638—in which the "Tables" were declared unlawful; their proceedings were condemned, and large meetings prohibited, on pain of incurring the penalties of treason. All persons were ordered to return quietly to their homes, or they would incur the punishment of rebels; submission was to be followed by pardon. This proclamation was met by a protest, signed by Lords Hume and Lindsay, which the Scotch people looked upon as rendering the former document void, and as sanctioning their disobedience to it.

The enthusiasm of the people was now thoroughly aroused. Scotland was in a state of revolution; and the nobles and preachers of that country proceeded to write out that famous document known as the NATIONAL COVENANT!

The idea of the Scottish Covenant was adopted from that made by the people of Israel, when they entered

into a solemn obligation with their Creator: the very name, therefore, had a sacred sound in the ears of a people bent on the defence of their national religion. It consisted of a solemn renunciation of the pope and the Catholic form of religion; and the subscribers then bound themselves, "before God, his angels, and the world," to defend their own mode of religion, and to resist all innovations whatever. On the 1st of March, 1638, the people and nobles took possession of St. Giles's church at Edinburgh; and after prayers and exhortations, the Covenant was produced, and the whole congregation standing erect, raised their hands towards heaven, and swore to be faithful to it. In a few days copies were sent to all the towns in the kingdom, and, in a little while, the great mass of the people signed their names to this memorable document. They did not do this with indifference or coldness, as people often sign their names to petitions in these days; but with enthusiastic ardour—with prayers and tears of joy; and everywhere they hailed it as the sacred pledge of liberty and salvation: and all persons who would not sign it were regarded as traitors to God, and as rebels to their country.

Charles was astonished; and in June he sent the Marquis of Hamilton to treat with the Covenanters. The king thought it was prudent not to insist on the changes in the church service for the present; but Hamilton was to allow the Scots six weeks' time utterly to renounce the Covenant to which they had just sworn so solemnly. If they would not do so, he was to treat them as rebels, and punish such of them as fell into his hands. When the marquis arrived at Edinburgh, and asked the Scots what they required as an inducement to renounce their Covenant, they replied, they would as soon renounce their religion; and they advised him to sign it himself.

Too late did Charles begin to see that he was driving the Scots into rebellion; and he became anxious to win them back to submission. For this reason, he consented to abolish the Book of Canons, the Liturgy, and the High Commission Court; and a proclamation to that effect appeared on the 22nd of September. He even consented to their calling a general assembly, to settle the affairs of their own church. This assembly met at Glasgow on the 21st of November, and proceeded to decree the entire abolition of episcopacy throughout Scotland; for they said that this form of church government could not exist together with free institutions and the true worship of God. Although Charles had withdrawn the service of the church of England from Scotland, the bishops he had appointed to sees in that country still remained. But the majority of the Scots resolved, though there were many Episcopalians in the country, to have a free church: they desired no bishops, and they would not have any. Therefore the Covenanters laid an accusation against the bishops before the presbytery of Edinburgh, in which the prelates were charged with almost every sin and immorality that could be committed. The bishops were summoned before the presbytery to answer these accusations; but they very prudently kept out of the way: still, the charges against them were read in all the churches in the country, greatly to the delight, apparently, of the congregations.

Charles, seeing that the Covenanters were as obstinate in defence of their principles, as he was desirous of enforcing his own, directed the Marquis of Hamilton to adjourn the assembly. The marquis did so; but the chief members told him that they had done nothing wrong, and therefore they would not desert the work of God; so they continued to sit and debate as usual. Nor did they debate about trifling things; for, in a little while, they solemnly excommunicated the intruding bishops, and declared episcopacy to be utterly abolished throughout Scotland. Charles then issued proclamations pronouncing the proceedings of the Scottish church to be void; but that body only replied by a counter-proclamation.

Both sides then prepared for war. The Covenanters were first in the field. They had, as early as July, 1638, collected a quantity of muskets, pikes, and halberts; and in December, 6,000 muskets were purchased in Holland. With these they armed several thousand men, and placed them under the command of a brave officer, General Leslie. Charles also collected an army of near 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse, which he placed under the Earl of Arundel, and concentrated in the north, early in 1639. Before it reached the frontiers, Leslie had seized and occupied the castles of Edinburgh, Dumbarton, and Dalkeith, which were destitute of provisions, ammunition, and garrisons. Charles, though obstinate in carrying out his views, was averse to violent and sanguinary measures; and was far from active in commencing hostilities. On the contrary, joining the army at York, on the 30th of March he proceeded slowly to Berwick, feasting and amusing himself all the way. When he arrived there, General Leslie marched boldly up, and fixed his camp within a mile of that of Charles. That monarch now hesitated and wavered—as, indeed, he had good reason to do; for the hearts of his soldiers were not with him. The Puritans of England sympathised with the Presbyterians of Scotland. The English soldiers showed a disposition to desert, rather than to fight against men whom they looked upon as their friends. Charles, therefore, reluctantly consented to a conference; and, on the 18th of June, a convention was signed by the leaders of the Covenanters and the ministers of Charles, in which it was

stipulated that a parliament and a general assembly of the church should be called; that the liberties of Scotland should be restored; that the royal forts taken by the Covenanters should be returned to the king; that the Scotch army should be disbanded within forty-eight hours; and that the English forces should be withdrawn. These arrangements were partly carried out, and Charles returned with his troops to London on the 1st of August.

Scarcely a month after his return from Scotland, Charles experienced a great disappointment. A valuable Spanish fleet, with large sums of money on board, took shelter in the Downs from a Dutch squadron under Admirals de Witt and Van Tromp. To save the money, Charles offered to take it, and send it to Spain, on board British ships, for which service he was to receive £150,000. Before the specie and bullion could be removed, the Dutch attacked the Spanish fleet, though it was in neutral waters, and all the vessels, except ten, were captured or destroyed; the £150,000 were therefore lost to Charles.—This event took place in September; and Charles, dissatisfied with the Convention of Berwick—which pleased no one, not even the Covenanters—and being greatly distressed for money, sent to Ireland, and summoned Wentworth to London, to receive the benefit of his counsel. On his arrival his majesty created him Earl of Strafford.

Under the earl's advice, Charles summoned his fourth parliament, which he opened on the 13th of April, 1640, with what he intended to be a conciliating speech. Although the parliament contained most of the old patriotic members (such as Pym, John Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell), still it was, under the circumstances, a dutifully disposed assembly. The royalist historian (Clarendon) observes—"It could never be hoped that more sober or dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them." The Commons, however, under the conviction that the king had only summoned them to obtain a supply of money, and believing that he would dissolve the parliament as soon as he had got what he wanted, resolved that they would not vote away the money of the people before they had obtained a redress of the national grievances. Petitions had been presented against the illegal continuance of ship-money, against monopolies, and for the abolition of the Star-Chamber and High Commission Court. After some debate, the Commons ordered that the records of the trial between Hampden and the king, concerning ship-money, should be laid before them; that the proceedings against Sir John Eliot and other members of the last parliament, who had been imprisoned, should be examined; and they resolved that the conduct of the Speaker of that house, in refusing to obev its commands, was a breach of its privileges.

The king applied to the Commons to vote him the money before they talked about grievances; and sent them a message, offering, if they would vote him twelve subsidies (£600,000), payable in three years, to give up his prerogative of ship-money. Twelve subsidies, it was contended, would be an enormous sum—many said more than all the money in the country amounted to: but there was another reason why they were not inclined to make such a bargain. To buy from the king his right of levying ship-money, would be to acknowledge that he had a right of collecting it. Nor had the Commons forgotten that, some years ago, the assent to the Petition of Right had been obtained after a grant of five subsidies, and that, by consenting to that famous document, the king had given up the right of levying ship-money—even supposing he ever possessed it. They were willing, they said, to vote him a large supply; but not as the purchase-money of a right which they—no doubt following the principles of the constitution—contended did not belong to him. After a tumultuous debate of two days, on the 30th of April and the 1st of May, the house adjourned.

Charles was very angry at this conduct of the Commons; and, without waiting for the money which he had summoned them to grant, and without which he scarcely knew which way to turn, he went down to the House of Lords, and, after an irritable speech, most injudiciously dissolved the parliament on the twenty-second day of its sitting. This was on the 5th of May, 1640; and he never had the opportunity of dissolving an English parliament again. Even the king's friends were astonished at his conduct, and could not understand how the Commons had given sufficient offence to induce him to dissolve them. This step of the king's increased the public discontent; and, wrote the Duke of Northumberland on the 4th of June, "It is impossible that things can long continue in the condition they are now in; so general a defection in this kingdom has not been known in the memory of man."

Though the parliament was dissolved, the convocation, or parliament of the clergy, continued to sit, and voted the king a subsidy. This tended to augment the dislike the people had to Laud and the bishops, whom they regarded as the cause of half their troubles. In the night of the 11th of May, the palace of the archbishop, at Lambeth, was attacked by a mob of about 500 London apprentices; and he was compelled to fortify it to protect himself. One of the rioters (a mere lad) was captured, and put to the disgusting death of hanging and quartering. A writer of that age says he was first racked in the Tower; but this is very doubtful. Such severity did not quite put a stop

to the riots: a mob of 2,000 persons entered St. Paul's, where the Court of High Commission sat, and tore up the benches, crying out at the same time, "No bishops! no high commission!"

As Charles so injudiciously dissolved the parliament before it had voted any supplies, he had again to resort to illegal modes of raising money. However unpopular amongst the Puritans and their friends (then, no doubt, the majority of the English people), the king was much beloved by the members of his household and his court, and by all who came in immediate contact with him. In a few days, in this circle of friends, £300,000 was raised, and paid into the royal exchequer, as a loan; a forced loan was attempted in the city, but it was resisted by the citizens, and failed: the payment of ship-money was, however, enforced; and a loan of £40,000 was demanded of, and paid by, the Spanish merchants, as the price of the protection afforded to the bullion they had deposited in the Tower to a large amount. The East India Company had immense quantities of pepper in their stores; all which was bought by the government authorities on credit, and sold for ready money, the purchasers obtaining a liberal discount. It was also proposed to raise £200,000 or £300,000 by vitiating the coin; but the proposal was rejected. By these means, and by collecting tonnage and poundage—which Charles persisted in considering as a source of his legitimate income, although, by so doing, he was directly infringing one of the most important provisions of the Petition of Right—the king obtained funds which enabled him to raise an army, which was sent to the north, followed by a small fleet.

This army was collected in consequence of the measures taken by the Covenanters. The Scotch parliament assembled on the 2nd of June, 1640; and, after confirming the acts of the last assembly, for the abolition of episcopacy, &c., it passed a bill levying a tax of one-tenth of the rents, and one-twentieth of the interest of the kingdom, to carry on war against the king. This was a violation of the Berwick Convention, which had never been set aside; though each party accused the other of violating its provisions. The Covenanters had disbanded their army, in accordance with one of the articles of this Convention; but all the officers were kept in pay, and the men had orders to hold themselves in readiness. Early in 1640, this army was reorganised; although Charles, at that time, had certainly made no attempt to restore episcopacy, or enforce any other unpopular measure in Scotland. A letter, signed by Lords Rothes, Leslie, Montgomery, Forester, Montrose, Mar, and Loudon, was also sent to Louis XIII. of France, soliciting his assistance. The French king sent both money and arms. There were two divisions of the Scotch army—one in the north under the Earl of Argyll; the other in the south, under Leslie, now invested with the rank of field-marshal. The latter was ordered to invade England, in consequence of a letter written (as appears by his own confession) by Lord Saville, inviting the Scots to cross the frontier, and assist their neighbours to obtain a redress of grievances. To this letter, the names of the Earls of Bedford, Essex, Brooke and Warwick, and Lords Say and Sele, were attached, without their consent or knoweldge.

Whilst the troops under Argyll overran the districts of Badenoch, Athol, and Mar, Leslie advanced to the English frontier. The latter movement took place in August; and the Scotch army entered England on the 20th of that month. The English army had previously been ordered to the north, and Charles joined it at York on the 23rd of August. He declared himself the generalissimo; and under him the Earl of Strafford (who had gone back to Ireland, and after a short sojourn, had returned) held the chief command. To check the Scotch, a detachment was sent to Newburn, in Northumberland, under Lord Conway, with orders to prevent the enemy from crossing the Tyne. The two forces met on the 28th of August, on the banks of the river: and as the English refused to accede to the request of the Scots not to impede their march to lay a petition at the king's feet, the latter forced the passage, and the English, after a short resistance, retreated as if seized with a panic: probably many of them were Puritans, disposed to favour the cause of the Scotch, rather than that of the king.

As the English retreated, the Scots advanced, and occupied Newcastle and Durham. The king was then at Northallerton, and Strafford at Darlington. In consequence of the Scotch successes, Strafford ordered the force with him to retire, and directed the entire army to concentrate at York. There he collected 19,000 foot and 2,000 horse, besides the Yorkshire trained bands. The king reviewed these troops on the 11th of September: but no further advance was made, and there was no more fighting. At the same time Charles received two messengers, one bearing a very humble and loyal petition from the Covenanters, praying for a redress of grievances; the other brought an address, signed by twelve peers, and a petition, signed by 10,000 citizens of London, praying the king to summon a parliament. Strafford was opposed to negotiations, and wished the king to order the army to advance and attack the Scotch. Charles, however, resolved to comply with the wishes of the peers and citizens; and, in the interim, to advise with a grand council of peers, called to meet him at the deanery, York, on the 24th of September. When that council assembled, Charles informed them

that he had ordered writs to be issued, calling a parliament to meet on the 3rd of November; and he submitted two questions to the peers—First, "What answer should be given to the petition of the rebels?" Secondly, "How his army should be kept on foot and maintained until the supplies of a parliament might be voted?" On the first day, it was arranged that negotiations should be opened with the Scots; and commissioners were appointed—sixteen English noblemen, and six Scots, loyalists—to meet those nominated by the Covenanters.—On the next day, it was arranged that the conference should be opened at Ripon, and that £200,000 should be borrowed of the city of London, on the joint security of the privy council and the peers. The council then separated; the writs were issued; and, on the 1st of October, the English and Scotch commissioners met as appointed. There it was resolved that a cessation of arms should take place; and that £850 per day should be allowed the Scotch for the maintenance of their army.—On the 27th of October the conference was adjourned, to reassemble in London.

CHAPTER LXXII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.—A.D. 1640—1642.

THE fifth parliament of Charles—notorious in English history as the Long Parliament—met on the 3rd of November, 1640, and contained a great number of men who, besides loving their country and its natural liberties, were possessed of remarkable talents. Such men were indeed worthy, in many respects, to sit as the representatives of the people of England. But they met under unfavourable auspices. They had imbibed a firm conviction that the king could neither be trusted nor believed; that he was an enemy to the laws and liberties of the country; and they were resolved on a thorough reformation of the wrongs and oppressions of the nation, without taking into consideration the rights of the crown; and whilst many of the men who rendered themselves prominent in the debates only desired a "redress of grievances," but had no wish to overturn the monarchy, there is no doubt that the aim of others was, from the first, the destruction of government by kings, and the establishment of a republic.

Instantly petitions poured in from all parts of the country, and the Commons appointed committees to take the national grievances into consideration. They were not content with denouncing ship-money; for there was scarcely an abuse or tyrannical proceeding of the government that they did not attack. On the fourth day of their sitting they sent for Mr. Burton, Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Prynne to appear before them. These victims to tyranny had been set free from their dungeons, and were brought to London in triumph, attended by crowds of people shouting "Welcome!" and wearing sprigs of bay and rosemary in their caps as tokens of joy. Such was the general enthusiasm, that, in some places, their path was strewed with flowers, and branches of trees were borne before them. The appearance of these unhappy gentlemen, with their burnt and lacerated faces, in the House of Commons, produced a general shudder, and a feeling of indignation. The house voted that their condemnation had been illegal, unjust, and against the liberty of the subject. It was further decided that they should receive damages for their unmerited sufferings—Mr. Burton £6,000, and Dr. Bastwick and Mr. Prynne £5,000 each; which sums should be paid *by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other lords of the Star-Chamber* who had condemned them. Dr. Leighton, John Lilburne, and others, who had been harshly imprisoned for what were called seditious speeches or writings, were also set at liberty.

The conduct of the Commons caused the Archbishop of Canterbury to apprehend that it would be now his turn to be persecuted. A little time before, his portrait that hung in his study had fallen down from the nail upon its face, and he feared that this circumstance was an omen of his coming ruin. But a greater than Laud was first to be brought to account for his tyrannical misdeeds. The Earl of Strafford was now the chief adviser of the king, and upon him the wrath of the nation fell. He had been most anxious to keep away from London and the parliament; for he saw the spirit of that assembly: he knew that he had given great offence to those who then led the Commons; and he hoped that if he were not present he might be forgotten. He implored the king to excuse his attendance in the parliament; but Charles did not wish to lose the services of such an able adviser; and he commanded Strafford to attend, assuring him that the parliament should not be allowed to touch one hair of his head.

It has already been stated, that Mr. Pym said to Strafford, when the latter left the party he had first joined, and devoted his services to the king—"You are going to leave us; but we will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders." Pym had never for an instant forgotten this threat of vengeance; he had followed the statesman with the untiring energy of a bloodhound; he had noted all his actions, treasured up the remembrance of his tyrannies—for his government in Ireland was certainly tyrannical—in the firm belief that the day of retribution would come at last. It had come; and the first day that Strafford took his seat in the House of Lords—the 11th of November—Mr. Pym, in the name of the Commons of England, impeached him of high treason, and desired that he might be removed to a place of safe custody, until his crimes should be proved. Strafford was accordingly committed to the Tower; and although he desired to be released on bail, this was denied him.

Archbishop Laud was the next singled out by the parliament for punishment: he also was accused of high treason; and, on the 18th of December, a message was sent to the Lords that he might be committed to custody. Though he must have expected this, yet the archbishop lost his temper, and declared vehemently, that "the Commons themselves, though his accusers, did not believe him guilty of the crimes with which they charged him." This was an imprudent speech, likely to do him harm, and he afterwards requested permission to withdraw it; but the Lords would not allow him to do so. He was sent to the Tower; and Sir Francis Windebank, one of the Secretaries of State, and said to be a tool of Laud's tyrannies, was next accused; but he contrived to avoid being arrested, and afterwards escaped to Paris, where he publicly went over to the Catholic church. Lord Keeper Finch, the Speaker of the House of Commons, who had refused to put Sir John Eliot's remonstrance to the vote, was also accused as a chief procurer of the judgment against Mr. Hampden, in the great trial about ship-money; and for many other abuses of power. Finch was very submissive, and made a very clever speech in excuse of his conduct: this gained him a little time, which he took advantage of, and fled to Holland. So rapid and decisive were the proceedings of this famous parliament, that it has been said, "the great structure of tyranny was like a gigantic palace of ice, which melted away beneath the first beams of the sun of freedom." But the Commons were not yet satisfied; and they ordered the servile judges who had declared ship-money to be lawful, and had condemned Mr. Hampden, to find bail to abide the judgment of parliament.

The king having no means of resistance, remained a quiet spectator of these measures. But the Commons, remembering how he had constantly dissolved their meetings when they inquired into any abuses, now resolved to protect themselves against any such violent exercise of his authority for the future. For this purpose they brought in a bill for triennial parliaments—that is, for parliaments to be called every three years—which decreed that no future parliament should be dissolved or adjourned by the king, without its own consent, within less than fifty days from the commencement of its sitting. Charles could not get over his distrust of parliaments sufficiently to permit this bill to pass quietly. He sent for the Commons, and expostulated very earnestly against it; but in vain; and on the 15th of February, 1641, he reluctantly gave the royal assent. Both houses returned him their solemn thanks, and the whole nation expressed itself grateful and delighted.

The Commons, having thus secured themselves against being suddenly dissolved as a parliament, entered upon the trial of the Earl of Strafford. A committee of thirteen members of the Commons had been, for some time, preparing the charges, and no less than twenty-eight accusations were brought against him. The trial was appointed to take place in Westminster Hall; and in that noble building a throne was erected for the king, and scaffoldings for the judges and the Houses of Lords and Commons.* The latter were there as the accusers of the earl, and the Lords as his judges. The excitement was immense; the king and queen attended, although they remained hidden from sight; and the whole nation was awaiting the result with feverish anxiety.

The trial commenced on the 22nd of March, 1641. Mr. Pym was the chief accuser, and opened the charges in an eloquent speech. He urged the tyrannies of the earl in Ireland; his oppressions as President of the Council of the North (a sort of Star-Chamber, that was held in Yorkshire); the evil advice he had ever given the king; and his attempt to overthrow the laws and liberties of the people of England by the establishment of a despotic government. Strafford defended himself with great eloquence; and although many bad actions were proved against him, he contended, that as none of them singly amounted to treason, they could not be all put together to make one treason. The Commons felt that the death of Strafford was necessary to the peace and safety of the nation, and insisted that his many state crimes amounted to what was called *accumulative* or *constructive* treason. In his defence, the earl said—"My lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England, as never to expose yourselves to such constructive interpretation of laws. If there must be a trial of wits, let the subject-matter be of somewhat else than the lives and honours of peers. It will be

wisdom for yourselves, for your posterity, and for the whole kingdom, to cast into the fire those bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, that telleth us what is, and what is not treason, without being ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers. It is now full 240 years since any man was touched for this alleged crime, to this height, before myself; let us not awaken these sleeping lions to our destruction, by raking up a few musty records that have lain by so many ages forgotten or neglected."

After having spoken further in the same manner, the earl thus concluded—"My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges a saint in heaven hath left me." (Here he pointed to his children, and pausing, shed a few tears to the memory of his dead wife). Then, recovering himself, he resumed—"What I forfeit myself, is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity:—something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass. And now, my lords, for myself, I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my lords—even so, with all tranquillity of mind—I freely submit myself to your judgment; and whether that judgment be of life or death, *Te Deum laudamus*."

Bulstrode Whitelocke, the historian of the times, who was a member of the House of Commons, and chairman of the committee which conducted the impeachment against Strafford, remarks, with regard to the noble earl's defence, that "certainly never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent person; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity."

The accusation and defence had occupied eighteen days; the Lords were evidently greatly impressed with the latter; and the managers of the impeachment found it impossible, by a legal prosecution, ever to obtain a sentence against the earl. But Pym and his followers were inexorable. They believed that so long as Strafford lived, the king would possess an unprincipled and powerful counsellor for evil, and that the laws and liberties of England would be corrupted. Therefore, they resolved to proceed with a bill of attainder against him, as an enemy to the liberties of his country. A bill of attainder was an arbitrary thing—a doing away with the ordinary forms of law; but even those who called out most loudly for the observance of the law, were compelled, in this case, to go against it. The bill was carried in the House of Commons, on the 3rd of May, by an immense majority—only fifty-nine votes being given against it; but it had still to receive the consent of the peers and the king. The Lords hesitated; but they were urged on by the excitement of the people, who were furious when they learnt that Strafford might yet escape. A mob of 6,000 men surrounded the houses of parliament, and rent the air with shouts of "Justice against Strafford!" Under these circumstances, the Lords gave their consent to the bill.

The condemned earl was no traitor to his king; his offences (under no existing law could they be classed as crimes) had been committed against his country. He had been Charles's friend, his adviser, and the ready instrument of his measures. He and the king were, in fact, fellow-offenders; and it remained to be seen if Charles would sign the death-warrant of his friend. He had assured Strafford that the parliament should not touch a hair of his head; and he now sent him word in prison, that though he might be compelled to make some sacrifices to the violence of the times, yet his life should be in no danger. Charles certainly tried many means to deliver Strafford; but they failed; and he then summoned both houses before him, and earnestly begged them not to proceed to any extremities against the earl. He said he believed him to be guilty of misdemeanours, but not of treason; that his conscience would not permit him to condemn the earl of that. "My lords," he added, "I hope you know what a tender thing conscience is. To satisfy my people, I would do great matters; but in this of conscience, no fear, no respect whatever, shall ever make me go against it. Certainly I have not so ill-deserved of the parliament this time, that it should press me in this tender point." The Commons, however, were resolved that the grand apostate to the commonwealth (as Strafford was called) should be put to death. The Lords joined the Commons in a request to the king to consent to the bill of attainder. Whilst Charles hesitated, he received a letter from the imprisoned earl, desiring him to pass the bill of attainder, and sacrifice him as a peace-offering between him and his people. "Sir," said the captive, "my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done; and as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul, so, sir, to you I give the life of this world with all the cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours." Perhaps the earl was perfectly sincere in this heroic offer; but it is more probable he

thought he should be able to win upon the compassion of his sovereign, so that he would do anything rather than send so generous a friend to the scaffold. If so, he was mistaken. Charles took him at his word, and, on the 10th of May, gave the royal assent to the bill of attainder. He, however, keenly felt the misery of his position, and that he was condemning his friend for offences committed in his service. He shed tears, and exclaimed, that the condition of the doomed Strafford was happier than his own. On the 11th of May he sent the Prince of Wales with a letter to the peers, entreating them to confer with the Commons, with a view to mitigate, or at least to delay, the execution of the sentence. Both requests were refused.

When the earl learnt that Charles had consented to his death, he received the news with astonishment. Rising from his chair, he lifted his eyes to heaven, and said, in the words of Scripture, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation." Two days afterwards he was led to the scaffold on Tower Hill. As he passed the chamber in which Archbishop Laud was confined, he bowed towards the window, and exclaimed, "My lord, your prayers and your blessing." The trembling prelate, fearing that his own punishment was imminent, raised his hands, pronounced his blessing, and then fell to the ground, overcome with grief and terror. The scaffold was surrounded by about 100,000 people; and the earl's attendants feared that he might be seized by them and torn to pieces; but the crowd behaved quietly, and kept a solemn silence. Strafford delivered a speech, in which, after denying his guilt, he referred to his wife and children, and concluded by saying—"I thank God that I am nowise afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose!" He then submitted to the executioner—the axe descended, and a moment afterwards the changed and bleeding head was held up to the sight of the crowd. This ever-memorable execution took place on the 12th of May, 1641. The earl was in his forty-ninth year.

The work of persecution still went on; most of those who had held places about the king abandoned them, and fled, for fear that they also might fall victims to the vengeance of the Commons; who certainly evinced a tyranny, in their proceedings against the king's friends, as remorseless as that they ascribed to the king in the exercise of his prerogative against the people. Charles, to conciliate the patriots, bestowed most of the vacant places upon them; and the king's new ministry was of a popular kind. As a return for these concessions, the Commons granted the king the old-contested tax called tonnage and poundage, and voted him six subsidies—an enormous sum for those days. But they also abolished the detestable Star-Chamber, and the equally detestable High Commission Court, for ever. Shortly afterwards, no less than thirteen bishops were impeached in the House of Commons. They had all been active, with Laud, in the introduction of the doctrines of Arminius into the church of England; in urging the observance of the rites and ceremonies of that church, which the Puritans deemed more than half popish; and in encouraging the king in his attempts to raise money without the consent of parliament, which led to so many acts of oppression upon his subjects. The charges against them were, that they had made, in the late convocation, several ecclesiastical laws which were contrary to the laws of England, to the rights of parliament, and the liberties of the people. So suspected and disliked were the bishops by the majority of the house, that a bill was brought forward for depriving them of their seats in the House of Lords. The peers were averse to going to such a length as this, and the bill was rejected in that house, on the 25th of May, by a large majority; but the thirteen impeached bishops were not permitted to take their seats. The Commons also appointed a committee, called the "Committee of Scandalous Ministers," which acted as a court of inquisition upon the clergy; beginning with harassing and imprisoning them; and ending with ejectment, and the confiscation of their livings. They also took active proceedings against the Roman Catholics; addressed the king to remove all officers of that religion from the army; and expressed great resentment because his majesty refused to sign the warrant for the execution of Goodman, a Jesuit, who was found in prison. They also ordered all images, altars, and crucifixes to be demolished.—Having sat till the 9th of September, the parliament adjourned for a month; a committee of both houses being appointed to act during the recess.

All this time the king had kept the remains of the army which had been routed at Newburn stationed at York; but he had been unable to make use of it. The Commons had thought it wise to remain good friends with the Scottish army of Covenanters, whom they kept, also, in the north of England, and supplied liberally with money and provisions; for, said one of the leaders in the house (Strode), "We cannot spare the Scots yet; the sons of Zeruiah are still too strong for us." They considered the presence of that force as a protection, and a means of keeping Charles to his word.

The king had promised to pay his subjects in Scotland a visit in the summer of 1641; and he persisted in going to the north against the wishes of the parliament, which appointed a commission to watch his movements, and report to them. He left London on

the 10th of August; and, being afraid of his coming in contact with the armies, the Commons ordered arrears due to the Scotch force to be paid; and the men returned home. The English were marched to their different counties, and disbanded. The Scotch parliament met while Charles was in Scotland; and passed several laws restraining the royal authority: one prohibited the creation of any peer of Scotland, unless he possessed property in that kingdom of the value of at least 10,000 marks (above £500) per annum; another prohibited the king from issuing proclamations bearing the force of law; and a third enacted that no officer of state, privy councillor, or judge should be appointed but by the advice and approbation of parliament. Charles—whose object undoubtedly was to attach the Scotch to him, that he might use them against his English foes—attended the Presbyterian church while in Edinburgh; and conferred offices on several Covenanters, and on popular preachers. During the king's residence in the Scotch capital, Argyll and Hamilton were informed, on the 2nd of October, that a plot had been laid to assassinate them; and that the king and the Earl of Montrose (who was then a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, as "a traitor to the Covenant") were privy to it. No explanation was ever given of this alleged crime, which is known as "the incident;" the affair was investigated in private, against the express wish of the king; and the records are lost. It is very doubtful whether there was any plot at all; if there were, there is no "strong reason," as one historian asserts, for connecting the king with it. Indeed, Hamilton and his friends publicly exonerated him. Whatever Charles's faults (and they were many), he never displayed a desire to shed blood; but always the contrary. However, the English Commons—who were informed of "the incident" by their commissioners—when they assembled on the 20th of October, took the alarm: they expressed a dread that the "Malignants" (as they then termed the king's party) had formed a plot to massacre them and all the godly in the kingdom; and applied to the Earl of Essex, whom the king had left in command of the troops in the south, for a guard to protect them. That nobleman granted their application, and appointed the guard.

Before Charles left Scotland, after the affair of "the incident," he created Marshal Leslie Earl of Leven, and raised the Earl of Argyll to the dignity of a marquis, and Lord Loudon to that of an earl. He was recalled from Scotland by news of a fearful insurrection that broke out in Ireland on the 22nd of October, the object of which was to throw off the English rule, and to crush the Protestant religion in that country. The fury of the rebels was such, that it is calculated no less than 50,000 Protestants—men, women, and children—were massacred. The popish slaughterers represented, with fearful impiety, that it was an act acceptable to the Almighty to destroy all heretics, and to drown, if possible, the name of Protestantism in a hideous sea of human blood. Those events drew a cry of horror and indignation from the English people; and a dark suspicion, in connection with this dreadful massacre, was thrown upon Charles by his enemies. His queen was a papist: he himself, together with his late favourite, the fallen Archbishop Laud, were suspected of being papists in their hearts; and it was generally believed that this rebellion in Ireland had been encouraged and brought about by the king, as an excuse for raising such an army as would give him the means to crush his English parliament, and reign with despotic power.

This suspicion made the parliament and Puritans of England less than ever inclined to be submissive and tractable to the king. In the minds of many it created a sense of restless irritation and suspicion; and the Commons prepared a paper, called "A Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom," to be presented to his majesty. It was addressed, not only to the king, but to the people, and contained a list of the evils and misfortunes of the government, and of the illegal and tyrannous acts of the king from his accession until that time. The lending of English shipping to the French papists, to crush the Protestants of Rochelle (an act which Charles certainly was not guilty of); the unlawful confinement of men for not obeying unlawful commands; the violent dissolution of four parliaments; the arbitrary government which always followed those dissolutions; the questioning, fining, and imprisoning members of the Commons for their conduct in the house; the levying taxes without consent of the Commons; the introduction of popish ceremonies into the church; and the present dark rumours respecting the king's connection with the rebellion and massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, were all enumerated. None of Charles's misdeeds were forgotten; and the whole of them were attributed to the evil counsels it was said he received from popishly-disposed bishops, and dishonest, mean-spirited courtiers. As remedies, the exclusion of Roman Catholics from all power; the appointment of a commission to watch and report upon the increase of their numbers and of their acts; security for the due administration of the laws; and the appointment of just ministers, not the favourers of papists, were demanded.

Many members of the Commons thought this remonstrance too severe, and would not vote that it should be presented to the king. The debate upon it lasted until two o'clock in the morning of the 22nd of November; and was carried on with such violence, that if it had

not been for the presence of Mr. Hampden, the members would have stained their swords in each other's blood. After many of the elderly members, who were in favour of the king, and against presenting the remonstrance, had been compelled to leave the house from utter exhaustion, it was carried only by a majority of eleven—159 to 148 votes. "Had it been rejected," said Oliver Cromwell, as he came out from the heated house into the cold air of a November night, "I would have sold everything I possess, and never seen England more."

The remonstrance was presented to the king on the 1st of December, with a petition which the house had adopted on the 27th of November, calling for the bishops to be deprived of their jurisdiction in parliament; the dismissal of all members of the Malignant party from public offices; the employment only of such as had the confidence of the parliament; and the application of all the land forfeited to the crown by the rebellion in Ireland, to the public necessities. Charles received a deputation of twelve members, who presented this remonstrance and petition at Hampton Court, very graciously; and after they had been read, begged they might not be printed till his answer was received. They were, however, printed without waiting for that reply; which was soon, also, issued from the press. It was very temperate. Denying the allegations against him, and warmly protesting the sincerity of his attachment to the reformed religion, Charles reminded the people of the happiness and prosperity they had enjoyed under his rule; and rebutted the charge about his being misled by evil counsellors, by calling to the recollection of the house and the people, that he had protected no minister from parliamentary justice; and he had conferred office on no one who did not enjoy a high character and estimation in public opinion.

The popular excitement was much increased by what was interpreted as an attempt of the king, at this time, to get the Tower of London entirely into his own hands, by appointing one Colonel Lunsford lieutenant of that fortress. His majesty was obliged to remove the obnoxious officer; and only drew further unpopularity on his head by the unfortunate appointment—the worst he ever made; for there is no doubt that the colonel was a most unprincipled person.—A riot followed this affair, and the houses of parliament were surrounded by mobs, who shouted, "Beware of plots! No bishops! no bishops!" This cry arose from a feeling that the bishops were all concealed papists, and open enemies to liberty and the laws. Charles had always supported the church; and its bishops had, in return, sanctioned his encroachments on law and freedom, and preached that a king reigned by divine right; that to resist him was to resist God; and that the duty of his subjects was passively to obey him in everything, however improper his commands might seem to them.

So strong was the feeling against the prelates, that they scarcely dared take their seats in the House of Lords, for fear of the vengeance of the people. A general excitement prevailed; and crowds constantly assembled about Westminster and Whitehall, and uttered loud shouts in condemnation of "popish bishops and rotten-hearted lords," and grossly insulted and menaced the occupants of the episcopal bench when on their way to the house.—Dr. Williams, the Archbishop of York, having been abused by the populace on the 27th of December, called a meeting of his brethren for the 29th; and twelve of them—the Bishops of Durham, Norwich, St. Asaph, Lichfield, Bath and Wells, Hereford, Oxford, Ely, Gloucester, Peterborough, Llandaff, and York—agreed to a protestation which his grace had drawn up, against all votes and resolutions that had been passed in parliament during their constrained absence, as null and void. This protest—which though, as a popular historian remarks, "just and legal, and very ill-timed"—was presented to the king, who hastily approved of it. Had the House of Lords also concurred in it, the Long Parliament must have been brought to a sudden end, and all its work undone. Instead of doing so, they desired a conference with the Commons, to whom they communicated the document. That house immediately sent up to the peers an impeachment of the bishops for high treason, they having endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legislature. Their sees were at once declared sequestrated; and they were on the 30th of December, committed to the Tower. No one spoke a word in their favour. One member alone said that he did not believe them to be guilty of high treason; but that they were stark mad, and ought to be sent to Bedlam.

Although the parliament still pushed forward the great work of reform, yet a reaction had taken place in many persons' minds in favour of the king. They thought enough had been done; that his power had been sufficiently curtailed; and that it was better to heal all past disputes by gentleness and submission towards him. While this feeling was becoming diffused, Charles had the madness to commit an act which broke all ties between him and his parliament for ever—an act so important, and which led to such great results (no less than plunging the nation in a civil war), that it demands more than ordinary attention. Previously, we may observe, the king had endeavoured to come to terms with his opponents, and had offered the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to Pym, which he refused.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.—A.D. 1642.



N the 3rd of January, 1642, the king sent Herbert, the attorney-general, to the House of Peers, with a command to accuse Lord Kimbolton, a patriotic and amiable nobleman, and five of the most distinguished patriots of the House of Commons, of high treason! Those five members were—Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Arthur Hazelrig, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode. The charges against them were—That they had traitorously endeavoured to subvert the laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impose on his subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority: that they had endeavoured, by many foul aspersions on his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and make him odious to them: that they had attempted to draw his late army to disobedience of his royal commands, and to side with them in their traitorous designs: that they had invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade the kingdom: that they had aimed at overthrowing the rights and the very being of parliament: that, in order to complete their traitorous designs, they had endeavoured to compel the parliament to join with them, and for that purpose had raised tumults against the king and parliament: and that they had traitorously conspired to levy war against the king.

The peers were amazed; and although Lord Kimbolton was present, no one moved his arrest as a traitor. Their lordships appointed a committee to consider whether it was legal to accuse a member of their house in such a manner; and they sent a message informing the Commons of the affair. That house was already aware of it; for the serjeant-at-arms had, in the king's name, demanded that the five members should be delivered into his hands. The Commons, in reply, assured his majesty that his message should have their serious consideration; and, in the meantime, the accused members should be ready to answer any legal charge made against them. At this moment, news reached the house that the king's officers had searched the chambers of the five members, and were sealing up their doors, trunks, and papers. The Commons became indignant, almost furious, at this illegal and tyrannical act. They voted it a breach of privilege; the serjeant-at-arms was ordered to break the seals: and the Speaker issued a warrant to take Sir William Fleming and Sir William Killigrew—the officials who had made the search—into custody. Fleming was apprehended; Killigrew escaped.

The night was spent by the king in council; and it was decided that he should himself proceed to the house the next day, with his guards, to arrest the five members. Pym was apprised of this determination by the Countess of Carlisle, one of the ladies of the bedchamber; who, from the time of the execution of Strafford, had been unfaithful to her trust.—On the 4th of January, parliament met, and the five members attended in their places. They denied the charges brought against them; and Hampden said, that if to be resolute in the defence of parliament, the liberties of the subject, and the reformed religion, was to be a traitor, then he might be guilty of treason; but not otherwise. The house voted that the accusation was scandalous; and sent a message to the Lords, desiring that an inquiry should be set on foot to find out the authors and advisers of the charge—which was termed "a scandalous paper"—that they might be punished.—Whilst the house was sitting, word was brought that the king was approaching, followed, according to Clarendon, "by his guard of halberdiers, and fewer of them than used to go with him upon any ordinary motion." Other writers of the time state that, besides the guard, many soldiers attended who had assembled at Whitehall. Few or many, their arrival shortened the debate; and it was resolved that the five members should withdraw. "Away we went," says Hazelrig; "the king immediately came in, and was in the house before we got to the water." His majesty left his followers at the door; and as soon as he approached the table, the Speaker withdrew from his chair, in which the king seated himself; the members standing up uncovered. Charles, after looking in vain for the objects of his search, thus addressed the parliament, in an agitated and disappointed tone:—"Gentlemen, I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a serjeant-at-arms, upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that, at my commandment, were accused of high treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message; and I must declare unto you here, that albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges to maintain them to the utmost of his power—than I shall be: yet you must know that, in cases of treason,

no person hath a privilege; and therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that I have accused for no slight crime, but for treason, are here. I cannot expect that this house can be in the right way that I do heartily wish it; therefore, I am come to tell you that I must have them wheresoever I find them."

After again casting a glance round the house, Charles inquired of the Speaker, "Are any of those persons in the house? Do you see any of them? Where are they?" The Speaker bent his knee, and replied that he had neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in that place, but as the house was pleased to direct him. "Well," continued the king, "since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you that you do send them to me as soon as they return hither, otherwise I must take my own course to find them." With these words his majesty departed, the house being in the greatest confusion, and several members shouting, "Privilege! privilege!"

The citizens of London passed that night with arms in their hands; for the five members had taken refuge in the heart of the city; and a proclamation was issued charging them with treason. The next morning Charles went to the city, and entered Guildhall. On his way he saw stern, threatening faces, and was everywhere saluted with shouts of "Privilege of parliament! privilege of parliament!" One man even drew near to his coach, and called aloud, "To your tents, O Israel!"—the words used by the Hebrews when they abandoned their wicked and idolatrous king, Rehoboam. At Guildhall Charles demanded the five members of the common council, saying that he believed they were hid in the city, and he trusted that no good man would keep them from him. The citizens were very polite; and the king told Sheriff Garrett he would dine with him; which he did; but the accused members were not given up.

The House of Commons met on the 5th of January; appointed a committee to sit in the city; and adjourned for six days, not believing their members to be safe from the designs of the king. In the city, the committee was guarded by a body of merchants and tradesmen, who relieved each other twice a-day; and the common council met, and sent a petition to the king, alluding to the fears and distractions to which it was subject; and imploring him to give up his intention of arresting Lord Kimbolton and the five members, and not to proceed against them, except in accordance with the privileges of parliament. Charles returned an answer justifying his conduct, and declared that he only meant to proceed according to law. At the same time, he issued another proclamation, ordering the ports to be closed against the five members, and prohibiting all persons from harbouring them.

The committee of the House of Commons passed several strong resolutions, denouncing the proceedings against the accused members as a seditious act, and a high breach of the privileges of the house; and declaring that those privileges could only be fully vindicated by a discovery of the parties who had advised the king to invade them.—On the 10th of January—the last day that this body was to meet in the city—a deputation of the mercantile marine officers went to Grocers' Hall (where, after the first day, the committee met), and presented a memorial, signed by upwards of 1,000 men, offering their services for the next day when the two houses were to reassemble—"to defend them by water." The offer was accepted; as was another from the authorities of Southwark, to send their trained bands as a guard by land; and it was requested that those bands should assemble the next day, armed, in the Southwark and Lambeth fields. A guard of eight companies, with a piece of ordnance attached to each, was also ordered to be raised, and placed under the command of Captain Skippon, with full powers "to offend and defend," if necessary.

On the 11th of January, the parliament reassembled; and the five members—who had been, since the 4th, concealed in the city—embarked on board one of the city companies' barges, and were escorted up the Thames by a triumphal procession. The trained bands and the guard were all assembled, many of them wearing in their hats the "Remonstrance" adopted in the previous year; or the votes of the committee denouncing the king's proceedings. The populace also assembled in great numbers; and when they had cheered the members into their seats, they went to Whitehall, and made demonstrations against the king and queen. So alarmed was Charles, that, on the 13th of January, he and the queen went to Hampton Court; from whence, on the 16th, they removed to Windsor.—The Commons continued their sittings; and numerous petitions, from Essex, Surrey, Berks, Hertford, and other places, were presented in support of the privileges of parliament. One from London complained of the invasion of those privileges; also of the Irish rebellion, the danger of religion, and the decay of trade; and called for justice on the king's advisers. Another, signed by 4,000, some say 6,000, freeholders of Buckinghamshire—most of whom came to London, and went in a body to present it to the house—pledged the subscribers to die in defence of the members' privileges, and called for justice for their countryman, Hampden. One, almost as numerously signed, was presented in favour of Pym.—For several days the house was occupied in receiving these petitions, and in discussions upon a motion that they should send a message to his majesty, expressing their grief at his absence, their desire for his return,

and requesting that he would consider them his best and surest friends. This was negatived on the 14th of January, as Denzil Holles objected to such a course till he and his friends were cleared, and the violation of the privileges of the house redressed.—On the 17th of January, the king sent a message to the Commons, offering to withdraw the proceedings against the members, and to freely pardon all their offences. As the members were considered to be innocent of any crime, the Commons would not accept of a pardon for them; and they demanded justice against the persons on whose information the king had acted. Charles then sent another message, desiring the Commons to digest into one body all the grievances of the kingdom, and he would redress them at once. To this message they paid no attention, as they knew from experience the king's promises to be worth nothing. They were informed that the king had sent Lord Digby abroad to collect troops; this turned out to be false; but it still further estranged the parliament from the king.

The rebellion in Ireland still continued. The English nation thirsted to avenge the massacre of their Protestant brethren in that country; but the Commons dared not trust the king with the command of an army which they believed he would employ to crush the parliament, instead of to subdue Ireland. They determined, therefore, to have the power of the sword in their own hands; and, for this purpose, brought in the Militia Bill. This measure gave them the power of appointing the lords-lieutenants of counties; which in reality placed at their disposal the entire military force of the kingdom. Charles was resolved to keep possession of this power, and he returned a positive refusal to the Militia Bill. The Earl of Pembroke then asked him if he would not consent that the parliament should have the disposal of the militia for a time, until the present troubles were settled? "No!" replied Charles, with an oath, "not for an hour: you have asked that of me that was never asked of any king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children."

On learning this, the parliament declared the kingdom to be in danger; took the matter into their own hands, and gave directions to the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties to get the militia ready, and set the country in a state of defence. Charles had moved from town to town; and, on the 19th of March, took up his residence in the city of York, where he bgan to set up a separate government, in opposition to that carried on by the parliament, and to collect taxes on his own authority only. A deputation from the parliament waited upon him at York, presented a justification of its proceedings, and accused him of being the cause of all the troubles that afflicted the kingdom by resisting the Militia Bill.

The nation was formed into two distinct parties;—the king's friends, who were called Royalists, or Cavaliers; and the Parliamentarians, or Roundheads—the latter name being given them from their wearing the hair short, and cropped close to the head; whilst the Cavaliers were distinguished by long, flowing hair, or perukes, falling upon the shoulders. In the spring of 1642, most men began to apprehend that the time was fast approaching when these two parties would come into open collision. The Commons, on their reassembling on the 1st of January, had displaced Sir John Byron, the lieutenant of the Tower, and appointed Sir John Conyers to that office—a direct interference with the royal prerogative; the appointment of officers to the Tower having always been in the hands of the sovereign. They also appointed Sir John Hotham governor of the town and castle of Hull, with its magazines of arms and ammunition for 16,000 men. Sir John had received orders not to deliver that town up, or receive any forces into it, without their authority. The king knew its importance, and was desirous of getting it into his own hands. He sent the Duke of York, the Prince Palatine, the Earl of Newport, and Lord Willoughby, to prepare the way. They arrived on the 22nd of April. The next day, the king rode up to the gates, attended by 300 horsemen, and demanded admission. Sir John Hotham replied, that if his majesty pleased to enter with twelve persons only, he should be welcome. Charles refused to enter without his whole guard; and after waiting outside the walls for five hours, he retired to Beverley, from whence he issued a proclamation, declaring Sir John a traitor. A day or two afterwards he sent a message to the parliament, demanding justice against Sir John Hotham; but that body justified the governor, and said that the act of proclaiming that gentleman a traitor without due process of law, was against the liberty of the subject and the law of the land.

At the same time the parliament sent the king word that its precaution in securing Hull was necessary; and that it was he and his followers, and not Sir John Hotham, that had offended the laws. To this message Charles sent a long answer, in which he said—"We would fain be answered what title any subject of our kingdom hath to his house or land that we have not to our town of Hull? Or what right hath he to his money, plate, or jewels, that we have not to our magazine and munition there? We very well know the great and unlimited power of parliament; but we know as well that it is only in that sense as we are a part of that parliament. Without us, and against our consent, the votes of either or both houses together must not, shall not, forbid anything that is enjoined by the law, or enjoin anything that is forbidden by the law."

This paper of the king's was intended as a sort of appeal to the people, and published and distributed accordingly. The parliament, therefore, wrote a reply, which was also printed and published. It was a lecture upon the *duties* as well as the *rights* of a king. In answer to what he had said about the town of Hull being his own property, they observed—"Here is that laid down for a principle which would, indeed, pull up the very foundation of the liberty, property, and interest of every subject in particular, and of all subjects in general. For his majesty's towns are no more his own than the kingdom is his own; and the kingdom is no more his own than his people are his own; and if the king had a property in all his towns, what would become of the subjects' property in their houses therein? And if he had a property in his kingdom, what would become of the subjects' property in their lands throughout the kingdom? or of their liberties, if his majesty had the same right in their persons that every subject hath in their lands or goods?" They added that the wrong ideas infused into princes that their kingdoms were their own, and that they might do as they pleased with them, as if their kingdoms were for them and not they for their kingdoms, was the root of all their invasions of their subjects' just rights and liberties; and that so far was such an idea from being a true one, that, in fact, their kingdoms, their towns, the people, the public treasure, and whatsoever was bought with it, were all only given to them in trust, according to the known laws of England. That the very jewels of the crown were not the king's property, but only confided to his keeping, for the use and ornament of his regal dignity. They urged that the trust so given for the public advantage ought to be managed by the advice of parliament, whose duty it was, by all means, to prevent its abuse. On that principle, they believed that, with regard to the town of Hull, they had discharged their own trust, and not invaded the rights of his majesty, much less his property, which, in this case, they could not do.

The king, not long after this affair, collected around him the peers who followed his royal standard, and declared to them that he expected no obedience except to commands warranted by the laws of the land. The peers replied by declaring their resolution to obey none except such as were warranted by that authority. This declaration was made by thirty-eight peers, several officials, and the Lord Chief Justice Banks, besides the Lord Keeper Littleton, who had joined the king at York. A few days later, on the 17th of June, the parliament sent the king certain conditions, upon which it was willing to come to an agreement. They were nineteen in number; and we agree with Hume, that they "amounted to a total abolition of monarchical authority." The Commons demanded that no man should remain in the council who was not agreeable to parliament; that no deed of the king's should have validity unless it passed the council, and was attested under its hand; that all the officers of state and principal judges should be chosen with consent of parliament, and enjoy their offices for life; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of parliament or council; that the law should be executed against Catholics; that the votes of popish lords should be excluded; that the reformation of the Liturgy and church government should have place, according to advice of parliament; that the ordinance, with regard to the militia, should be submitted to; that the justice of parliament should pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon should be granted, with such exceptions as should be advised by parliament; that the forts and castles should be disposed of by consent of parliament: and that no peer should be made but with consent of both houses.

As might be expected, Charles refused to accede to these demands. Had he done so, he "might have been waited upon bareheaded," he replied, and been attended with all the pomp and ceremony of royalty; but he would have been merely "the outside, the picture, the sign of a king."

Preparations were now made on each side to decide the quarrel by the sword. Troops flocked in rapidly to the service of the parliament, and an army was raised; 4,000 men enlisting, in London alone, in a single day. Besides this, the Londoners lent large sums for the service, and contributed their plate to the cause. The women gave up all their plate and ornaments, and even their silver thimbles and bodkins, to assist the cause. Many of the patriots in the House of Commons gave large sums—Hampden, £1,000; Sir Henry Martin, £1,200; Oliver Cromwell, £500; and John Pym, £600—for the same purpose. But there were some members of the parliament, both Lords and Commons, who thought that the latter were going too far; and after all prospect of an accommodation appeared to have vanished, they refused to go any further with the Parliamentarians, and joined the king. Amongst them were the accomplished Lord Falkland, Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon, the able but somewhat partial historian), and Sir John Culpepper. To put a stop to this desertion, the Commons summoned nine lords—the first that had gone to the king at York—to return to their places in the House of Peers. They refused; were impeached of high treason; condemned, by their fellow-peers, never again to sit in the House of Lords, and to suffer imprisonment during their pleasure.

The English fleet declared for the popular cause; and the Commons having voted that an army should be

raised for the defence of themselves and the country, the Earl of Essex was appointed the general of it. Many patriotic members of the House of Commons, who had been hitherto only noticed as orators, took out commissions as colonels. Amongst them was the gallant Hampden, who raised a regiment in Buckinghamshire, which soon became famous for its valour and good conduct. The king, in the meantime, issued what was called a commission of array. Both sides enlisted troops with as much activity as possible, and it was plain that this strange struggle must soon break out into open war.—At length Charles issued a proclamation, commanding all men capable of bearing arms to repair to him at Nottingham, on the 25th of August. On that memorable day he erected the royal standard on the castle hill at that town, by which it was understood that he declared war upon his parliament, and that the civil conflict had begun. Many superstitious men regarded it as an ominous thing that the standard was blown down by a tremendous wind that very night.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.—A.D. 1642—1647.

THE army of royalists amounted to about 10,000; that of the parliament to about 15,000. In the service of Charles were the two sons of his sister Elizabeth, who married, during the reign of James I., the Palatine Frederic. These two princes (Rupert and Maurice) had arrived in England a short time previous to the outbreak, and Rupert soon obtained the reputation of being a brave and dashing soldier.

As Charles's army increased very slowly, and that of the parliament very rapidly, he thought it would be better to hasten on the encounter, which was inevitable. He therefore marched towards London, to save which he knew Essex would lead the parliament army forward. He was not deceived. Essex followed him rapidly; and on Sunday, the 23rd of October, 1642, the two armies met at Edgehill, in the county of Warwick. A pause of some hours ensued, and each army gazed with strange feelings upon the other; for many, many years had passed since Englishmen stood arrayed in arms against Englishmen; and there seemed an awful feeling of this nature, as if it were a contest between two brothers. At length the battle began in a broad plain at the foot of Edgehill, which bore the romantic name of the Vale of the Red Horse. In consequence of the fiery valour of Prince Rupert, the day was at first in favour of the Royalists; but the Parliamentarians recovered themselves; and at length, when night separated the combatants, 4,000 men lay dead in the Vale of the Red Horse. The next morning the Royalists retired; but both sides claimed the victory.

Charles went to Oxford, the only town in England which was still enthusiastically devoted to him. Prince Rupert, who soon became a terror to the adherents of the parliament, made several flying excursions from Oxford in the direction of the capital, and kept the Londoners in perpetual excitement and alarm. He even attacked the town of Brentford, but was driven back by a regiment of soldiers under Colonel Holles.

In the commencement of the next year (1643), the queen, who had retired for safety to Holland, returned to England; and on the 20th of March, Charles and the parliament began another treaty, to see if they could settle their differences. The parliament demanded that the king should disband his army and return to London; that he should pass a bill for abolishing bishops; that all papists should be disarmed; that he should give his consent to such other bills as were necessary for reformation; consent to the removal of malignant councillors; to settle the militia as the parliament desired; and withdraw his accusation against Lord Kimbolton and the five members; besides granting other concessions. After this treaty had been carried on for several weeks, it ended in nothing. In the meantime the queen had been sending arms and ammunition to her husband; and as she was considered one of his most pernicious advisers, a papist, and an enemy of the national liberty, she was impeached by the Commons of high treason. The Lords were not inclined to go so far or so fast as the other house; and the impeachment remained for some time with them.

The Earl of Essex was a slow and lukewarm general, and under his command the army of the parliament got the worst in several small encounters; and the hopes of the king's friends were greatly excited. Such was the state of things when the battle, or rather skirmish, of Chalgrove Field took place, on the 18th of June, in which the noble John Hampden perished. A Scotch colonel, of the name of Hurry, who served in the army of the parliament having received some offence, had

gone over to the side of the king. He informed Prince Rupert that two regiments of the parliament army lay at the village of Wycombe, detached from the main body, and open to attack. This was enough for the fierce Rupert, and away he went with his horsemen: he did not reach Wycombe; but having dispersed a few soldiers whom he found on his way, he went to the village of Chinnor, set it on fire, killed about fifty parliament soldiers whom he found there, and then rode back, with many prisoners and some plunder, to Oxford.

Hampden was much annoyed; he sent a horseman with the intelligence to the Earl of Essex. Rupert and his Cavaliers, he said, could only return by Chiselhampton Bridge, and he advised that a force should be instantly sent in that direction for the purpose of cutting them off. In the meantime he started with a body of dragoons to impede the march of the enemy, until Essex should arrive. He overtook Rupert at Chalgrove Field, and there, amongst the ripening corn, the prince formed his troops for battle. A fierce encounter took place; but in the very first charge Hampden was wounded in the shoulder by two bullets, which broke the bone and entered his body. Dropping the reins in agony, his head dropped over his horse's neck, and he turned away, and rode slowly and feebly out of the battle.

Seeing their leader wounded, and that the idle Essex did not arrive with help, Hampden's troops lost heart, and beat a retreat, leaving many of their comrades dead upon the field: while the victorious Rupert and his troops spurred joyously on towards Oxford.

After leaving the field, the unfortunate patriot made an effort to go to the house of the father of his first wife (the love of his youth), that he might die there. But Rupert and his cavalry were in that direction; therefore he turned his horse's head towards Thame, where he arrived, almost fainting with the agony of his wounds, at the house of his friend Ezekiel Browne. The surgeons dressed his wounds, and at first gave him hopes of life; but he himself knew that the hand of death was upon him. Though suffering dreadful torture, he wrote letters to the parliament about public affairs, and urged that body to more earnest and decisive measures, if they would save the nation from ruin. After six days of suffering, he felt that his last hour had come. Having received the sacrament, he lay murmuring faint prayers to himself. "Lord Jesus!" he exclaimed, "receive my soul! *O Lord save my country!* O Lord, be merciful to ——!" Life departed as he was uttering this broken sentence; and a generous and devoted patriot of England was no more. He died on the 24th of June, 1643; and his death, as well it might be, was felt as a national calamity. His own regiment of gallant green-coats followed him to the grave, with their arms reversed, and drums and ensigns muffled; and as they marched to that sad burial, they sang the 90th Psalm, which speaks of the frailty of human life in comparison with the immutability of Him to whom a thousand years are as yesterday when it is passed, and as a watch in the night.

Other battles and skirmishes followed, with varying success; but rather in favour of the king than otherwise. The Earl of Newcastle defeated the army of the parliament at Atherton Moor; and Oliver Cromwell, now a rising soldier, defeated the Royalists near Grantham. Bristol was taken by the troops of the king on the 27th of July; and Charles, on the 10th of August, laid siege to Gloucester. After a brave resistance, Essex and his army marched up to its relief, and, on the 6th of September, the Royalists were compelled to abandon the siege.

As he was returning with his army from Gloucester to protect London, Essex was stopped by the king's army at Newbury. Charles had a superior force, and occupied an admirable situation. It was thought he could bleckade the parliament army until the soldiers would be glad to surrender to avoid starvation; but the reckless valour of the English gentlemen about the king engaged them in a battle, on the 20th of September, which lasted until darkness put an end to it. Neither side could claim a victory; but as the Royalists decamped during the night, and Essex was enabled to proceed unmolested to London, it was conceived that he had the best of the encounter. In this battle the amiable and accomplished Lord Falkland (Charles's Secretary of State) was killed. He was once a Parliamentarian, and the bosom friend of Hampden; but the extreme measures to which the Commons resorted induced him to join the royal cause. The horrors of the civil war afflicted him with a deep melancholy which never left him. He would frequently sigh forth the words, "Peace! peace!" and he declared, "that the very agony of the war, the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart."

The lingering and doubtful nature of the war in England, caused both Charles and the parliament to turn their attention for assistance to the neighbouring kingdoms. The king entered into a secret treaty with the Irish papists (who had at length been subdued by the parliament), to land troops in England for the destruction of the patriotic party, and his own restoration to the exercise of kingly authority. The Marquis of Ormond, a desperate royalist, whom Charles had appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland in 1643, actually raised five regiments of Catholic Irish, under the pretence of fighting for the parliament, and then sent them over to England to fight for Charles instead.

They landed at Chester in November, 1643; but on the 25th of January, 1644, they were attacked and utterly defeated by Sir Thomas Fairfax.

The English parliament had previously applied to the Scots for assistance, which the latter were willing to grant if the parliament would take their Covenant. This they consented to do after it had undergone some little modification; and on the 17th of August, 1643, the famous SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT was entered into between both kingdoms. Those who signed it bound themselves mutually to defend each other against all enemies; to extirpate popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament, together with the king's authority (for the Scottish leaders were disposed to uphold the monarchy), and to bring to justice all Malignants — a term applied to the king's friends. The English parliament having signed the Solemn League and Covenant, ordered all under its authority to do the same.

On the 8th of December, 1643, the brave and eloquent John Pym breathed his last. He died of a disorder brought on by his incessant activity in the cause of his country. It was supposed that his earnest zeal and exertions to restrain the illegal acts of the king in levying taxes without the consent of parliament, and his desire to reform the abuses of the state, induced Charles to attempt to seize the five members of the House of Commons, and drag them away by violence —an act which is regarded as the commencement of the Revolution. Though he had many chances of becoming rich at the nation's expense, Pym died poor. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his debts paid by the parliament.

In consequence of the treaty between the Scots and the parliament, a Scottish army of about 20,000 men, under the command of General Leslie, entered England on the 19th of January, 1644. They advanced to the south; and, on the 22nd of February, crossed the Tyne. Charles was then at Oxford, with an army of about 10,000 men. Having erected fortifications around that city, he called a parliament there, consisting of all the peers and members of the Commons who had left their places and gone over to him. It met on the 22nd of January, 1644, and consisted of forty-three peers and 118 commoners. As many peers sat in this *mongrel parliament* (as Charles somewhat ungratefully called it) as sat in the House of Lords at Westminster; but more than double the number of commoners met at the latter place. The king, in his opening speech, said— "My hope was, that either by success on my part, or repentance on theirs, God would have put an end to this great storm; but guilt and despair have made these men more wicked than ever I imagined they intended to be; for instead of removing these distractions, and restoring peace to this languishing country, they have invited a *foreign* enemy to invade this kingdom." This was one of Charles's reckless assertions: the Scots had ceased to be foreigners, and were then a people united with the English—both fellow-subjects under the same monarch; and Charles himself was a Scot—born and bred in that country.

The Oxford parliament, in the month of March, drew up a proposal for peace, and presented it to the English parliament in Westminster; but the latter refused to recognise the rival assembly, and met the friendly advance by a counter-proposition, to negotiate on the basis of the Solemn League and Covenant, the terms of which were quite inadmissible. The Oxford houses then voted supplies of money and men for the king; but these could only be collected in that small part of the country where he had power; and in the month of April Charles dismissed his parliament, which he found rather an incumbrance than a benefit.

About this time the queen left Oxford, and got safely to Exeter, where the Princess Henrietta Maria was born on the 16th of June. Soon after her confinement, the queen made her escape to the continent.

The parliamentary leaders thought an end could be put to the struggle by besieging Oxford. Two of its armies, therefore—one under the command of Essex, and the other under the command of another lukewarm soldier, General Waller—attacked the city at once, and might have taken Charles prisoner, had they not quarrelled and been so inattentive to their business, that he and his troops escaped, on the 2nd of June, by night between the besieging armies, and got, by rapid marches, to Worcester. The king was pursued by Waller; but he turned upon that general, and defeated him in a battle, or rather skirmish, at Copredy Bridge, near Banbury, fought on the 29th. After this he pushed forward to the west of England, where the people were, generally, enthusiastically loyal.

So many tedious skirmishes and unimportant actions occurred between the troops on both sides, that it is interesting to come to the record of a distinguished battle, which was followed by some result. The city of York, which held out for the king, was besieged by Lord Fairfax, the Earl of Manchester, and the Scotch General, Leslie. York was surrounded, and the Earl of Newcastle and Prince Rupert hastened to relieve it; the united armies under their command amounting to more than 20,000 men. A battle took place between them and a parliamentary army on Marston Moor, by the banks of the river Ouse, about five miles from York. It was fought on the 2nd of July—a month when the nights are like a prolonged twilight; and the battle lasted from seven in the evening until ten at night,

and was fought with extreme fury. The victory was gained by the army of the parliament, and, to a great extent, through the desperate bravery of Oliver Cromwell and his regiment; which had the name of *Ironsides* bestowed upon it on the field of battle, as a mark of honour. About 100 standards were taken, which the soldiers proudly tore into ribbons, and bound around their arms, in token of victory. Prince Rupert fled from the field of battle, and Newcastle left the kingdom. By this battle all the north of England was lost to Charles.

While Cromwell was helping to win the battle of Marston Moor, the incapable Earl of Essex led the parliamentary troops into great disgrace in Cornwall. He was driven into a corner by King Charles in the narrow end of Cornwall, and reduced to such extremity, that although he got away, on the 1st of September, with many of his officers, on board a ship, and his cavalry cut their way through the living wall that surrounded them, and escaped, yet all the foot soldiers were, the next day, obliged to surrender. Charles permitted them to retire unhurt; but he took away their arms and clothes. Essex's ill fortune and want of skill in this affair was the cause of his fall as a general, and of Cromwell's rise; for when the latter became distinguished as a soldier, it was seen that he, and he alone, was the man who had sufficient genius and decision to end this weary war.

After his triumph in Cornwall, the king set out to return to Oxford; but he was met by the army of the parliament near Newbury, which place became a second time the scene of a savage war between Englishmen. A battle was fought there on the 27th of October. The soldiers of the parliament went to the charge singing psalms; for they were no mere hirelings, but—notwithstanding the extravagant zeal of some of them—devout men, who fought for their religion and their country. The battle continued all day, and when night fell, the Parliamentarians were on the way to victory. Darkness separated the combatants, and, during the night, the king and his troops retreated to Oxford. When Charles's flight was known, Cromwell earnestly desired to pursue him with the whole army, and, by taking him prisoner, put an end to the war. The Earl of Manchester would not permit this; and Cromwell was so angry in consequence, that he charged him before the parliament with being backward in the war, and against bringing it to a rapid and glorious close. The earl retorted by insinuating that it was Cromwell who was cowardly and averse to fighting, and not he—a charge which nobody could believe; and he also accused Cromwell of an ambitious design of attempting to control both the king and the parliament.

The truth was, that religious dissensions had long been at work among the leaders of the revolution; and the patriots now became openly divided into two religious parties, who were called the PRESBYTERIANS and the INDEPENDENTS. The Presbyterians rejected the authority of the bishops, and the Liturgy and ceremonies of the Episcopalian church. They loathed popery; they hated toleration almost as much; and proclaimed that no one could be saved who differed from them. The Independents rejected all religious establishments; declared that each congregation was a church in itself, and that the election of the members of it was sufficient to bestow the priestly office on any one of them. There was no necessity, they said, for any ceremony or laying on of hands to make a minister; it was sufficient if the would-be preacher felt himself called by the Spirit. The Independents were, however, seriously religious men, and carried their devotion to a degree of wild enthusiasm: they, indeed, resembled the Puritans; but were, if possible, more earnest in what they deemed the cause of God. But while they claimed a right to think, and preach, and pray for themselves, in any manner they thought fit, they were desirous of giving that privilege to every one else. Independent themselves, they held that toleration was the duty of every Christian, and the right of every citizen. For this, and some other reasons, the Presbyterians hated the Independents almost as much as they hated the papists. There was also a political difference between these two sects. The Presbyterians wished to confine the power of the crown to very narrow limits, and to reduce the king to the rank of the first magistrate of the country. The Independents, more ardent in the pursuit of liberty, thought a king inconsistent with the freedom of a great people, and wished to abolish monarchy altogether, and set up a republic in place of it. They regarded Jesus as the Christian's king, and they wanted no other. Of this party, Oliver Cromwell was the recognised leader.

The Independents, sick of the dilatory manner in which the Presbyterians had conducted the war, resolved to take matters into their own hands. For this purpose, they framed what was called the Self-denying Ordinance, by which the members of both houses of parliament were rendered incapable of holding any civil or military employment. After much debate, this ordinance was adopted by the Commons at the close of December, 1644; but it was not passed by the Lords till the 3rd of April, 1645. In consequence of its enactments, Essex, Manchester, Waller, and all the slow, lukewarm generals resigned their commands, and received the thanks of parliament. The army was then remodelled and increased in numbers, and Sir Thomas Fairfax—a gentleman eminent for his courage and military talents—appointed commander-in-chief.

Cromwell, also, ought to have resigned his rank in the army; but he cleverly contrived to avoid doing that. Fairfax declared he could not spare him; and he served under that commander as lieutenant-general. But Fairfax was in most things governed by the superior genius of Cromwell; and the principal officers of the parliamentary army were now Independents.

Before this, proceedings against Archbishop Laud had been resumed, and he had been brought to the scaffold. Since the execution of Strafford, he had remained a prisoner in the Tower; and there, perhaps, he might have remained and died a natural death; but having been desired by the House of Lords to nominate certain clergymen of their choice to some vacant livings, he received a command from the king not to do so, as the incumbencies belonged to the crown. The archbishop bowed to the order of his sovereign, and the Lords, in consequence, sent a message to the Commons, requesting them to place Laud on his trial This they did readily enough; and in May, 1643, he was again arraigned, the articles being prepared by Prynne, the barrister whom Laud had been instrumental in subjecting to such a severe punishment a few years previous. Laud defended himself with considerable skill; and the Commons, doubting whether any of the charges against him amounted to treason, gave up the trial, and condemned him as they had done the Earl of Strafford, by a bill of attainder; which, old and helpless as he was, they passed, with only one dissenting voice, on the 13th of November, 1644. The judges, however, decided, that the acts he was charged with were not treasonable; and the Lords (only fourteen being present) rejected the bill. In a conference on the 2nd of January, 1645, the Commons represented that a man might incur the guilt of high treason as much by offences against the nation, as by offences against the sovereign; that there were two kinds of treason—that which was against the king, and cognizable by the inferior courts, and that which was against the realm, and subject only to the judgment of parliament. The archbishop, they contended, was guilty of treason of the second class; and they pressed the matter so vigorously, that, in a house of ten or eleven peers, the bill was passed, either four or five voting against it. On the 10th of January, 1645, the archbishop was led to the scaffold on Tower Hill. He evinced a truly Christian spirit in his last moments; declaring that he forgave all the world, and desiring to be forgiven of all. The executioner struck off his head at one blow; and his face, which was so ruddy that some suspected he had painted it to avoid the imputation of fear, turned instantly of an ashy paleness. He perished in his seventy-second year; and very few, indeed, have been bold enough to say a word in defence of one of the most illegal and unjust acts on record.

Shortly after the execution of Laud, conferences were held at Uxbridge, between commissioners from the king and commissioners from the parliament, to see if even yet a peace could not be arranged, and the differences between the king and country amicably settled. This step was taken at the request of the Scots. The conference opened on the 30th of January, 1645; but after twenty days of debate and wrangling, no arrangement could be come to, and both sides again prepared to settle the dispute by the sword.

The effect of Cromwell's influence was soon seen. On the 14th of June, 1645, the famous battle of Naseby was fought, in which it may be said that Charles was utterly ruined. The two armies were about equal in numbers. Charles took the command of the main body of his own in person; his nephews, Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, led the right wing; and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. The main body of the parliamentary army was led by Sir Thomas Fairfax; the right wing by Cromwell; and the left by his son-in-law, Colonel Ireton. The battle-cry of the Royalists was, "God and Queen Mary!" and that of the parliament, "God our strength!" The Royalists began the battle, and at first it seemed as if victory would light upon them. Prince Rupert, as usual, charged with his cavalry, and spread terror and death before him; but Cromwell's charges were just as destructive, and directed with far more judgment. The main body of the army under the king was broken and thrown into confusion by the steady assaults of Fairfax. Charles, in despair, threw himself among Rupert's horsemen, and cried aloud, "One charge more and we recover the day!" It was hopeless; his dismayed soldiers were exposed to showers of bullets, and to a furious shock both of horse and foot, which smote them like a whirlwind, and drove them into headlong flight.

Charles was carried away in the living torrent; and after fleeing from town to town, escaped to Wales; while Prince Rupert dashed off with his cavalry to Bristol, and put that town in a condition to resist his conquerors. Although the victory was decisive, the slain on the field of Naseby was far less than might have been expected; but about 5,000 of the Royalists were taken prisoners. Amongst the spoils were the king's private cabinet of papers and letters, the capture of which did him as much harm as the loss of the battle. The parliament published selections from them, to prove that the king had been guilty of treachery and equivocation, and had applied to the King of France, and other continental sovereigns, to assist him with troops to carry on the war. This did the king great injury; new troops were raised, fresh taxes levied, and there

was a general outcry to prosecute the war. Only selections from the king's letters were printed; and Charles asserted that those kept back would have given a different tone and meaning to those that were published. The course the Commons ought to have taken was, to have printed the letters they were charged with suppressing; but they destroyed them; and many persons believe that the king was not fairly dealt with.

General Fairfax obtained some other successes after the battle of Naseby, and then advanced to the siege of Bristol. From the fearless character of Prince Rupert, a desperate resistance was expected. He had indeed written to Charles, to say that he could hold the place four months; but contrary to every one's expectations, he surrendered on the 11th of September, after a resistance of only a few days. The king was so indignant that he sent the prince an order to resign all his commissions and quit the country. Rupert remained for some time in defiance of his uncle, and insisted on justifying himself; but the following year he and his brother left England. The downward course of the king was now very rapid: after several other reverses he fled to Newark, and from thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter season.

Charles's condition in Oxford was extremely melancholy. His troops had been everywhere defeated or dispersed; he had no longer the means of raising another army; and even the places that had been most devoted to his cause were worn out with his constant demands for assistance. He feared, too, that Fairfax and Cromwell would soon besiege him in Oxford; and once again he proposed a treaty with the parliament. It would only treat with him as a conqueror, and the affair ended in nothing. What was to be done? Cromwell and Fairfax would soon be before the walls of Oxford: the city must of necessity surrender; and Charles would have been led in triumph a captive to London.

In this desperate situation, he made up his mind to escape from Oxford, and throw himself upon the loyalty and generosity of the Scots. Fairfax and Cromwell were within a day's march of the city, and more than 2,000 of the parliament troops were already posted around it. No time was to be lost. In the night of the 26th of April, 1646, therefore, Charles disguised himself as a groom, and having cut off his beard, escaped through one of the gates of the city, attended only by his chaplain, Dr. Hudson, and Mr. Ashburnham, a groom of the chamber. For some time he wandered about in a state of irresolution, uncertain whether he should go to the Scots, or proceed to London and throw himself upon the mercy of his parliament; but on the 5th of May, 1646, he arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark, and trusted himself to the loyalty of that people. Fairfax discovered the king's escape from Oxford, and sent word to the parliament, which issued an order, that any person who harboured or concealed him without acquainting them, should be declared a traitor, and put to death. The Scots did inform the parliament that the king had come privately to their camp; but they refused to deliver him up; and to prevent his being taken by force, they removed nearer to the borders, and encamped at Newcastle.

Though the Scots treated Charles with respect, yet they took care that he should not escape; and he soon found himself a prisoner. He knew of the differences that existed between the Scottish army (which was composed of Presbyterians) and the army of the parliament (which was now made up of Independents); and he was in hopes that the Scots would quarrel with the English, and espouse his cause. To win the favour of the former, he paid great attention to their preachers, whom he detested in his heart. He soon found that they had but little more affection for him; and one of them having, in his sermon, openly reproached him with his evil government, desired this psalm to be sung—

"Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself,
Thy wicked deeds to praise?"

The humbled monarch stood up, and called, instead, for the psalm beginning—

"Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray!
For men would me devour."

The congregation, in pity to the fallen king, fulfilled his request.

In the meantime, the city of Oxford surrendered to Fairfax; a few other towns, held by the Royalists, followed its example: the authority of the parliament was universal over England; and the civil war was ended.

Now that the English parliament was safe and victorious, it no longer wanted the assistance of the Scottish army, which they wished to see back again in its own country. But the Scots claimed a large sum of money as payment for their services, and they were not disposed to return home without it. The parliament at length agreed to pay the Scottish army £400,000—half of it down at once; and the Scots were, in return for this payment, to give up the person of the king to the parliament. The episcopal church—that is, a church governed by bishops—had been abolished in England, and the money was raised by a sale of the bishops' lands. So large a sum in cash filled six-and-thirty carts, and took nine or ten days to count. The Scots received the money; and then, on the 30th of January, 1647, delivered up the king into the hands of the English parliament, and left the kingdom.

CHAPTER LXXV.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE FIRST.—A.D. 1647—1649.



KING CHARLES was sent by the parliament to Holmby House—a noble mansion in Northamptonshire, where he arrived on the 16th of February, 1647, and remained in an easy confinement. He passed his time in reading, walking, riding, and playing at chess or bowls. It was, however, but a melancholy time for him; though, if he could have forgotten that he was a powerless sovereign and a captive, and been allowed to share the society of the queen and his children, he might have been happy.

The dissensions between the Presbyterians and the Independents became greater every day. As the parliament was composed chiefly of Presbyterians, and the army almost entirely of Independents, the parliament wished to disband the army, or send the greater part of it into Ireland. It was therefore voted that it should be dismissed, except a few thousand horse, and that every officer should take the Covenant, and conform to the customs of the Presbyterian church. The soldiers felt themselves treated with ingratitude: they had won the victory, and were now to be cast aside. The command, also, that their officers should conform to a church they disliked, rendered them almost furious. They had fought for religious liberty; but this was a tyranny as bad as had been exercised by the abolished bishops. Besides, forty-three weeks' pay was due to them, and they resolved not to disband until they had received it. Indeed, the discontents in the army rose to a mutiny, and Cromwell and some other favourite officers were sent by the Commons to appease them. Cromwell's sympathy was with the army; and, under a pretence of appeasing it, he really encouraged the opposition it expressed towards the parliament. The latter then ordered the army to disband on a certain day; but the soldiers positively refused to do so without payment of the money due to them, and even called for the punishment of those who, they said, had plotted their destruction.

Matters stood thus when the Presbyterians resolved that the king should be brought up to London, and another treaty opened with him. The army was thoroughly tired of treaties, which invariably ended in nothing, and averse to trusting the king, who, it declared, was not to be believed upon his oath. The officers resolved to prevent the treaty by getting Charles into their own hands. It is suspected that what followed was designed and directed by Cromwell, though he himself protested that he knew nothing of it. On the 3rd of June, a cornet in the army, named Joyce, attended by a regiment of 500 horsemen, went to Holmby House, and demanded admission to the king. Having obtained it, he insisted that Charles must be prepared, the next morning, to go with him to the army. Before leaving Holmby, the king asked Joyce what commission he had to secure his person? That officer replied, that the army was informed that he was to be conveyed away by the parliament, and thus occasion another war, and that this was the reason of his conduct. "But where is your commission," repeated the king; "have you nothing in writing from your general, Sir Thomas Fairfax?"—"Here is my commission," replied Joyce—"here, behind me;" and pointing to his mounted soldiers, he continued—"and I hope that will satisfy your majesty." Charles smiled as he answered—"It is as fair a commission, and as well written, as I have ever seen; a company of handsome, proper gentlemen as I have seen a great while." After some further conversation he mounted his horse, and rode with them to Childerley, near Newmarket. He was rather pleased than otherwise at this unexpected incident; for he hoped that a possibility might arise of winning over the army to take up his cause. He was taken along with the army on its marches; and at Maidenhead he had an interview with his children who were in England. When the army went to London, he was lodged at Hampton Court.

The Presbyterian leaders in parliament were, at this period, plotting to send Cromwell to the Tower, because he was looked upon as the head of the Independent party. His danger was so great, that, on the 4th of June, he fled for protection to the camp, and was received by the soldiers with shouts of enthusiasm. Cromwell was, in fact, the real commander of the army, though Fairfax was called so.

A few days afterwards, the army marched towards London, and encamped at St. Alban's, in spite of the commands of the parliament to the contrary. From thence it demanded that the parliament should be purged of such members as had no longer a right to sit in it in consequence of their delinquency and corruption. Proceeding further, they even accused, on the 16th of June, eleven members of the Commons—the leaders of the Presbyterian party—of high treason, and

demanded that they should be put in prison until the time of their trial. The parliament at first resisted; but soon found that to be useless: the power was in the hands of the army; the good-will of the people was also with the army; for they began to suspect the sincerity of the Presbyterians: and the eleven accused members fled and hid themselves, and afterwards left the country. The army then, at the desire of the parliament, moved to a greater distance from the metropolis.

This was soon followed by the fall of the Presbyterian party from power, and the rise of Cromwell and the Independents. A council of officers at this time prepared some "Proposals" for the general reform and settlement of the kingdom, upon what they deemed the principles of civil and religious liberty — proposals which professed to respect the freedom of every English citizen, and insisted on his perfect right to worship God in the way he thought most acceptable to the Supreme Being; but they excepted seven of Charles's most steady adherents from amnesty; reduced the church to the level of a sect; and excluded his friends from the next parliament. When these proposals were submitted to Charles, we can scarcely wonder that he rejected them.

Charles paid great court to Cromwell: offered to confer on him the title of Earl of Essex, to make him a Knight of the Garter, and give him the command of the army. At the same time he offered to Colonel Ireton the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. Cromwell was even suspected of having a partiality for the king too great to be consistent with the welfare of the army. While Charles was making these promises to Cromwell and Ireton, a private letter of his to the queen fell into their hands. Wishing to test his sincerity, they opened it. It contained those words: "Be quite easy as to the concessions I may grant: when the time comes I shall know very well how to treat these rogues; and instead of a *silken garter*, I will fit them with a *hempen halter*." Cromwell from this concluded, and not unreasonably, that Charles was deceiving him; and that his intention, if he should be restored to power through his means, was not to raise him to the rank of the peerage, but to send him to the scaffold as a felon. From that moment Cromwell's gentler feelings were closed for ever against the king, whose Machiavelian policy cannot be justified, though he had duplicity to contend with.

A part of the army—known as the Levellers, because they wished for a republic and an equality of all men —called for the government to be new-modelled, and for the punishment of the king as an enemy to the country. They styled him an Ahab, a man of blood, and demanded justice upon him as the cause of the murder of thousands of free-born Englishmen. Terrified by their menaces, and dreading secret assassination, Charles resolved to fly from Hampton Court. He even received anonymous letters, warning him to escape. It is supposed they were written by Cromwell, who, convinced that all ties were severed between Charles and England, wished him to avoid, by a flight to other lands, the fate which he foresaw would overtake him if he remained in this.

Attended by Ashburnham, Sir John Berkeley, and one servant, the king left Hampton Court on the 11th of November. He made his way to the Isle of Wight, and threw himself on the protection of Hammond, the governor. It is said that he wished to reach a vessel which had been sent by the queen, and was then cruising off the coast; but that, being unable to do so, he surrendered to Hammond. That officer was a patriot, an Independent, and a friend of Cromwell's. He treated Charles with respect; but detained him, and sent a message to the parliament. In reply, he was commanded to guard the king with vigilance.

From Carisbrook Castle, where he was detained, Charles despatched a letter to the parliament, desiring a personal treaty with them. In reply, they sent him four propositions, which he was to sign before they would consent to a personal interview. These were— 1st. That his majesty should concur in a bill for settling the militia. 2nd. That he should call in all declarations, oaths, and proclamations against the parliament, and those who had adhered to it. 3rd. That all the lords who were made after the great seal was carried away should be rendered incapable of sitting in the House of Peers. 4th. That power should be given to the two houses of parliament to adjourn as they should think fit.

These propositions were not unreasonable; but Charles, who had opened a secret treaty with the Scots, was imprudent enough to refuse to sign them. It was this secret treating with different parties, and the hope which each held out to the king, of granting better terms than the other, that led to the hesitating, and frequently contradictory proceedings of Charles. By the terms of the treaty now proposed, Charles was required to promise to renounce the episcopal church, and accept the Covenant; and the Scots, in return, engaged to restore him to his throne by force of arms. Fearing the consequences of refusing the propositions, he contemplated an escape from Carisbrook Castle; but he soon found himself a strict prisoner. One dark night he attempted to squeeze himself between the iron bars of his window; but he stuck fast between them, and after much painful struggling, was glad to get back again.

On the 3rd of January, 1648, the Commons met to

consider the king's refusal of their four propositions. A violent debate took place, and Charles was fiercely condemned. Some said he was only fit for Bedlam. Colonel Ireton declared that he had refused safety and protection to his people; that their obedience to him was but a reciprocal duty for his protection of them; and that as he had failed on his part, they were freed from their allegiance, and must settle the affairs of the nation without any further reference to him. Oliver Cromwell followed, and said it was time to do what the nation expected of them; that they were able and resolved to govern the kingdom by their own power, and teach the people they had nothing to hope from a man whose heart God hardened in obstinacy. In the end, both Lords and Commons resolved that no further applications should be made to the king, or any message received from him, without the consent of both houses, under the penalties of high treason. This meant that, for the future—as, in fact, they had already done for some time—they intended to govern without consulting him; and Charles was, in reality, dethroned.

Although the parliament and army had proceeded to such a length against the king, the English people showed they were still attached to royalty. Insurrections, in favour of Charles, broke out in London, in Kent, and in several other places, in the spring of 1648, and were not put down without difficulty. Then the Scots, with whom Charles had been keeping up a secret correspondence, raised an army, and invaded England, crossing the borders on the 8th of July. They were speedily met by the undaunted Cromwell, utterly defeated in the following month, and driven back to their own country. The Scottish church, and a large part of the people, had been opposed to this mad invasion, and thanks were given to Cromwell by the preachers of that country for having subdued so ill-judged and malicious an act. After that, Prince Charles, the king's eldest son, made his appearance in the Downs with a fleet, consisting of some English ships that had deserted to him, and others that he had obtained abroad. It was supposed that he would rescue his father from Carisbrook Castle; but he made no attempt to do so, though the king sent a message begging him to set him at liberty. Prince Charles challenged the parliament fleet to battle; but this challenge the Earl of Warwick, who commanded it, declined until he received reinforcements which made his force equal to that of the enemy. Then the prince declined to fight; sailed away to the Dutch coast without firing a gun; and left his father to his fate.

The Presbyterian party was yet strong in parliament, and so obstinately bent against the Independents, that they would rather the country should have been ruined than that the latter should save it. Although it had been voted that no more negotiations should be entered into with the king, whose fondness for tyranny and deception were considered irreclaimable, yet they contrived to have it voted that fifteen commissioners should wait upon him at Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and again see if matters could not be amicably arranged. The commissioners arrived at Newport on the 15th of September, and the negotiations were opened on the 18th of that month, and did not close till the 28th of November. No new demand was made from Charles; but he was inflexible on the point of episcopacy: he would not give up the English form of church service, and the commissioners would do nothing unless he adopted the Presbyterian mode of worship. Some time wore away, and, as usual, the matter ended in nothing.

The army was greatly offended at this negotiation; and a council of officers presented a remonstrance to the Commons, complaining of the danger of negotiations with so insincere a man as the king, and declaring that he ought to be brought to trial, on account of the evil he had done; that all future kings should be elected from the people; that the present parliament should be dissolved, and a new one elected; and that the right of voting for members should be greatly extended. The Presbyterian parliament, after a violent debate, refused to take any notice of this remonstrance, and resolved to carry on the treaty for restoring the king: but the army was too strong to be trifled with; its leaders sent a troop of horse to seize Charles at Carisbrook, and convey him to Hurst Castle—a dreary, solitary place, from which escape was almost an impossibility. The king was seized with a terror that he was taken to this castle to be secretly murdered; but the soldiers had no such criminal intention. They meant to punish him in the sight of the whole country.

Having seized the king, Fairfax and Cromwell resolved to deal with the parliament. Leading the army to London, on the 2nd of December, they stationed it in Whitehall, St. James's, and in other places near the parliament-house. Still the Presbyterians in parliament did not lose heart, and, after a violent debate, they, on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of December, resolved, by 129 votes to 83, that the king's concessions were satisfactory, and a sufficient foundation for a treaty for his restoration. The Independent members declared that Charles was no more to be trusted than a caged lion when it is set at liberty; and that the house was throwing away the fruit it had fought and striven for so long. But the Presbyterian members had the largest number, and, right or wrong, were resolved to have their own way.

They were not to enjoy their triumph long. In the forenoon of the 6th of December, Colonel Pride surrounded the houses of parliament with two regiments

of soldiers. Then he took his station in the lobby, with a list of the Presbyterian members in his hand, and as each of them made his appearance to enter the house, he caused him to be seized and carried away as a prisoner. This act of violence was called "Pride's purge," on account of the daring part he took in it. More than 200 members were thus excluded, and all that remained was about fifty Independents. The Long Parliament was now, in reality, at an end, and what was left of it was called by the odd name of the Rump.

The Long Parliament, which had sat since November, 1640, had, in the first years of its existence, conferred immense benefits on the people; but latterly its strange and doubtful conduct was endangering the safety and liberties of the whole nation. The Independents, however, made short work of the matter, and hurried to a close the inevitable end of all these troubles. They first drew up a scheme of government by which kings were to be for ever abolished, and a republic established in England. Then they sent for Charles from Hurst Castle, and brought him to Windsor, where he was securely kept. After this they appointed a committee to draw up a charge against him, that he might be placed upon his trial, as the cause of all the distractions which had for so long troubled the country.

This committee presented their report on the 23rd of December, and the Commons passed a vote, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his parliament. They also appointed a High Court of Justice to try him for this offence. The House of Lords had dwindled down to a very contemptible number. There were more than usual (sixteen) present when the ordinance for the trial of the king was presented. They unanimously rejected it, and then adjourned; thinking that by this means the trial could not be proceeded with.

They were strangely mistaken. Though the Commons now were so small a number, they were men certainly of a gigantic spirit and boldness; but they were as disregardful of law and equity, and as tyrannical in their conduct, as ever Charles was. Upon learning what the Lords had done, they passed the following resolution, certainly not in accordance with the constitution or law of the country:—"That the Commons of England, in parliament assembled, do declare that THE PEOPLE ARE, UNDER GOD, THE ORIGIN OF ALL JUST POWER: and do also declare that the Commons of England, in parliament assembled, being chosen as representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation: and do also declare, that whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in parliament assembled, hath the force of a law; and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of king or House of Peers be not had thereunto."

The High Court of Justice, which had been constituted for the purpose of trying the king, was made up of 135 commissioners, and contained the members of the House of Commons, the generals of the army, thirty-four colonels, a few nobles, many knights and baronets, a few aldermen, and many country gentlemen. Serjeant Bradshaw was chosen president; Mr. Steel, Mr. Coke, Mr. Dorislaus, and Mr. Aske were appointed counsel to manage the charges against the prisoner.

The court sat in Westminster Hall, and on the 20th of January, 1649, the trial began. Bands of soldiers were placed in and around the hall, and as many of the people admitted as the vast building could accommodate. When the king was brought in, he glanced sternly round upon his judges and the spectators, and then sat down with his hat on. The commissioners considered this as a contempt of their authority, and they kept their hats on also.

After certain legal forms, Mr. Coke rose to open the charge. Charles tapped him several times on the shoulder with his cane, and cried "Hold! hold!" As he did so, the gold ornament upon the top of the cane (a crown) fell to the ground. This little incident was considered as ominous of his fate; and Charles himself afterwards admitted that he was struck by it. Coke then proceeded with his charge, and represented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and entrusted with a limited power, yet, nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people whom it represented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public enemy to the commonwealth.

When the charge was finished, Bradshaw told the king that the court expected his answer. Charles replied, with great dignity, that he was their lawful sovereign, and demanded to know by what authority he was brought there? The president answered that he was there by the authority of the people of England. Charles continued—"I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a parliament; and the king, too, must be in and part of a parliament." Bradshaw rejoined—"If it does not satisfy you, we are satisfied with our authority, which we have from God and the people. The court expects you to answer; their purpose is to adjourn to Monday next."

Every day, for three days, was Charles brought before the court, and on each he refused to recognise its authority, and plead either guilty or not guilty. On the fourth day, it was resolved that judgment should go by default; that and the fifth day of the trial were occupied in hearing witnesses; the sixth in determining

what should be the sentence; and on the seventh, and last, Charles was once more brought to the bar.

On that day (the 27th of January), Bradshaw, the lord president, who had before worn a suit of black, appeared habited in scarlet. As the king entered, a loud shout arose from the soldiers, of "Justice; justice! Execution! execution!" One of them, however, was touched with pity, and as the king passed, exclaimed, "God bless you, Sir!" His officer, looking upon this as an act of mutiny, struck the man with his cane. "Methinks," observed Charles, as he passed on, "the punishment exceeds the offence."

When the king observed the stern aspect of his judges, and the awful solemnity that prevailed through that vast and crowded hall, he was struck with a sense of terror, and earnestly desired to be heard. Until then he had believed his trial was a mockery, and that his subjects dared not, in defiance of law, and by a court of the class which had been so vehemently denounced, proceed to pass sentence of death upon him. Now that belief faded away, and he was roused to the horror of the reality. He then implored to be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber: and it is thought that he intended to propose to abdicate the throne in favour of his son. But Bradshaw refused this request; and after a long speech to the fallen monarch, on the enormity of his past tyrannies, directed the clerk of the court to read the sentence, which was that he, "Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of the nation, shall be put to death by severing his head from his body."

The startled king raised his eyes in wonder, as he said, "Will you hear me a word, Sir?" The president informed him that he could not be heard after sentence, and directed the guards to remove their prisoner. "I may speak after the sentence by your favour, Sir," cried Charles, in a voice of great agitation; "I may speak after the sentence, ever. By your favour——." He was interrupted by the president; and turning away in despair, was led from the hall, amidst shouts for justice and execution.

The day appointed for Charles's death was the third from that of his condemnation. He desired the company of the good Bishop Juxon, and to see those of his children who yet remained in England. These requests were readily granted by the parliament; and the Princess Elizabeth, then in her thirteenth year, and the Duke of Gloucester, in his ninth, came to take a last farewell of their father. Charles loved his children dearly, and the interview was a very sad one. After a brief and painful conversation, he kissed them, prayed for the blessing of God upon them, and parted from them in tears. But though he wept on being separated for ever from his children, he shed no tears for himself. The brief remainder of his life was spent in tranquil dignity.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the 30th of January, the officer appointed to conduct Charles to the scaffold tapped gently at his chamber door. He was led from St. James's through the park to Whitehall, accompanied by some of his own gentlemen, and a guard of halberdiers. He walked erect and very fast, as if he wished the terrible ordeal through which he had to pass to be quickly over. The scaffold, covered with black velvet, was erected in the streets before Whitehall, and he entered the palace, and remained there for a short time in prayer with Bishop Juxon. He was then led through the Banqueting Hall, and from thence to the scaffold. Addressing those around him, he protested his innocence, and said, in allusion to the Earl of Strafford, that an unjust sentence he once suffered to take effect was punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. Then, turning to the officer who had charge of him, he said, "Take care they do not put me to pain." Having arranged his hair so that it might not trouble the executioner, he said to Bishop Juxon, "I have a good cause and a gracious God on my side."—"You have," replied the bishop, "but one stage more; it will soon carry you a very great way: it will carry you from earth to heaven."—"I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be," responded the monarch. Then, uttering the one word "Remember," he knelt down, and placing his neck across the block, his head was struck off at a single blow. The other executioner raised it, and, holding it out in the sight of the people, shouted aloud, "This is the head of a traitor!" The vast crowd was silent: much as they had desired that popular justice should be executed upon the king, they were seized with feelings of astonishment and pity when they beheld the ashy features of his grey and severed head convulsed with the passing spasms of a sudden and violent death.

Charles perished in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the fourteenth of his reign. He left six children—three sons and three daughters: their names were Charles, James, and Henry; Mary, Elizabeth, and Henrietta Maria. Before the king's execution, the Commons ordered a new great seal to be engraved, to be called the Great Seal of the Commonwealth of England. On it was a representation of the assembled parliament, round which were engraved the words—"ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, 1648." They also declared it high treason to proclaim, or any way acknowledge the king's eldest son, Charles Stuart, as the sovereign of England.

No man's character has been more misrepresented than that of Charles I. He is described as the odious tyrant, the most unfaithful friend, and the

member of society, that ever lived; and, in truth, he merits none of these imputations. The contests with his parliament did not arise from a tyrannical disposition; for where he had the power he was neither cruel nor oppressive. He certainly believed, like his father, in the divine right of kings—a pretence incompatible with the liberty of the subject; but, if Charles could have acted in pursuance of that right, there is every reason to believe that he would have been a merciful and just sovereign. His quarrels with his parliament arose out of the question of money. He deemed, from what had been the case with respect to his predecessors, that he had a right to certain revenues for life, as they had been repeatedly granted to them without question. If the parliament had made the same grant to him, his conduct would have been very different. In his contest with the Parliamentarians, his acts were certainly, in many respects, far from praiseworthy. He wanted sincerity, the greatest blemish in his character: he made his concessions unwillingly, and did not always observe them when made. But there is an excuse, though no justification, for his conduct. He was dealing with men whose ultimate aim he had too much reason to believe was, not to reform, but to abolish, the monarchy; and there was more than one party amongst the English, apart from the Scotch, who were urging upon him different measures, and seeking to bring him to support their views; and he had a natural desire to see from which party he could obtain terms most beneficial to himself. This does not justify insincerity; and, however straightforward and true Charles might have been, we do not believe he would have fared better with the men with whom he had to contend; but his memory would have been much more endeared to posterity.

With respect to the general character of Charles's government, we agree so completely with an eminent modern historian—Mr. C. D. Yonge—that we shall give our own ideas in his words:—"He certainly desired the possession of arbitrary power; but, in practice, his was the most humane government that, at the time, had ever been witnessed in Europe. Men were no longer put to death for their religious opinions. The use of torture—a favourite resource of Elizabeth, whom the Puritans professed to hold in especial reverence—was abolished as illegal; even the taxes imposed by his own authority, though illegal, as being so imposed, were moderate in amount; and though the Star-Chamber inflicted what would now be looked upon as atrocious punishments for slight offences, those punishments were not then considered unusually severe; at all events, they were less cruel than those of the two last reigns. Scandalous as was the practice in accordance with which Prynne and others lost their ears, even such mutilations were less cruel than those inflicted on Stubbs, by Queen Elizabeth, for an offence even slighter than that of Prynne and his fellow-martyrs. And the charge that he had levied war upon the parliament was false: not only did Hotham, with the sanction" [indeed, by the express command] "of that assembly, close the gates of Hull against the king long before he raised his standard at Nottingham, but the two houses, by their own ordinance, called out the militia of the different counties many weeks before he began to levy any forces whatever for his separate use."

As a husband, father, friend, Charles evinced many good qualities. He faithfully observed his conjugal vows; was affectionate and kind. And whilst he was indulgent and loving to his children, he was strict in the enforcement of a sound moral conduct. To his court he restored that character of dignity and refinement which it bore under Elizabeth. To his friends he was faithful; he stood by all who stood by him, except in one instance—that of Strafford; and he never forgave himself for having consented to the death of the noble earl. He was constrained in his manners—a defect probably arising from an impediment he had in his speech, almost amounting to stammering; but "he was humane, affectionate, and religious." Though some persons charged him with being at heart a papist, and he no doubt attended the Presbyterian places of worship when in Scotland, still he was a sincere member of the church of England. His refusal to lower the position of that church, and to abandon his friends, were the chief causes of his failure in the negotiations with the Scotch; and he and Laud were alike falsely accused of a desire to re-establish the church of Rome in this country.

Charles was well educated; he understood the French, Spanish, and Italian languages; and was not deficient in the knowledge of either art or science. Personally, his appearance was graceful and dignified; he excelled in horsemanship and other exercises; and was capable of enduring great fatigue.—Such was Charles I.; of whom Mrs. Hutchinson, the daughter of Cromwell, and the wife of the parliamentary Colonel Hutchinson, spoke in terms of high praise; and Henderson, the Presbyterian, who had much personal intercourse with him, says he had a "sweet disposition;" and that, "if his advice had been followed, all the blood that was shed, and all the rapine that was committed, would have been prevented."

CHAPTER LXXVI.

ENGLAND A REPUBLIC.—A.D. 1649—1653.

SHORTLY after the execution of Charles, the Commons voted that the office of a king should be abolished in England, because it was "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the nation." They also decreed that the statue of Charles, at the Royal Exchange, should be taken down, and the following words inscribed on the place where it stood:—"*Exit Tyrannus, Regum Ultimus;*" that is, "The tyrant is gone; the last of the kings." The Lords had fallen into so much contempt, and shown such a disposition to lean to the side of the king, that their house also was abolished; and the Commons—that is, the representatives of the people — were regarded as the only source of authority and government. They then published a declaration, in several languages, of the reasons which had induced them to change England into a free state. Of the twelve judges, six declined to act under the new government; but the rest continued in office, and were assured that the fundamental laws of the country should not be abolished. To carry on the business of the nation, on the 13th of February, a council, called the "Executive Council of State," was appointed. It was composed of the men who had been most active in the late events. On the 10th of March, Serjeant Bradshaw, one of the late king's judges, was elected president; and John Milton, the celebrated poet, was appointed secretary. Bishops, and the church of which Laud had been the head, had been abolished before; and something like the Presbyterian mode of worship was used; but the intolerant ministers of that church were not permitted to have any temporal power. The army, consisting of about 50,000 men, remained, nominally, under the command of Fairfax, but was, in reality, under that of Cromwell. The command of the fleet was given to the heroic Admiral Blake.

Most revolutions are attended by a great loss of life; but in this remarkable one, but little blood was spilt. Three noblemen—the Duke of Hamilton, and the Lords Holland and Capel—were beheaded in Palace Yard, for having made war upon the parliament; but the vengeance of the people was then satisfied, and the red hand of the law was stayed.

The Scots had strongly objected to the execution of the king, and, on the 5th of February, they proclaimed his eldest son as Charles II. That prince was also proclaimed as king in Ireland by the Marquis of Ormond. Ireland, indeed, was in a state of insurrection; and the massacre of the Protestants was still unpunished. The parliament, therefore, appointed Cromwell lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and sent him and his son-in-law, Colonel Ireton, to that country, with an army of 9,000 men. These soldiers were most of them the brave Ironsides, who had fought and conquered at the battles of Naseby and Marston Moor; and, amongst the half-armed and savage Irish, they were like eagles among sparrows.

Cromwell and his army did not land in Ireland till the 15th of August, 1649; and, to use the language of a remarkable writer, he "descended on Ireland like the hammer of Thor; smote it, as at one fell stroke, into dust and ruin, never to reunite against him more;" and, it might be added, never more to know content. When Cromwell landed, all the principal towns of Ireland, except Dublin and Derry, were in the hands of the papists, and over them floated the royal banner of King Charles II. The papist army retired to Drogheda; that town was taken by storm on the 2nd of September, and a great number of its defenders put to the sword. Cromwell's orders were, to spare no one that was in arms against him; and this cruel mandate was partly obeyed. He regarded himself, says the writer just quoted, as "the soldier of God the Just; an armed soldier, terrible as death, relentless as doom; doing God's judgments on the enemies of God."

Wexford was next taken by storm, on the 10th of October; and the papist and royalist soldiers were massacred as at Drogheda. Terrified by this example, other towns yielded at once; but when the Irish resisted they were slaughtered without mercy: the Ironsides had no pity for papists, whom they would have completely extirpated by fire and sword, had it been in their power. After remaining ten months in Ireland, Cromwell had subdued it all, except a few towns which he left to Colonel Ireton to proceed with, and then returned to England. He was received with enthusiastic joy: crowds of people went forth to welcome the great soldier of liberty; and he also received the thanks of the parliament.

The Scots, not contented with proclaiming Prince Charles as their king, endeavoured to force the English to receive him also. The parliament answered, that it did not wish to impose any form of government upon the Scottish nation that was in any way disagreeable,

and would leave them to choose what government they liked best, if they would suffer the English people to do the same. But the Scots were determined to maintain the rights of their king. They invited Charles from Holland to their country, where he did not land till the 23rd of June, 1650. They had negotiated with him at Breda; and compelled him to sign their Covenant before he landed (which he did greatly against the advice of his English friends), and to promise that he would be entirely guided by the parliament and the Presbyterian clergy: they then raised an army for the invasion of England. Charles promised anything they asked, and that so readily, that the Scots suspected him of insincerity. They were quite right. Charles looked upon his promises as disagreeable necessities, which he had no intention of observing when he got strong enough to set those who exacted them at defiance.

When the Scots were prepared, they denounced the English Commons as traitors and regicides. Upon this, the army of the parliament was got ready, and the command offered to Sir Thomas Fairfax. That officer had for some time been growing cold in the cause, and he declined, his wife's persuasions seconding his own inclinations to do so. His refusal was the most fortunate thing that could have happened for the parliament; for the command was then offered to Cromwell, who at once accepted it. Thus the greatest soldier in the land —perhaps the only man who had the requisite genius and decision to command in such an unsettled time— was appointed captain-general-in-chief of all the military power of the commonwealth of England.

It was during the July of 1650 that Cromwell and his army entered Scotland; for it was resolved that the English should not wait to be invaded, but strike the first blow themselves. The Scots had a fine army, commanded by the brave old General Leslie, and they were very confident of victory. Still they avoided a battle for some time, trusting that want of provisions, and the illness which was the result of it, would drive the English back to their own country. These calculations were justly made; Cromwell soon found himself in a very trying position, and, after retiring to Dunbar, even thought of returning to England. The Scots followed him, and encamped on the heights which overlook the town. In that position they were almost unassailable, and they began to hope for the entire destruction of their foes. But the mad enthusiasm of the Scottish preachers ruined their cause. They assured their general he must conquer; that a divine revelation had informed them so; and they induced him, in spite of his better judgment, to descend into the plain, and attack the English in their retreat. When Cromwell beheld that false movement, he exclaimed joyfully, "The Lord hath delivered them into my hands!" and immediately gave orders for the attack.

The battle began; the cry of the English being, "The Lord of Hosts!" that of the Scots, "The Covenant!" The Scots were more than double the number of the English; but, after a short, though fierce encounter, they were utterly defeated, and fled from the field; 4,000 of them being slain, and 10,000 taken prisoners. Cromwell, in the full flush of his triumph, ordered his soldiers to sing the 107th Psalm on the field of slaughter. This famous battle of Dunbar, which took place on the 31st of August, 1650, humbled the pride of Scotland, and saved the republican government of England. Edinburgh, Glasgow, and the south of Scotland submitted; and the young king found himself in an unpleasant position. The austere Presbyterian ministers kept him under great restraint, and offered him not a few indignities. He resided at Argyll, Edinburgh being in the hands of the English; and, on the 6th of October, he left that city, and attempted to get to the Highlands. He was pursued by Colonel Montgomery and a troop of horse; overtaken the next day, and persuaded to return.

As soon as the season permitted, the Scotch army was recruited; the Duke of Hamilton and Leslie had the command, and Charles was permitted to join the camp. Cromwell sent an army to Scotland, which got in the rear of that of the king; and Charles resolved to invade England. He reached Carlisle on the 6th of August, 1651; and was there proclaimed King of Great Britain and Ireland.

Cromwell and the English parliament were taken by surprise, and Charles, at the head of 16,000 men, got as far as Worcester without opposition. But the active Cromwell was soon ready, and marched to Worcester with an army far superior in numbers and discipline to that which followed the prince. There, on the 3rd of September (the anniversary of the victory of Dunbar), the Royalists were utterly defeated. This conquest was so important and decisive, that Cromwell, in a spirit of grateful joy, called it his "crowning mercy." Charles fled in terror, fearing that, if he were taken prisoner, he, like his father, would perish on the scaffold. Having ridden for twenty-six miles, in company with fifty or sixty of his friends, to secure his safety, he separated himself from them, and, by the direction of the Earl of Derby, went to Boscobel, on the borders of Staffordshire, where he trusted the secret of his rank to one Penderell, a farmer, who supplied him with the dress of a rustic, and he went out with him into a neighbouring wood to cut faggots.

He lived on the homeliest food, lay upon a bed of straw at night, and, to avoid suspicion, resumed his labour of cutting wood during the day. This must

have been a time of great agitation to him; for the parliamentary soldiers were upon his track, and he was in great danger of being taken. One day he even heard the voices of some soldiers in pursuit of him, and climbed up amid the clustering branches of a noble oak for concealment. In this trying position he remained for four-and-twenty hours, during which time he saw several soldiers pass beneath, and heard them express an earnest wish that they might find him. This tree was, in after-times, known as the Royal Oak. After a concealment of one-and-forty days, and having undergone many wild adventures, he escaped out of the country, and landed in safety at Fescamp, in Normandy, on the 17th of October. He did not come back during the life of Cromwell.

That wonderful Puritan soldier was now the most important man in England. London poured forth her thousands to welcome him with joyous shouts: the parliament, the Lord Mayor, and the citizens all received him with gratitude and honour. An estate of £4,000 a-year was voted to him; and the noble palace at Hampton Court, so lately the residence of the king, was prepared for his reception. All this was enough to elate the strongest mind; and from that time Cromwell listened to the promptings of ambition. His title of Protector of England was not yet bestowed upon him, though he held the power attached to that office directly after the battle of Worcester. Still it was not only Protector of England that he desired to be; sometimes a feverish dream led him to hope that he might become its KING!

After all that has been said and written against Cromwell, against the Independents, and against a republican form of government, it must be admitted that England then attained to a great height of glory and power. The genius of the people was awakened; their exertions roused to action; and the English name honoured and dreaded by surrounding nations, in the same manner as that of the great Roman people was during the time of their republic. The English of the commonwealth may, indeed, be called the better Romans of a better time. The military talent of the nation has never, either before or since, shone with greater lustre. Ireland was utterly subdued by the warlike genius of Ireton; Scotland by General Monk. Both nations were united and incorporated with the English republic; and the banner of the commonwealth floated proudly and victoriously both by sea and land.

Holland was a republic as well as England, and the Dutch were a haughty and powerful people. The head of their government they called a stadtholder, and he was allied by marriage to the royal family of the Stuarts. In consequence of this, the Dutch had been trying to avenge the death of King Charles, and to restore his son to the now abolished throne of England. Several other causes of jealousy and quarrel existed between the two nations: the English parliament permitted privateers to seize the merchant ships of the Dutch; and in the month of May, 1652, a famous Dutch admiral, named Van Tromp, sailed up the English Channel with a fleet of forty vessels. He was met in the Downs by an equally famous English sea-captain, the bold Admiral Blake, who, however, had but twenty ships. War had not been openly declared; but an engagement took place between the rival fleets, in which the Dutch got the worst of it, and were glad to sail off after they had lost two of their ships.

The Dutch declared the English were the aggressors, and pretended they wished the matter to be settled in a friendly way; but they went on preparing for another fight. The English parliament answered by a formal declaration of war; and Blake and his fleet swept the seas, and captured every Dutch vessel they could meet. Van Tromp put to sea with a hundred ships, and said that he would destroy the English fleet if he could meet it; but he was overtaken by a storm, and obliged to sail home again. Then the famous Admiral De Ruyter put to sea with fifty ships of war, and an engagement took place between him and the English fleet near Plymouth, on the 16th of August. Both sides fought very gallantly; but neither gained a victory, and again the Dutch sailed home much injured by the encounter. Then De Ruyter was joined by another famous sea-captain, named De Witt, and a third indecisive battle took place between the English and the Dutch.

Several other trifling encounters occurred, without any great result either way. But on the 29th of November, 1652, there was a great sea-fight between Blake and Van Tromp, in which the latter gained the victory. The English had but thirty-seven ships, while the Dutch had eighty; but still Van Tromp was so proud of his triumph, that he contemptuously fastened a broom to the mast-head of his ship, by which he meant to proclaim his intention of sweeping the English navy from the seas.

But that was no easy matter; the shattered English fleet was soon repaired, and again abroad on the wide waters. This time Blake had eighty fine vessels, all men-of-war; and on the 18th of February, 1653, a desperate engagement took place between him and the Dutch. The fight lasted for three days, and then Van Tromp was thoroughly beaten in his turn, and glad to take to flight. He had lost eleven ships of war and thirty merchantmen, besides an immense number of his men. The humbled Dutch made some proposals for peace, which were not graciously received. After some months the fighting began again; but, in the meantime, Cromwell dissolved the remains of the Long Parliament.

This parliament consisted of a small number of men; for very few of the vacancies caused in it by Colonel Pride's purge had been filled up. This keeping of all the power in the hands of a few was considered unjust by the nation; for, by that means, many good and able men were utterly excluded from a chance of serving their country. The parliament also had a jealousy of Cromwell and the army; and the army bore a dislike to the parliament, because it refused to dissolve itself, and also because many of the officers thought they were not rewarded according to their deserts. About this time Cromwell complained to Whitelock (the keeper of the great seal) of the pride, ambition, and self-seeking of many members of the parliament. "Really," said he, "their engrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends; their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and design to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of parliament; their injustice and partiality in these matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, or law, or reason; and unless there be some authority and power, so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, it will be impossible to prevent our ruin." Whitelock admitted that many things required reformation, and that the parliament was to blame in clinging so resolutely to power; but he added, that he hoped his excellency would not look upon it as generally depraved. Cromwell answered, there was but little to hope and much to fear from them. Then he added—"We all forget God, and God will forget us. God will give us up to confusion; and these men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways. Some course must be thought of to curb and restrain them, or we shall all be ruined."

That Cromwell was a sincerely religious man, according to his views, can scarcely be doubted; but his dislike to the parliament arose from a desire to get all the power into his own hands. Whatever were the faults of the parliament, its members had proved themselves bold and able statesmen. They knew that to dissolve the parliament might lead to danger and confusion; for, as they were the source of all authority, it would be, in reality, to dissolve the government, or to throw it into the hands of Cromwell and the army. A new parliament could have been called, certainly; but the government of the country was far in advance of the people, and a fair and open election would have thrown the power into the hands of the Presbyterians, who hated the Independents, would have destroyed the republic, and recalled the fugitive Charles, whom many considered their lawful king.

But Cromwell was bent on the dissolution of the parliament; and he held several meetings of officers lawyers, and others, as to how the government should be carried on when parliament was brought to an end. At one of these meetings, on the 20th of April, 1653, Colonel Ingoldsby arrived in haste from the parliament-house, and informed Cromwell and the assembled officers that the parliament was then passing a bill to prolong its own duration. Cromwell exclaimed, in great excitement—"It is not honest; yea, it is contrary to common honesty." Then he hastened down to the house, attended by a few officers and a company of musketeers.

Some of the soldiers he placed at the door, some in the lobby, and some on the stairs; then, entering the house, he sat for some time in silence, listening to the debate. But when the Speaker was about to put the motion to the vote, Cromwell whispered to his friend, Lieutenant Harrison, "Now is the time; I must do it."—"Sir," replied Harrison, "the work is very great and dangerous; I desire you seriously to consider before you engage in it."—"You say well," rejoined Cromwell, and he paused for a minute. Then, taking off his hat, he began a speech to them in a very excited tone. After a short time he declared that they were deniers of justice, oppressors, openly selfish and profane men, plotting at that very moment to bring in the Presbyterians—men who would lose no time in utterly destroying the great cause they had deserted. Several members rose to expostulate with Cromwell, on account of his violent language and conduct; for he had left his seat, and was walking excitedly up and down, reproaching the members by name. "I'll put an end to your prating," shouted Cromwell, as he interrupted their remonstrance; "you are no longer a parliament; I'll put an end to your sitting. Get you gone. Give way to honester men. The Lord hath done with you: he hath chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Then, stamping his foot upon the ground, as a signal to the soldiers who were waiting without, they burst into the hall, and surrounded their general. Pointing to the Speaker, he roared out, "Take him down!" and, going to the table where the mace lay, he continued, "Take away that bauble!" In spite of the protestations of the members, the soldiers forced them to retire; and as they passed by Cromwell, he called them drunkards, and other foul names. Sir Harry Vane said to him, "Sir, this is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty."—"Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" shouted Cromwell, in reply to that wise statesman. When by this furious conduct—this act of

tyranny far exceeding anything of which King Charles had been guilty—he had cleared the parliament-house, and all the members were gone, he locked the doors, put the keys in his pocket, and returned to Whitehall. On the same day he dissolved the council of state in a similar manner, though without so much violence.

This tyrannical act of Cromwell left the whole power of the nation in his hands. Sensible that his conduct required some apology, he published a declaration justifying it. Then, as he knew the nation would not be satisfied without a parliament, he issued, on the 6th of June, summonses to 139 persons—128 from the counties, cities, and towns in England; five from Scotland; and six from Ireland; upon whom, by his sole act and deed, he devolved the whole power of the state. A great part of these nominees were gentlemen of fortune and education; but many others were of a lower rank of life, and only recommended by their religious enthusiasm and their influence over the common people. One of the most active of these fanatics was a leather-seller, of the name of Barebones; and from him the assembly, first called, "The Little Parliament," obtained the name of "Barebones' Parliament," which is the epithet generally applied to it by writers of history.

Cromwell opened this parliament on the 4th of July, in a long, devout, but very confused speech; for he was at all times but a poor orator. The members spent all the next day in preaching and praying; or, to use their language, in seeking the Lord. When, however, they did proceed to business, they went on with it at a railway-pace. They wished to effect a thorough reformation of religion, and to pave the way for the second coming of Christ upon the earth. For this purpose, they abolished tithes, which they called a relict of Judaism; and even thought of doing away with clergymen altogether; because, they said, every Christian man should be his own minister. They also voted the abolition of the Court of Chancery; decreed that marriages might be solemnised before justices of the peace; and even thought of doing away with all lawyers, whom they considered very unnecessary persons in a godly land. Cromwell was displeased with their activity, and feared they would run into some dangerous extreme. He wanted a parliament which would act quietly under his direction, and not take much authority into its own hand; and he contrived, by an artifice, to induce them to dissolve after they had only sat for about five months.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

THE PROTECTORATE OF OLIVER CROMWELL.—A.D. 1653—1658.

THE Little Parliament was dissolved on the 12th of December, 1653, and then Cromwell, or the lord-general, as he was called, summoned a council of officers and others, to decide how the country should be governed. It was soon resolved, on the proposal of Lambert, one of his creatures, that the republic should be altered. Lambert drew up a deed, called an *Instrument of Government,* which provided, that while England should still professedly be a republic, the nation should be ruled by a chief magistrate, who was to keep office as long as he lived, with the title of LORD PROTECTOR of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He was to be regarded as the fountain of honour and magisterial authority; to have the right of making peace or war; and of pardoning all criminals, except those condemned for murder or treason. His power was, however, to be restrained by a council of one-and-twenty godly persons, whose consent was necessary to every great public measure. He was also to call a parliament every three years, and allow it to sit for five months before he prorogued or dissolved it.

Of course the dignity of Lord Protector was offered to Cromwell. He readily accepted it, and, on the 16th of December, he proceeded to the High Court of Chancery, and was solemnly installed in his new position. He was attended by the lords commissioners of the great seal of England, the barons of the exchequer, the judges in their robes, the council of state, the Lord Mayor and aldermen in their scarlet gowns, and many officers of the army. Having signed the new deed of government, and sworn to observe it, Cromwell took his seat in the chair of state, and received from the lords commissioners the great seal, and from the Lord Mayor his sword and cap of maintenance. These were surrendered as tokens of submission to his authority, and the Protector then returned them. Upon this the court rose, and the procession returned, amid the exultations of the people, to Whitehall, where a splendid banquet had been prepared.

The next day, Cromwell was proclaimed as Lord Protector by sound of trumpet.

In the summer preceding this event, two other sea-fights had taken place between the English and the Dutch. Van Tromp, having refitted his fleet, once again put to sea with 108 vessels. He was met, on the 2nd of June, by an English fleet, under Generals Monk and Dean. The battle lasted for two days; but on the second, Admiral Blake came up and decided the victory in favour of the English. None of the English ships were burnt or sunk; but the Dutch lost seventeen of theirs. The English fleet then lay off the coast of Holland, capturing all the vessels that could be found. and quite destroying the commerce of that country.

This was not to be endured by so spirited a people as the Dutch; and Van Tromp was soon at sea with fresh ships, and ready to fight again. The rival fleets met on the 31st of July, and a furious battle took place. It was Van Tromp's last fight; for, while cheering on his men, he was killed by a musket-ball which entered his left breast. After that, the Dutch had no heart to fight; and, in the end, they were so thoroughly beaten, that their defeat finished the war. The English only lost two ships, and the Dutch thirty; which was a terrible lesson for interfering in affairs that did not concern them. They then desired peace; Cromwell granted it upon very reasonable conditions; and on the 6th of April, 1654, a defensive alliance was entered into by the two republics, by which each agreed to banish the enemies of the other.

Cromwell exercised his new authority with so much wisdom and dignity, that the great nations of Europe thought it best to recognise his government, forget all about the late king, and to send ambassadors to England, offering friendship and alliance. Charles had been living in Paris; but the court of France even undertook to dismiss him and his family from that country—so dreaded was the power of England during the time of Cromwell and the republic. The Protector was resolved to deal out equal justice to all without distinction of rank, and he gave a remarkable instance of his impartiality in this respect. Don Pantaleon Sa, brother to the Portuguese ambassador, had been insulted by an Englishman named Gerrard. To avenge himself he collected a number of his countrymen, and set upon the Englishman with the intention of murdering him. Gerrard beat off his assailants and escaped; but a riot ensued, and one Englishman was killed, and another seriously wounded. Don Pantaleon then fled to the house of his brother, where he thought he would be secure from the power of justice; for, by the law of nations, the residence of an ambassador was regarded as a sacred asylum.

But the Protector thought nothing above the law or sacred from justice, and he caused Don Pantaleon to be arrested, tried for murder, and executed as a felon on the 10th of July, 1654. The Portuguese were highly incensed; but they feared the power of England, and not only smothered their anger, but signed a treaty highly in favour of this country. The same day as Pantaleon was executed, two Royalists, named Gerard and Vowell, were beheaded, on a charge of conspiring against the life of Cromwell. He appointed a high court of justice to try them, by which they were condemned without an appeal to a jury.

On the 3rd of September, the Protector opened a new parliament he had summoned. It consisted of 400 members who represented England, thirty who represented Scotland, and thirty more who represented Ireland. The elections were unbiassed, and he hoped that he should receive from the new parliament that support he believed he deserved. But the republican party was highly displeased with Cromwell: he had violently dissolved the late parliament; had made himself a sort of sovereign; and many of his sturdy old friends, who had prayed and fought with him against the tyranny of King Charles, now regarded him as little better than a tyrant, and even wished him in his grave. They had loved their brave general; but they loved their country more; and they believed that only under a republican government would England become truly glorious. They detested the name of king, and of everything that resembled it: they wanted no ruler but Jesus, and they continually prayed that His government might overspread the earth.

On these accounts there was a strong feeling of opposition to Cromwell in the new parliament, which contained many of the most illustrious leaders of the revolution; and the very first thing it did, was strictly to examine the late deed of government by which Cromwell was made Lord Protector. The leader of the republicans in the house was that stern Serjeant Bradshaw, who had passed sentence of death on the late king; and he, and others who followed him, could not endure, after tyranny had been put down in one person, that there should be a chance of its being set up in another. Eight days were passed in discussing the lawfulness of the deed by which Cromwell was created Protector, and many severe remarks were made upon his character and conduct.

At the end of that time he summoned the parliament to his presence, and told the members that they must consider the provision in the *Instrument of Government*, that made him Protector and them a parliament, as a fundamental principle not to be questioned or altered. He said he had not sought his present dignity; that he had been called to it; and added—"If my calling be from God, and my testimony from







the people, God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part with it." In conclusion, he desired them to sign a paper promising "to be true and faithful to the Protector and the commonwealth." Three hundred members signed it, though many of them did so with great reluctance, and the rest absented themselves from the house. But the parliament could not overcome its dislike to the Protector; it granted him no supplies, nor sent up a single bill for his approval, or did anything in recognition of his authority. This might have been expected from zealous republicans, who feared that Cromwell wished to place a crown upon his head; but they went further, and infringed on religious liberty, by voting that they would not tolerate any persons who did not profess the leading doctrines of Christianity. Thus papists, quakers, deists, and many others, were excluded from toleration.

Cromwell was extremely hurt at this conduct towards himself, and this feeling of intolerance against others; and directly the five months were expired, before which he was not to dissolve the parliament, he summoned the members before him for that purpose. In doing so he made a long speech, upbraiding them with their inactivity and spirit of opposition. "You might," said he, "have settled peace and quietness among all professing godliness; you might have healed the breaches of these nations, and rendered them secure, happy, and well satisfied. You have done none of these. But instead of that you have been disputing about the things already settled by the constitution. You have thus consumed all your time, and have done nothing." He then reminded them of the intolerance displayed to those who differed from them in opinion about religion, and desired to know if it were ingenuous to ask liberty, and not to give it. In conclusion, he said—"I think it my duty to tell you, that it is not for the profit of these nations, nor for common and public good, for you to continue here any longer; and therefore I declare unto you that I do dissolve this parliament."

Many of the discontented republicans had joined with the discontented Royalists in a conspiracy against Cromwell; and a few days after the dissolution of parliament it broke out. It seems strange that parties of such opposite principles could join together for any purpose. But each of them was acting a double part. If the Royalists were successful, they intended to bring in Prince Charles, and put down the republicans; while the republicans intended, as soon as they were strong enough, to be treacherous to the Royalists. The insurrection broke out in many places at once, in the month of March, 1655; but it was a failure, and the active iron-handed Protector crushed it with singular ease and rapidity. Such of the leaders as were taken prisoners were executed as traitors to the nation, and the rest transported, as slaves, to Barbadoes. To prevent any fresh attempt of this kind, Cromwell resolved to adopt a military form of government, and to terrify those who were discontented into submission. Therefore he divided England and Wales into eleven districts, over each of which he placed an officer, with authority to exact payment of the heavy fines and forfeitures imposed on the Royalists, to put down riots, and secure submission to his government. This they did so effectually, that, in a little while, his authority was supreme throughout the country.

Under the rule of Cromwell the renown of England was rapidly rising among the great nations of Europe. France and Spain, at war with each other, both earnestly courted his friendship; and he demanded from the latter country that no Englishman should be subject to the Inquisition, and that English vessels should be allowed to trade to the West Indies and to South America; both which places Spain regarded as colonies of her own, and considered that no one else had any business to interfere with. Though very anxious to gain the good-will of the English, the Spanish court hesitated at these demands, which it considered enormous. Besides this, Spain was hated by Cromwell, as the most bitterly popish country in Europe—the great upholder of that Roman Babylon, as he himself called it; and he fitted out two fleets and armies to strike a terror into its people, and to achieve some glorious conquest over it.

One of these fleets was commanded by two officers—Admirals Penn and Venables—men who were Royalists in their hearts; and under their direction it made an unsuccessful attack upon the island of Hispaniola. It somewhat retrieved its reputation by the valuable conquest of Jamaica, which was surrendered to the English on the 10th of May, 1655; but on its return to England, Cromwell, who was furious at his disappointment, sent both the commanders as prisoners to the Tower. The failure was as much owing to the conduct of the troops, who were the refuse of the army, and to their defective equipment, as well as the scarcity and bad quality of the provisions, which produced discontent, as to the want of skill or the misconduct of the admirals, whose bravery was not doubted.

The other fleet was placed under the command of the gallant Admiral Blake, and met with a very different success. Blake put to sea before October, 1654, sailed into the Mediterranean, and struck terror into the heart of the pope, who feared that the great Protestant soldier had sent his floating castles to thunder against the papal power of Rome. Blake first cast anchor before Leghorn, and compelled the Grand Duke of Tuscany to make reparation for having formerly permitted Prince

Rupert to sell, in his port, some English vessels he had captured. The grand duke, in terror, engaged to pay the sum required of him, and Blake and his fleet sailed proudly away to Algiers. There they compelled the dey to make peace, and to command his piratical subjects not to attack English vessels. From Algiers they sailed to Tunis, and made the same demands. But the dey of that republic told Blake to look at his strong castles of Porto-Farina and Goletta, and do his worst. Blake took him at his word; his vessels opened a terrific fire upon the castles, and battered them into heaps of ruins. Then he burnt every ship that lay in the harbour of the piratical dey. Thus the fame of English valour was not only spread through Europe, but resounded even on the arid shores of Africa.

After the attempt upon Hispaniola, and the conquest of Jamaica by the English, the Spaniards hastened to a declaration of war. The Spanish ambassador left England on the 24th of October, 1655. The same day a treaty was signed with France; and peace with that country, and war with Spain, were proclaimed on one day—the 28th of November. The Spaniards were very active at sea, and seized all the English vessels they could find. Blake soon retaliated, and made, during 1656, many rich prizes. In the following year, on the 20th of April, having attacked a Spanish treasure-fleet of ships in the bay of Santa Cruz, he set them on fire, after a desperate fight of four hours, and they were destroyed, treasure and all. He was prevented from securing them as prizes, in consequence of the fierce firing from the castle and forts of the harbour. This was Blake's last great action. He was suffering severely from dropsy and the sea-scurvy; and having made the flag of England everywhere triumphant upon the ocean, he returned home to die in the land he loved so dearly and had fought for so bravely. He breathed his last on the 7th of August, 1657, as he came within sight of its white shores. He was a zealous republican, and so just, noble, and generous a man, that he enjoyed the esteem of all parties. He was buried in a magnificent manner in Westminster Abbey, with public honours; and his death caused the sorrow of a whole nation.

Cromwell's influence abroad was exerted to put down tyranny, and to support the cause of religious freedom. In the valleys of Piedmont there dwelt a Protestant people called the Waldenses. The Duke of Savoy was the sovereign of Piedmont, and, at the instigation of the pope, he had resolved on the extirpation of those inoffensive people, unless they became papists. They refused to abjure their religion, and an army of 15,000 men was sent to visit them with the remorseless vengeance of a Christian prelate and a Christian sovereign, who believed that, in this way, they were carrying out the dictates of a merciful Saviour! The horrors committed are too awful for description; and can be but alluded to. Old people were burnt to death in their houses; men cut to pieces; and women stripped naked and impaled alive. Some were thrown over rocks and precipices; many blown to pieces with gunpowder; and 150 women were beheaded, and their heads used by their murderers (who were rather demons than men), to play at bowls with!

When Cromwell received news of these horrors, he burst into tears. The insular position of the persecutors protected them from the thunders of his cannon; but he was that very day to have signed a treaty of alliance with France. This he refused to do until the French king and his minister, Cardinal Mazarin, had bound themselves to assist him in doing justice to the survivors among the wretched Waldenses, who, at this awful time, looked for succour first to God, and then to England. The expostulation of Cardinal Mazarin, aided by a wholesome fear of England, was successful; the persecution of the Waldenses ceased, and religious liberty was restored to them. Cromwell then declared that he would take the first opportunity of punishing the pope for his part in this terrible massacre, and that he would not permit Protestants to be insulted in any part of the world.

Cromwell resolved once again to appeal to the good sense and good feeling of the nation; and, during the September of 1656, he called his third parliament. But this assembly was not, at first, very compliant, and the Protector, therefore, expelled about 100 of the members who refused to acknowledge his government, or were otherwise objectionable to him. This act—much more tyrannical than all those of Charles in the aggregate—was vehemently protested against by the expelled members; but they obtained no redress, either from the house or the council.—The parliament, thus cleared of all Cromwell's enemies and opponents, voted him a liberal supply of money, and then renounced all allegiance to Charles Stuart, or any of his family.—About this time a republican officer, named Syndercombe, undertook to murder the Protector. His intent was, however, discovered: he was arrested, tried, and condemned to death as a traitor; and he avoided a public execution by suicide.

This incident aroused the affection which many bore to Cromwell, and some of his friends proposed that parliament should bestow the crown upon him. Sir Christopher Pack, an alderman of London, on the 23rd of February, 1657, moved in parliament, that the best way of settling the peace of the nation would be to solicit the Protector to take upon him the title of KING! The republican members rose in a tumult; but, in spite of their opposition, the motion was at length carried by large majority. Accordingly, on the 4th of April,

1657, a paper, called the Humble Petition and Advice of Parliament, was presented to Cromwell, in which he was desired "to magnify himself with the title of king."

Cromwell would willingly have complied with the desire of the parliament, and become a crowned sovereign: but such was the opposition of his nearest friends—such the hatred which the army bore to the very name of king—that, after struggling with himself, he felt it prudent to decline the offered dignity. If he had consented, it was feared that the army would have revolted against him; and it is even said that several persons had entered into an engagement to murder him within a few hours of his acceptance of the royal dignity.

After Cromwell had refused the crown, the parliament thought proper to instal him again as Lord Protector, that he might enjoy that title by consent of the representatives of the people, and not by that of a council of officers only, by whom he had at first been chosen to fill that office. It also enlarged his authority on some points; gave him the power of naming his successor; awarded him £1,000,000 for the pay of the fleet and army, and £300,000 a year for the civil government —much larger sums than had ever been voted to any of the sovereigns. His second inauguration as Protector was performed with great pomp at Westminster Hall, on the 25th of June, 1657; indeed, it was very like a coronation.

Cromwell's private life resembled that of a wise and good king, who regarded himself as the father of his people. His favourite residence was Hampton Court; and generally a sober dignity prevailed there, which was in harmony with the Protector's religious character. None of the usual gaieties of courts—pageants, masks, or balls—were to be seen there; but it was not a dull or cheerless place. Cromwell loved mirth, and occasionally indulged in familiar drolleries, which appeared much at variance with his usual demeanour. Sometimes, while at dinner, and surrounded by guests, he gave orders for the drum to beat, and his foot-guards to be called in, who were allowed to scramble for everything upon the table. It is said that one day, while at dinner among his generals and courtiers, he took a fancy to open a bottle of some valuable wine himself. In doing so, the cork-screw fell from his hand, and his guests all went down on their knees to find it. At this sight the Protector burst into a hearty laugh, and exclaimed—"Should any fool put in his head at the door, he would fancy, from your posture, that you were seeking the Lord; and you are only seeking a cork-screw." Perhaps he might have intended this remark as a hint to them that kneeling was a posture which men should only assume before their Maker.

Cromwell's court was also enlivened by the presence of all the men of literature and genius he could find. He took great pleasure in the society of the poets Milton, Waller, and Dryden, and delighted to converse with all men of lofty minds and rare accomplishments. He was also extremely fond of music, and employed those who were most distinguished in that pleasing art. Many scholars, who were struggling with difficulties, were pensioned by him; and though management and economy appeared in his court, he was ever generous to the deserving.

Cromwell was not altogether happy in his family. His favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, was slowly dying; her decline was hastened by the execution of Dr. Huet, a conspirator, for whom she had a great regard; and she smote her father's heart by her complaints and reproaches. This lady had adopted Royalist opinions, and condemned his grand career as one of criminal ambition. Another of Cromwell's daughters, married to Colonel Fleetwood, was a violent republican, and was irritated against her father for assuming the Protectorate. This ungracious, if not ungrateful conduct was a source of great grief to him; for he loved his children dearly.

The parliament again met on the 20th of January, 1658, and contributed greatly to embitter the latter part of the life of the Protector. This arose chiefly from the fact that the 100 Presbyterian and Royalist members, who had been formerly expelled as enemies to Cromwell, were permitted to take their seats. It was also thought proper to restore the House of Lords, and sixty peers and gentlemen assembled to constitute that chamber. They were not all noblemen; amongst them were Cromwell's two sons, Richard and Henry; and even Colonel Pride, who, by his activity and talents, had risen from the ranks of a drayman; and Colonel Hewson, who had been a shoemaker. Most of the old nobility were too proud to sit on terms of equality with these men.

The Commons looked upon the new House of Lords with great contempt, and declared that the peers had always acted in so mean and spiritless a way, that they had no right ever again to have any power in the government of the country. Not content with this, they spoke against the Protector, and talked of abolishing his office. Cromwell's old friends—the Independents—could not forgive him for altering the government from a pure republic; and as for the Presbyterians, they hated him so much, that most of them were even desirous of recalling Prince Charles, and making him king in preference. The violence of the parliament was so great, and it seemed so resolved on quarrelling, instead of attending to the business of the nation, that, after a sitting of only fourteen days, Cromwell dissolved

it. As he did so, he appealed to the Almighty to be judge between him and the refractory members that so bitterly opposed him.

There was a number of extreme republicans in the army and country, called Levellers and Fifth Monarchy men. They held very violent opinions; hated a Protector almost as much as they hated a king; wished all men to be equal; and some of them even held that there should be no government at all, except that of the heavenly king, Jesus. The Royalists were engaged in another conspiracy, and the republicans were mad enough to join them; for they did not reflect that, if Cromwell was ruined and Charles restored, they would soon be compelled to submit. One of Cromwell's enemies, in 1657, wrote and published an infamous tract, called *Killing no Murder*, in which it was said, that the greatest benefit any Englishman could confer on his country would be to assassinate Cromwell. Who was the author of this tract—whether Colonel Sexby, a Republican, or Colonel Titus, a Royalist—has never been ascertained. Sexby was suspected at the time; was arrested in July, 1657, and sent to the Tower, where he died in June, 1658.—After the Restoration, Colonel Titus, thinking it would gain him popularity and reward, said that he was the author —whether truly or not will never be known.

But the Protector, though ill in body and distressed in mind, vigorously crushed these plots, and caused the ringleaders to be executed. No difficulties, in fact, appeared too great for him; with one hand he put down his personal enemies, and that without the slightest regard to law, appointing what he called a High Court of Justice to try them; and with the other held aloft the national glory and prosperity. His troops abroad were joined with the French against the Spaniards and the Dutch: many brilliant victories were obtained in the Low Countries; and Dunkirk, being taken by the allied French and English on the 24th of June, 1658, was, according to agreement, surrendered to Cromwell. The famous Louis XIV.—the dissipated but gorgeous monarch known as *Louis le Grande*—was then King of France, and mutual protestations of friendship and esteem passed between him and Oliver. His minister, Cardinal Mazarin, even sent his nephew to London to express his regret that urgent business should deprive him of the honour of paying his respects in person to the head of the English government.

But the health of the Protector was rapidly breaking; anxiety and excessive attention to the affairs of the country were wearing him out. It is said that, in the latter part of his life, he was constantly in dread of assassination, and that his public and domestic troubles oppressed him with a weight of melancholy. In the month of August he lost his daughter, Lady Claypole, who is reported to have upbraided him with her dying breath; and his poignant grief on that account is supposed to have hastened his own death. He had been ill for some time; but about the commencement of October, 1658, it was discovered that his disorder was a sort of tertian ague. At first it did not seem dangerous, and between his attacks he was able to walk abroad. It afterwards increased to such an extent, that he believed his last hour was at hand. In this state of mind he showed some anxiety about his eternal welfare, and asked one of his preachers if it were true that the elect could never afterwards incur the anger of the Almighty? The preacher answered, that nothing was more true. "Then," said Oliver, "I am safe; for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace."

Having been brought from Hampton Court to Whitehall, he sank rapidly, and expired on the afternoon of the 3rd of September—the anniversary of his great victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and the day that he always considered his most fortunate one. In his last moments he lay offering up faint prayers to God for himself and for his country; and his language, even when he deemed his last hour to be approaching, was strongly indicative of his character. He is reported to have said—"Lord! I am a poor foolish creature! This people would have me live; they think it will be best for them, and that it will redound much to Thy glory. All the stir is about this. Others would fain have me die. Lord, pardon them, and pardon Thy foolish people! forgive them their sins, and do not forsake them; but love and bless them, and give them rest; and bring them to a consistency, and give me rest." Afterwards he murmured, as if with a feeling that his duty had been well done in this world, and that he felt himself secure of happiness in the next—"I am a conqueror, and more than a conqueror, through Jesus Christ who strengtheneth me." And thus he breathed forth his soul, with its errors and its virtues, into the hands of his Maker. He was in his sixtieth year. A little before his death the council begged him to mention his successor. Though scarcely able to articulate, he was understood to mean that his eldest son Richard should become Protector in his place. On the day of his death a violent tempest occurred. His friends took advantage of this incident to say that even the elements of England mourned for him; while his enemies declared that nature was convulsed in token of the divine displeasure at the late Protector's ambitious crimes.

Cromwell was buried with great magnificence in Westminster Abbey, and most of the poets of the time celebrated his memory. He left two sons (Richard and Henry) and three daughters: one was married to General Fleetwood; another to Lord Falconberg; and

the third, first to the Earl of Warwick, and afterwards to Sir John Russell.

Cromwell's character has been viewed in various lights. He had more enemies than friends. His actions offended both Royalists and republicans; both had reason to complain of him; and neither, probably, have done him justice as a man. As a ruler, it has lately become the fashion with some writers to praise him highly. He certainly had splendid governing talents; but he was simply a tyrant, resolved to have his own will; and when it was resisted by parliaments, judges, or any other authorities, they were at once dispensed with. He committed many offences equal to the crimes of Charles I.; and for which the king was condemned and executed—levying taxes by his own authority, imposing heavy penalties on those who were, or who were suspected to be, Royalists, and collecting both through the military commissions which he established in every county. He also established a High Court of Justice to carry out his views. His foreign policy, however, was the best part of his government; it was judicious, wisely planned, and boldly carried out: he regained for England, on the continent, that reputation it had lost under James, and which Charles had been too much engaged in domestic disputes to retrieve. And, as a modern historian observes, when he exerted the power of England abroad, it was generally for beneficial purposes; especially when he interfered for the Protestants of France and the Waldenses, to punish the African pirates, and restore Christian captives to liberty.—As a man, we know little of his conduct to his family; but he was not, as we have already observed, a happy father, though he is said to have been an affectionate one. He was a devout man, and he used the strange language of the zealous Puritans—a language mixed up with unseasonable and inappropriate allusions to Scripture, and the doctrines of religion. The Royalists believed him to be, and called him, a hypocrite; but he was a *sincere* zealot. His idea of religion was a lofty one, "Let us," said he, "govern all things by the written word of God." He professed to fight for liberty—chiefly for liberty in religion—for the great principle of Protestantism, the right of private judgment, and to worship God as each sincere man thought right. "Thy kingdom come!" was his constant earnest prayer, and he strove to make that prayer a fact upon earth. He was a soldier of wonderful ability, having learnt the art of war from his own courage, energy, determination, and iron will. He was extremely industrious, and had a wonderful ability to know and to command men. But if he had many virtues and good qualities, he had many faults; and his example is one which cannot be held up for unqualified admiration or imitation.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

THE PROTECTORATE OF RICHARD CROMWELL.—A.D. 1658, 1659.

DIRECTLY after the death of Oliver Cromwell, the council of state assembled and declared his eldest son, Richard, to be the new Lord Protector; and he was proclaimed in the metropolis on the 4th of September. Henry Cromwell was in Ireland, which country he had for some time governed, as lord-lieutenant, with great ability. No one opposed Richard's elevation to the Protectorate, and addresses of congratulation and acknowledgment were presented to him from the army, the navy, the people, and from many religious sects. Neighbouring countries also sent ambassadors to England for the same purpose.

But Richard Cromwell did not possess the commanding genius and resolute will of his father, and his rule was a very brief one. That father ruled by force; and had he lived much longer, the people would have been in arms against him. Richard was gentle and amiable, but he was neither a statesman nor a soldier; and whilst the Protectorate, through the tyranny of his predecessor, had become unpopular, he had no conception of the means to be taken to restore its *prestige*. And he knew nothing of the army; and an ominous murmur against the new general began to spread throughout that body.

Richard's first act was to summon a parliament, which met on the 27th of January, 1659. He had done his best to get as many as possible of his own friends returned as members of it; but still it contained a number of violent republicans, who hated the office of a Protector, and wished to see it abolished. A House of Lords, or, as it was now called, "the other-house," also assembled. Although the members of parliament had signed an engagement not to alter the present form of government, yet they proceeded directly to examine the instrument, or deed of government, by which

parliament had sanctioned the office of a Protector. A great deal of altercation followed; but at length the parliament was with difficulty persuaded to confirm it, and to settle a revenue on the new Protector. This it did on the 14th of February. Nor were the Commons disposed to recognise the new House of Lords as a part of the parliament; and it was not until after another violent debate, on the 28th of March, that they were induced to do so.

While the parliament was wasting its time in useless talking, serious plots were forming among the republican officers of the army. General Fleetwood (Richard's brother-in-law) had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army, under the Protector; but he became jealous of Richard, and wanted to enjoy that power without acknowledging any superior. He therefore established a council of officers, which met at his residence, and was called, from it, the Wallingford House party. Foremost among these plotters against Richard was General Lambert, who thought if there was to be any Protector at all, he ought to be the man. This council of officers soon presented a remonstrance to Richard. It complained that the "good old cause" (as they called the new cause of republicanism) was quite neglected; that the pay of the soldiers was considerably in arrear; and that the enemies of liberty were striving to ruin both the army and the nation. As a remedy, the council desired that the whole military power should be given to some one who could be trusted.

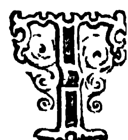
The feeble-minded Protector was lost amid all these discontents; for he knew that if he gave up all authority over the army, his power as ruler of England was gone. The parliament was as much alarmed as the Protector; and it voted that there should be no meeting or general council of officers without his consent. This vote irritated the officers, and they hastened to Cromwell, and demanded that he should instantly dissolve the parliament. Richard hesitated at first, but he had no power to resist; and on the 2nd of April it was dissolved accordingly.

What government there was in England was now in the hands of these turbulent officers. They immediately invited the famous Rump, or remains of the Long Parliament, whom Oliver Cromwell had expelled from the house, to meet again and resume their authority. Those members accepted the invitation; and, on the 7th of May, 1659, the republican Rump Parliament again sat at Westminster. None of those expelled by Colonel Pride were permitted to take their seats. Prynne, one of the excluded, wrote a narrative of the proceedings, which he described as "a worse and more real levying of war against the parliament than the beheaded king and his party were ever guilty of." The first thing this packed assembly did was to pass a declaration to secure the property and liberty of the people, "without the authority of any chief magistrate, whether called King or Protector!" This was, in fact, to depose poor Richard Cromwell, who did not care to keep a dignity he found so troublesome and dangerous. Without a struggle he retired to Hampton Court, and soon afterwards formally signed his resignation of the Protectorate. It was supposed that his more active brother Henry, then governor of Ireland, might offer some resistance to the parliament. But he was induced by threats to resign his command, and returned to the rank of a private gentleman in England.

As to Richard, he retired to his estate, which was considerable, and lived with more happiness, and far greater tranquillity, than during the brief time that he was acknowledged the ruler of a great nation.—After the restoration of the Stuart family to the English throne, he resided for some years abroad. He lived to a great age, and died in 1712.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

ENGLAND WITHOUT A GOVERNMENT.—A.D. 1659, 1660.



THE restored Rump Parliament appointed a committee of safety (most of the members of which were officers) and a council of state, for the purpose of carrying on the government. No easy task; for the nation was in a distracted state; and the parliament, the members of which were Independents, was hated both by the Presbyterians and the Royalists. These two parties joined together, and insurrections broke out in several parts of the country. The object of the conspirators was, to restore monarchy, and to place Prince Charles upon the throne; but when they rose in arms, they were everywhere defeated by the army, which adhered to the parliament.

No sooner was tranquillity restored, than the parliament and the army quarrelled. The officers demanded

that General Fleetwood should be declared commander-in-chief, without any limitation of his authority, and that General Lambert should have the next rank to him. In answer to this demand, the parliament deprived Fleetwood, Lambert, and several other officers of their commissions, and vested the command of the army in seven persons. But the officers knew their power, and would not submit. General Lambert, on the 13th of October, drew up his troops in the streets which led to the parliament-house, and as the members came, the soldiers compelled them all to go home again. Thus the Rump Parliament was a second time dissolved by military force; and the power of the government, such as it now was, again in the hands of the military.

The parliament accused the army of being destroyers of the national liberty; and the officers angrily replied, that the members of that assembly would not have left them any liberty to destroy. After much altercation, it was agreed that the Rump Parliament should not sit any more, but that a new one should soon be summoned, and, in the meantime, a committee of safety should prepare a new form of government.

At this time Scotland was governed by a talented officer, named General Monk. A member of the decayed Devonshire family, he had followed the fortunes of Charles I. till he was taken prisoner, and sent to the Tower, where he remained about two years. When he was liberated, the Royalist cause was lost; but he refused all offers to serve the parliament for some time. At length he was induced to take the command in Ireland. Cromwell made him lieutenant-general, and sent him to Scotland as governor. Before the Protector's death, he was told that Monk was "lying in wait to introduce Charles Stuart into Scotland;" but he took no steps for that purpose whilst Cromwell lived. During the disputes between the parliament and the army, this officer was quietly collecting troops, and acting in so equivocal a manner, that neither party knew which side he meant to take. Therefore, the officers who suppressed the parliament wrote to him in Scotland, and desired his approval of their conduct. Monk, though he entered the service of the Parliamentarians, and had ably and loyally discharged his duties, was still a Royalist at heart; and the discontent of the people determined him to attempt the restoration of Charles, with whom he had for some time kept up a secret correspondence. He wanted an excuse for leading his army to London, that he might the better ascertain the state of parties, also the feeling of the army in England, and take his steps accordingly. But he thought it most prudent to dissimulate: therefore he wrote to the officers, disapproving of what they had done, and protesting that, above all things, he wished to see England a republic. It would have been greatly to his honour if he had abstained from making such a protestation, when he was secretly at work to restore the king.

Monk collected his army, and began a slow march towards the frontiers. The officers suspected his real purpose, and sent General Lambert with troops to oppose him; though, as Lambert had orders to avoid fighting, when he reached Newcastle he remained there doing nothing. The weak-minded Fleetwood, who was commander-in-chief of the army in London, sent commissioners to Monk to arrange a peaceful accommodation. Monk also sent commissioners on his part, with directions to conclude a treaty; but his only object was to lull Fleetwood into security, and to gain time. The treaty was concluded: it contained strong pledges against the king and the monarchy; and Monk refused to ratify it, on the ground that his commissioners had exceeded their powers.

Although the general council of officers feared Monk was aiming at restoring Charles Stuart, yet they took no resolute measure to oppose him, but went on designing a new republican form of government. On the 13th of December, they resolved upon the following articles:—"That there should be no king, Protector, or chief magistrate; that the army should be maintained; that every one should be free with respect to religion; that there should be no House of Peers; that the legislative and executive powers of the state should be in different hands; and that parliament should be elected by the people."

But it was one thing to resolve on a new form of government, and another to put it into execution. The common soldiers revolted in large bodies from General Fleetwood; and, taking upon themselves to do as they pleased, invited the Rump Parliament, which they had so lately dispersed, to renew its sittings and authority. Changes were rapid in this age of anarchy; and on the 26th of December, this parliament, which had witnessed such varieties of fortune, once more met to see if it could tranquillise the distracted nation, and carry on the government.

The members of the Rump Parliament were nearly all republicans; and they voted that a bill should be prepared for again renouncing the claim of Charles Stuart and that of all his family to rule in England. They also sent Monk a letter of thanks, and begged him to come up to London as soon as he could. Being glad enough to accept this invitation, he crossed the Tweed on the 1st of January, 1660, advanced to the south, and, at York, was met by Lord-General Fairfax, who, after the sad experience afforded by the tyranny of the Protectorate, and the state of anarchy which followed, was anxious to see the monarchy restored. He, however, could not get Monk to declare for the king; as, with his small force—6,000 men—it would

not have been safe to do so till he ascertained the disposition of the English army. Monk, therefore, continued his march towards London; numerous addresses being sent him on his way, from the resident gentry and others, praying that he would take steps to restore the nation to peace and tranquillity. The little army reached St. Alban's on the 28th of January. From thence Monk sent a message to the parliament, requiring it to remove from London the regiments which, though then quiet and doing their duty, had so recently offered violence to that assembly. The parliament reluctantly complied; some of the soldiers mutinied, but were subdued: and, on the 3rd of February, Monk and his army took up their quarters in Westminster.

The citizens of London had refused to pay the taxes which the Rump Parliament had levied, contending that they were not legally compelled to do so till a free and lawful legislature had assembled. The first duty Monk was called upon to perform, after his arrival, was, to enforce these levies; and on the 9th of February he entered the city, arrested several persons named by the parliament, and removed various obstructions which the citizens had raised to impede the progress of any officers sent to seize either them or their goods. This rendered him very unpopular with the citizens; but on the 11th, he sent a letter to the Commons, reproaching them for various acts recently committed; requiring them immediately to summon to their seats the excluded members; to fix the time for their own dissolution; and to prepare for the assembling of a new parliament. He also complained of the odious character of the service that had been required of him. Having despatched this letter, he repaired to the Guildhall, where, the common council being summoned, he apologised for his conduct two nights previously; told them of the course he had then taken, which he assured them he should persevere in; and expressed his wish for the union of the city and the army, in every enterprise having the happiness, prosperity, and settlement of the people for its object. His speech gave the greatest satisfaction; its purport soon spread abroad; and when he left the Guildhall, cheers, and shouts of "God bless your Excellency!" and "The General is with us; down with the Rump!" were heard in every direction. The bells of the churches rang rejoicing peals; and we learn from Pepys' *Diary*, that, at night, bonfires were seen in all parts of the city, at some of which rumps were roasted: others were tied on sticks, and carried up and down. The "king's health" was frequently pledged that day and the next in the streets, and the mob would have gone to Westminster, and expelled the parliament, if it had not been restrained by Monk.

After these demonstrations it is difficult to account for Monk's hesitation at once to proclaim the king; or, after the expelled members had been summoned, and they had taken their seats, why he should still have declared, as he did, for a republic; and that he would, "to the utmost oppose the setting-up of Charles Stuart, or a House of Peers." Such dissimulation was alike unworthy the man and the cause. If he felt it unsafe to proclaim Charles till the way had been further prepared, he might have withheld his own pledges to the parliament. In that body, when reinforced by the excluded members, the Presbyterians had a large majority: many of the Independents from that time absented themselves; and the former did as they pleased. They first declared all acts passed by the Rump Parliament to be null and void. Then they resolved that Presbyterianism should be the only religion tolerated in England; and ordered that the League and Covenant should be set up in all the churches. They also appointed Monk commander-in-chief of the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland; placed the Royalist admiral, Montague, at the head of the fleet; voted Monk a sum of £20,000; offered him the Protectorate, which he declined; and, having ordered writs to be issued for a new House of Commons, the Long Parliament, on the 16th of March, dissolved itself, and met no more.

From that time there could be no doubt as to the tendency of the popular feeling; it was everywhere manifested for the return of the king. On the 15th of March the cry for that return was raised in London. A man that day effaced the words, "*Exit tyrannus! regum ultimus!*" which the Rump Parliament had ordered to be inscribed in a niche of the Royal Exchange, where the statue of Charles I. had stood. Having done so, he took off his cap, and shouted, "God bless Charles the Second!" The populace re-echoed the cry; at night bonfires again blazed in the public places, and heartily did the Cavaliers sing, "The king shall enjoy his own again!" As this loyal feeling extended amongst the people, the republicans, and especially the late king's judges, took the alarm. They endeavoured to excite the army; and General Lambert (who had been imprisoned by the parliament early in the year, but had made his escape) used his influence with the soldiers to induce them to declare in favour of the commonwealth. Monk, however, had also been dealing with the army: he had removed many officers unfavourable to his objects, and replaced them by Royalists; the troops also, whose pay was greatly in arrear, were not found very zealous in that cause for which they had formerly fought so gallantly. Colonel Ingoldsby, who had been one of the king's judges, but was now a Royalist, had no difficulty in finding men to follow him in pursuit of Lambert. They overtook him at Daventry, where he had only succeeded in raising four troops of horse,

one of which immediately deserted him on the appearance of Ingoldsby's force. He was taken prisoner, conveyed to London, and again sent to the Tower. No other attempt was made to turn the tide of public opinion, which had set in so strongly in favour of the king.

The new House of Commons, though the bias was Presbyterian in religious matters, was Royalist in politics. It assembled on the 25th of April, 1660. After the usual routine business, it was decided that, on the 1st of May, the house should resolve itself into a general committee, to take into consideration the state of the nation. On that day, Sir John Grenville—a relative of General Monk, through whom the latter had carried on negotiations with Charles—arrived in London, and presented a letter from the banished Stuart to the parliament. It was accompanied by a paper called "The Declaration of Breda," which promised a forgetfulness of the past, and liberty of conscience for the future. The letter was read with delight in both houses, and committees were appointed to prepare answers. The parliament then voted, that the ancient form of English government by Kings, Lords, and Commons, should be restored; that all acts or orders inconsistent with that arrangement should be erased from their journals; and that the royal fugitive should receive the sum of £50,000, to pay the expenses of his coming to England. Some few members of the lower house wished to make Charles's return dependent upon his entering into certain conditions, pledging him to preserve civil and religious liberty, and generally to promote the prosperity and welfare of the nation. They were overruled by the influence of Monk; and it was resolved that deputations from both houses should proceed to Breda, where Charles was at that time, to invite him to return and take his seat on the throne, as King of Great Britain and Ireland, unshackled by conditions, unpledged by promises. The deputations immediately departed; and preparations were set on foot to receive the king. The royal arms and statues which had been taken down were replaced; the royal palaces were renovated, redecorated, and refurnished; and the whole nation appeared—to judge from the *Diaries* of Pepys and Evelyn, and many other contemporary records—to be overflowing with joy, when Charles II. was, on the 8th of May, 1660, proclaimed king and the monarchy was restored.

CHAPTER LXXX.

MONARCHY RESTORED; THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE SECOND.—A.D. 1660—1662.



CHARLES and his two brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, landed near Dover on the 25th of May, 1660. They were received by General Monk, whom Charles embraced and called his father. On the 29th of the same month (on which day Charles completed his thirtieth year) he entered London in a grand triumphal procession. People, parliament, and nobles all joined heartily in welcoming him; and the bells rang merry peals during the day, and bonfires blazed at night.

Lord Clarendon (formerly Sir Edward Hyde) returned to England with Charles, to whom he had ever been faithful. He was, therefore, made chancellor and prime minister, and entrusted to select the king's advisers or council. It contained men who were Presbyterians as well as Royalists; for the Presbyterians were too strong to be neglected, and had done the king great service, although Charles had a secret dislike to them. Titles, also, were conferred on many who had been active in assisting the Restoration, and Monk was created Duke of Albemarle.

Charles, according to his promise, desired the parliament to pass a bill of indemnity. But the Commons were now as loyal as the Long Parliament had been the reverse, and were anxious that the regicides should not escape punishment. That house, therefore, induced the king to issue a proclamation, commanding all who had sat in judgment upon his father to surrender themselves within fourteen days. Ten of those judges had already been arrested; nineteen more surrendered themselves; and most of the others fled for safety from England. The parliament then agreed that all who had signed the death-warrant against the late king, or sat in judgment upon him, besides six persons who had not done so, should be excepted from the bill of indemnity. John Milton, the illustrious poet, and one of the most noble Englishmen that ever lived, who had opposed the Restoration, was arrested for writing two anti-monarchical works—the *Defence*

of the English People, and *Eikonoclastes.* He was, however, soon liberated by the interference of Sir William Davenant, who had always been a Royalist.

Having passed the bill of indemnity, the parliament proceeded to provide for Charles's support as a monarch. On the 4th of September, it voted that £1,200,000 per annum should be settled upon him for life—£100,000 less than was settled on Cromwell; and to raise that sum, tonnage and poundage were granted; also various excise duties; and £100,000 per annum in lieu of the fees and perquisites derived from wardships and purveyance, which were abolished. Though the nominal sum granted Charles was larger than the income any former sovereign had enjoyed, the taxes imposed were not sufficient to raise it; and he was often in want of money in consequence.—Besides settling the revenue, the parliament passed bills, setting apart the 30th of January to be observed as a fast, and the 29th of May as a festival, for ever; forms of prayer being drawn up to be used in the churches on each day.—Having passed these bills, parliament adjourned, on the 13th of September, to the 6th of November.

The trial of the regicides commenced on the 9th of October, before a court of thirty-four commissioners, nominated by the parliament before it adjourned. Twenty-nine prisoners who had presided at the king's trial were now put upon their own. Most of them gloried in their conduct, which they believed, no doubt, was patriotic; and they were proud to die in their country's cause, as they conceived it. All were found guilty; but only Major-General Harrison, and five others, suffered death. Four other parties were also tried, found guilty, and executed—Axtel, who commanded the guard on the day of the king's trial; and Hacker, who commanded on the day of his unjust execution; Cook, who acted as solicitor-general at the trial; and Hugh Peters, a fanatical preacher, who, from the pulpit, had excited the people to put Charles to death. Six persons were to have been tried besides the regicides. Sir Harry Vane and General Lambert were the other two. They were not tried till a later period, when both were found guilty. Vane was executed; Lambert was imprisoned in Guernsey.—We can scarcely wonder, under the excited feelings of the time, that these proceedings were taken; but it would have been much more praiseworthy in Charles and his parliament if they had granted a general indemnity; and, in the triumph of the present, had dropped a veil of oblivion over the past.

King Charles had published what he called *A Healing Declaration,* on the subject of religion. This was intended as a boon to the Presbyterians, who had tried so hard to force their views of religion upon the country. But Charles had resolved on the restoration of episcopacy and the bishops; and when the parliament met again, the *Healing Declaration* was rejected, and the old form of worship, or rather that which existed in Bishop Laud's time, restored. The parliament then proceeded to an act not at all to its honour. It declared that Cromwell, his son-in-law Colonel Ireton, and Serjeant Bradshaw, were traitors, and even went so far as to decree that their dead bodies should be dug from the grave, and hanged upon gibbets at Tyburn. This bitter act of vengeance was actually performed on the 30th of January, 1661; and although this warring with the dead is offensive to every feeling of humanity, it was approved of by a majority of all classes at the time. Even the graves of Cromwell's mother and daughter were violated, and their bodies thrown into a pit in St. Margaret's churchyard.—Parliament had been dissolved on the 29th of December, 1660, before these disgraceful measures were carried out.

Soon after this dissolution, London was greatly alarmed by an insurrection, not caused by a disapproval of any of the measures of the parliament, but the result of religious fanaticism. Amongst the republicans, was a small body called the Millenarians, or Fifth Monarchy men, who believed that there was no king but the Saviour; and that only the "true believers"—an epithet they applied exclusively to members of their own sect—were entitled to hold office, or exercise authority. One of their leaders, named Venner, was a desperate enthusiast. He had often entered into petty conspiracies against Cromwell; and he was resolved to raise the Millenarian standard against Charles. On the 6th of January, 1661, he sallied out in a fit of excitement into the city, attended by about sixty of his followers, all completely armed. Having overcome the watchmen and city guards, they proceeded from street to street, proclaiming "King Jesus," who, they said, was their invisible leader. One poor man who, upon being questioned, answered that "he was for God and King Charles," lost his life in the confusion. The magistrates then assembled the city bands, and, after a desperate fight, the enthusiasts fled and took refuge in Caen Wood, near Hampstead. On the 9th they returned, entered the city, traversed nearly every street, committing great disorders, and at length retired to a house, which they resolved to defend to their last breath. Surrounded by thousands, they refused quarter; and most of them died fighting—shouting, even in their latest moments, that the Saviour of men was shortly coming to reign bodily upon the earth. A few were taken prisoners, who were tried on the 19th, and hanged on the 21st, of January. On the scaffold they adhered to their insane belief; and declared that, "if

they were deceived, it was the Lord who deceived them!".

The affairs of Scotland had not been neglected while the events we have alluded to were taking place in England. By the advice of the Earl of Lauderdale, the army in that country was disbanded, and the forts erected there razed; but it was resolved to make an example of a few of the principal supporters of the Covenant. The Marquis of Argyll, and a commoner named Guthrie, were selected as those who were to suffer. Argyll was protected, by two acts of indemnity, for his rebellious conduct prior to 1651. He was neutral in the proceedings which led to the Restoration; and in July, 1660, he travelled to London, to submit himself to Charles. But he had enemies who were bent upon his destruction: they arrested him, and threw him into the Tower, without allowing him to see the king, as they dreaded his influence with his majesty. The Scotch parliament was opened on the 1st of January, 1661. The marquis was then sent to Edinburgh without seeing the king, and proceedings were opened against him for his conduct subsequent to 1651. He had, during that period, been guilty of acts of disloyalty; none of them, however, would have incurred the penalty of death; and he would, no doubt, have been acquitted, but for the production of some letters he had written to Albemarle, and which the latter sent to the parliament. They were decidedly treasonable; and, after they had been read, his friends gave up his cause. He was condemned on the 25th of May, and executed on the 27th, without allowing him time to appeal to the king, who, it was thought, would certainly have reprieved him. He died with great courage; and Albemarle's conduct in giving up the letters is very generally and deservedly condemned.—Guthrie, whom the Royalists in Scotland had selected as the second victim, was a seditious preacher who had personally affronted the king. He was tried and convicted on the 11th of April, and executed on the 1st of June.

The re-establishment of episcopacy in Scotland was greatly desired by Charles; for he had endured such indignities at the hands of the Presbyterians of that kingdom, that he entertained for them, and their form of church government, the greatest aversion. "Presbyterianism," he said to the Earl of Lauderdale, "was not, he thought, a religion for a gentleman, and he could not consent to its further continuance in Scotland." A foolish remark; for religion is alike for all. He was strengthened in opposition to this system by General (created Earl of) Middleton, and his other Scotch ministers, who told him that the people in general were so disgusted with the violence and tyranny of the ecclesiastics, that any other form of church government would be accepted with universal gratitude. Clarendon in England, and Ormond in Ireland, also strongly advocated the abolition of Presbyterianism in Scotland; and the resolution was taken to restore prelacy. The members of the assembly had sent Dr. Sharp, a Presbyterian minister, to represent them and their interests before the king and council. When in London he was persuaded to embrace episcopacy, and, tempted by the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, he consented. Four bishops were appointed at his recommendation; and he returned to Scotland to conduct ecclesiastical affairs in the interest of episcopacy, and not of his old faith of Presbyterianism.

On the 23rd of April, 1661, Charles was crowned; the rejoicings in the metropolis being universal on the occasion. On the 8th of May following, the new parliament assembled. Representing the then feeling of the nation, the great majority of members were Royalists and churchmen, only fifty-six being Presbyterians. This parliament greatly strengthened the power of the crown. It passed an act declaring that neither house, nor both together, had any legislative power independent of the king. Other acts were passed for the security of his person; for regulating petitions to either house; and for regulating corporations, so as to exclude all disloyal and improper persons. It was further ordered that the Solemn League and Covenant, and the act declaring England a commonwealth, should be burnt by the common hangman. An act was also passed restoring the bishops to their seats in the House of Lords; and, on the 30th of July, both houses adjourned to the 28th of November.

When the parliament met again, it passed, amongst other acts, the Act of Uniformity, which reinstated the church in the position it occupied before the civil war; and all clergymen were to be reordained, if they had not already received episcopal ordination. They were also to declare their assent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer; to take the oath of canonical obedience; to abjure the Solemn League and Covenant; and to renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretence whatever, against the king. Those clergymen who did not comply with these provisions by St. Bartholomew's Day, the 24th of August, were to be expelled from their livings. This act was a violation of the king's promises made at Breda, and he did not voluntarily give his assent to it. But the churchmen had, for many years, been subject to so many indignities, and such great injustice, that they were determined, now they had the power, to make their enemies feel something of what they had endured themselves.—This bill received the royal assent on the 18th of May, 1662; and, on the 19th, parliament was prorogued.

The court of Charles afforded a strong contrast to that of his father; the king himself, unfortunately, setting the example of immorality and licentiousness. His dissipation had plunged him deeply into debt; and, as one means of getting out of his difficulties, he resolved to marry. Several sovereigns were anxious to connect their families with the English monarch; but the Portuguese court offered the largest dowry. As Charles wanted money, he accepted the offer of that court; and although the lady was a Catholic, and therefore not very acceptable to the nation, he was married to the Princess Catharine of Braganza, who landed at Portsmouth on the 20th of May, 1662. She seems to have been an amiable and agreeable woman; but she never won the affection of the king, who neglected and insulted her from the first—even insisting that she should make a companion of Lady Castlemaine, a fascinating but worthless woman, who was his mistress. The poor queen shed many tears, and at first threatened to return to Portugal. Charles replied, with a cruel sneer, that she had better first inquire whether her family would receive her back; and, that she might have an opportunity of inquiring, he would send all her Portuguese attendants to their own country. He instantly put this threat into execution; and, after a time, the insulted and spirit-broken Catharine was compelled to submit to any indignity that he chose to impose upon her.

The hollow festivities attending Charles's marriage were scarcely over, when proceedings were recommenced against the republicans. At this time Vane and Lambert were tried, as before stated; and three other republican officers—Colonel Okey, Corbet, and Barkstead—who had been concerned in the execution of the late king. They had fled to Holland when Charles came to the throne, but were treacherously ensnared by a villain named Downing, and brought to England. There they were condemned, hanged, and embowelled. They all died glorying in the cause for which they suffered.

CHAPTER LXXXI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE SECOND.—A D. 1662—1677.



CHARLES was always in want of money, and ready to do anything to obtain it. Dunkirk, a famous seaport in the Low Countries, was added to the English territories by the Protector, Cromwell. The people were very proud of this acquisition, and considered the possession of it a defence against the aggressions of any continental sovereign. But Charles had to maintain an expensive garrison there, and was compelled to spend upon the place the money that he wanted for his gambling and his mistresses: so he sold Dunkirk to the ambitious French king, who very readily gave him £400,000 for it. A loud cry of indignation followed this disgraceful transaction.

Charles lived in open defiance of all moral restraint, and seemed quite indifferent to religion. That, however, was not the case; in his heart he loved the Roman Catholic form of worship, and was captivated by its state, its pomp, its license, and its slavish principles. He resolved, therefore, to show the papists all the encouragement he could. Accordingly, on the 29th of December, 1663, he issued what was called a Declaration of Indulgence, by which dissenters of all kinds were relieved from the severities of the Act of Uniformity. He said he wished to trust entirely to the affections of his people, and to bestow upon them that liberty of conscience he had promised when he ascended the throne. But the secret soon came out: he wished to allow a full toleration to Roman Catholics; and, as the popular prejudice was so great against them, he did not dare to show any open sympathy in their favour; he therefore concealed it under a concession to dissenters, or nonconformists generally. The parliament met soon after Charles had published his Declaration; and, much to his annoyance, opposed the project so strongly, that he was compelled to abandon it.

In the year 1664, Charles persuaded the parliament to repeal the Triennial Act—that is, the famous act which decreed that a parliament should be called at least once every three years; and provided, that if the king neglected to summon it, the people should return members of their own authority. Charles even had the boldness to say, in his opening speech to the house, that he would never *allow* a parliament to be assembled by the means prescribed in that statute. The servile parliament did as the king wished; and, without a murmur, destroyed one of the bulwarks of the nation's liberty.

This "Pension Parliament"—as it was called, many of the members being dependents upon the bounty of

the king and others—then passed the Conventicle Act. Its object was to compel dissenters to belong to the established church. It enacted, that wherever five persons more than belonged to the family, were collected in any house for the purpose of any religious service, every one of them was liable, for the first offence to be imprisoned three months, or pay £5; for the second, to be imprisoned six months, or pay £10; and for the third, to be transported for seven years, or pay £100. This cruel act was put into rigorous execution, and the prisons were filled with honest and religious men and women. Others were reduced to poverty by the fines imposed upon them; and some, who were lashed into desperate resistance, were even more severely punished. A similar act was passed in Scotland for the purpose of persecuting the Presbyterians, upon whom the most shameful cruelties were committed. The renegade, Archbishop Sharp, urged on these cruelties with a malignant severity.

The jealous feelings which had long existed between the English and the Dutch broke out again, and, after mutual aggressions, war was declared against the latter people. But before hostilities actually commenced, an awful calamity fell upon London. It was the GREAT PLAGUE of 1665—the most fearful pestilence that has ever visited this country. Within five months, about 100,000 victims were swept to a sudden grave. Business was at an end; a death-like gloom hung over the city, which seemed like some ruined and almost deserted place—a dreary wilderness of houses, on many of which was written the solemn words—"The Lord have mercy upon us!" The dead were placed in an open cart, without coffins, and buried in heaps in deep pits. The Puritans said that it was a visitation of God's anger upon the nation, on account of the wickedness of the king and the Royalists. The republican party had always been marked by earnest devotion and a grave sobriety of manners; but the Royalists were the very reverse, and endeavoured to show their attachment to the king by the gross debauchery of their lives.

The plague disappeared the year following that in which it broke out, and on the 2nd or 3rd of September of 1666, the GREAT FIRE of London occurred. It began in Pudding Lane, 202 feet from where the Monument now stands. The column is exactly its own length from the spot where the conflagration commenced. Most of the houses were then built of lath and plaster, and the streets were very narrow. An east wind blew; the flames, therefore, spread with fearful rapidity, and the fire raged with uncontrolled fury for three days. During the nights the scene was appalling, and the wind scattered burning brands and red-hot fragments of charred wood in every direction. The helpless people looked on in despair, and saw their habitations and property consumed by the roaring flames. The conflagration continued until two-thirds of London was a mass of blackened rafters and heaps of rubbish and cinders. It was calculated that 400 streets, and about 13,000 houses, were destroyed; the value of the property that perished could never be calculated. A report was spread that the city had been set on fire by the papists; but it turned out to be a groundless calumny. The rumour was, however, believed at the time; and as the Monument was built to commemorate the fire, an inscription was placed upon it attributing the calamity to the malice of the Roman Catholics. This inscription remained till it was effaced by order of the corporation of London, on the 6th of December, 1830. Some good often arises from the worst of evils; and so it was in this case; for the fire burnt away the remains of the plague, and destroyed all those contagious nests of filth which bred it. That terrible affliction, which used to break out in London with great fury twice or thrice in every century, has scarcely made its appearance since. The city, too, was rebuilt in a more substantial, elegant, and healthy manner; though not in any way comparable to the many improvements that have been made since then.

While the plague was spreading terror and mourning in London, James, the Duke of York, who commanded the English navy, gained, on the 3rd of June, 1665, a victory at sea over the Dutch, near Lowestoffe. James was courageous, but it was thought that he had not followed up the victory as he ought to have done; and therefore, although a large sum of money was voted to him by the Commons, yet they removed him from the command of the fleet, and appointed Lord Sandwich in his place.

The new commander, on the 3rd of August, attacked a rich merchant fleet of Dutch vessels in the port of Berghen; but he was driven off with loss and disgrace by the fire from the land batteries. During the month of June in the following year (1666), one of the most remarkable sea-fights that ever occurred took place between the English and Dutch. It continued for four days, and both sides fought with desperate bravery. On the third day the English began to retreat, and it is probable that their whole fleet would have been destroyed, and the naval glory of England have been eclipsed, had not Prince Rupert come up with more ships to their assistance. On the fourth day the battle was interrupted by a dense fog; and when it cleared up, the Dutch were seen sailing away. The English mariners were glad enough of this; as, for once, they found themselves over-matched. Both sides claimed the victory; but the English had suffered most severely, and had narrowly escaped utter destruction.

The following month these two gallant enemies

engaged again; but this time the English fleet won the victory, and having scattered the Dutch fleet, it again rode proudly on the waters with triumphal sway. It was, however, seen that two such nations were too equal in strength and courage for either to utterly put down the other, and both of them began to treat for peace. While the negotiations were going on, Charles desired that hostilities should be suspended; but the Dutch statesman, De Witt, would not consent to this. He had secretly resolved to strike a blow to regain the honour of his country; for he had learnt that the English fleet was left in a dilapidated and unguarded position. The truth was, that Charles had been spending the money which was intended for its assistance, in paying the great debts arising from his profligate pleasures. The Dutch, early in June, 1667, unexpectedly sailed into the Downs with a fleet of eighty vessels, besides fire-ships; blocked up the mouths of the Medway and the Thames; took Sheerness and destroyed its fortifications; broke down the defences of booms and chains thrown across the river, and sailed up as far as Chatham on one side, and Gravesend on the other, destroying all the English shipping they encountered, and spreading terror throughout the land. It was feared that they might even sail up to London itself. To prevent this calamity, nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, and four at Blackwall, for the purpose of blocking up the river; platforms of artillery were raised; the train-bands called out; and all was terror and confusion.

After doing an immense deal of mischief, and insulting our coasts, the Dutch returned home in triumph. Peace was then concluded at Breda, the treaty being signed on the 21st of July; and the English compelled to put up with their disgrace, and adopt a very humble tone. In the time of Elizabeth or Cromwell, such an aggression as this would not have been permitted to pass unavenged; but the energies of Englishmen seemed to be debased and crippled by the government of the supine and pleasure-loving Charles.

The disgraceful result of this contest with Holland led to the downfall of Charles's minister, Lord Clarendon —a man whose great talents were disgraced by his tyrannical principles. The people hated him, and said he was the cause of all their misfortunes; and a sort of league was formed against him by several members of the court and the House of Commons. Clarendon had been a faithful servant—indeed, almost a slave to the king, constantly doing such things in his cause as every just and noble mind would shrink from; but Charles at once abandoned him. He pretended, however, to be favourably disposed towards his old minister, and advised him to resign the seals, to avoid being impeached of treason. With much unwillingness, Clarendon at length complied. This, however, did not save him from the anger of the nation: he was impeached as a traitor, and fled to France just in time to save himself from being committed to the Tower. A sentence of banishment was then recorded against him: he lived in disgrace and exile for nearly seven years, and died of apoplexy, at Rouen, on the 9th of September, 1674.

Two events that occurred before Clarendon's flight, show the great intolerance of the English government. The first was the passing, by the parliament which met at Oxford in the year of the plague, of the Five Mile Act. This infamous law declared that every Nonconformist clergyman who taught in any school, or came within five miles (except as a traveller in passing) of any city or town where he had preached or taught since the passing of the Act of Uniformity, should be fined £40, and suffer six months' imprisonment, unless he had taken the oath of non-resistance. This bill was brought forward by the clergy, who, not content with removing their Presbyterian brethren from the church, wished by this means to ruin and crush them utterly.

The other event was an insurrection of the Covenanters in Scotland, provoked by the merciless barbarities of the Earl of Lauderdale and Archbishop Sharp. The latter was resolved that the people should adopt the episcopal form of religion, which they resolutely rejected. Troops of dragoons were employed to force them into compliance; and shameful cruelty was used, because they would not abandon a form of religion they loved. At length about 2,000 of the people rose in arms; but they were soon defeated, and the archbishop caused eleven of them to be hanged, on the 7th of December, 1666, upon one gibbet at Edinburgh. Thirty-five more were also executed in other parts of the country. But this was not all: many were subjected to a shocking kind of torture, called "the boot"—a frightful instrument, in which the legs of the victims were crushed to pieces. One enthusiastic young minister, named Maccail, was tortured in a hideous manner, and then put to death. He died in an ecstacy of fanatic joy, exclaiming, "Farewell, sun, moon, and stars; farewell world and time; farewell weak and frail body; welcome eternity; welcome angels and saints; welcome Saviour of the world; and welcome God, the judge of all!" By such savage means as these people were forced to go to church; and the archbishop thought he had attained his purpose, unaware of the fate that awaited him.

After the fall of Clarendon, the authority of government was exercised by five persons, who, on account of the first letters of their names, were called the CABAL, as their initials put together spelt that word. They were—Sir Thomas Clifford, the Earl of Arlington, the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Ashley (afterwards the famous and eccentric Earl of Shaftesbury), and the

Duke of Lauderdale. "To be a real, hearty, deadly enemy of the liberties and religion of the nation," says an eminent writer, "was in that dark conclave an honourable distinction." About this time a wise measure was carried out: it was a triple alliance, concluded on the 28th of January, 1668, between England, Holland and Sweden, for the purpose of checking the enormous ambition of the French king, the celebrated Louis XIV.

But while Charles's ministers consented to this alliance publicly, they and the unprincipled king entered into a secret one with the French monarch; in which, with a shameful want of faith, the king promised to join in a war upon Holland, and publicly to proclaim himself a *Catholic!* in consideration of receiving a yearly pension from Louis of £200,000, and a French army to suppress any rebellion which might arise in England in consequence. Louis then presented to Charles a very beautiful and fascinating young lady, who became his mistress: the English king was so delighted with her, that he conferred on her the title of Duchess of Portsmouth—probably not suspecting that she was placed near him as a spy, to reveal his secrets to the court of France.

Soon after, the Pension Parliament met again, and was as submissive as ever to the king's wishes. One gentleman, however, Sir John Coventry, made an observation which reflected on the king's immoral conduct, and Charles did not receive the remark with his usual good-humour. Coventry suffered for his boldness. Instigated by the Duke of Monmouth, two officers of the guards—Sir John Sandys, who was a lieutenant in the troop commanded by the duke, and O'Brien, a son of Lord Inchiquin—with several others, waylaid Sir John on the night of the 21st of December, 1670, with an intention to "mark him." They attacked him in the street, where he defended himself very bravely, and wounded several. At length he was overpowered and disarmed, and they then cut his nose to the bone, to teach him "to remember the respect he owed to the king." The Commons, indignant at this outrage, passed, before their prorogation, on the 22nd of April, 1671, an act "to prevent malicious maiming and wounding," which is still in force, and known as "The Coventry Act."

Another event that took place about this time brought great dishonour upon the king. A powerful and desperate ruffian, named Colonel Blood, resolved, for some injury he presumed he had received, to be revenged upon the Duke of Ormond. Assisted by five fellows of his own stamp, he surprised the duke as that nobleman was returning, in the night of the 6th of December, from a public dinner in the city. Having dragged him from his carriage, they bound him, and, mounting him on horseback behind one of them, galloped off in the direction of Tyburn, with an intention of hanging him upon the public gibbet there. The duke struggled so violently, that he and the fellow who rode before him rolled from the horse together, and the duke's servants came up and rescued him. Blood and his companions fired their pistols at him, though without effect, and rode off.

So profligate was the court of Charles, that the Duke of Buckingham was generally suspected of having instigated Blood to this infamous attempt. Ormond's son, Lord Ossary, a gallant young soldier, soon after went to court, and was surprised to see Buckingham standing by the side of the king. The anger of the young noble was roused, and his face flushed as he said to Buckingham—"My lord, I know that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father; but I give you warning—if by any means he come to a violent end, I shall not be at a loss to know the author. I shall consider you as the assassin; and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair; and I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word."

Although a great reward had been offered for the apprehension of the ruffians who had attempted the duke's life, Blood was not discovered until, on the 9th of May, 1671, he was arrested in the perpetration of another audacious crime. This was an attempt to steal the crown and regalia from the Tower. Having, in conjunction with some desperate associates, visited the jewel-house under pretence of seeing the emblems of royalty, they wounded, bound, and gagged Mr. Edwards, the aged keeper, and carried away the crown and sceptre; but fortunately, the robbers were arrested before they had time to escape altogether.

One of these ruffians was recognised as having been concerned in the attack on the Duke of Ormond, and it was directly supposed that Blood was the ringleader in that affair. The king was seized with a vulgar desire to see and speak to so bold a villain, and Blood was brought before him. There his conduct was just as audacious as his other exploits. He impudently avowed his crimes, and seemed to glory in them. His attempt to carry off the crown, he said, he could not deny; and that on the Duke of Ormond, he would not. When asked who were his accomplices, he replied that he would never betray a friend's life, nor ever deny his guilt, to save his own. He even confessed that, instigated by the severity exercised over the consciences of the godly in restraining the liberty of their religious assemblies, he had once intended to shoot the king, and had gone to Battersea for that purpose, when Charles was swimming in the Thames; but that his heart failed him at the sight of majesty, and he abandoned his wicked design. Charles was pleased with this bit of

gross flattery; and, to the surprise of every one, not only pardoned Blood, but gave him an estate in Ireland, worth £500 per annum, and even made quite a companion of him. Some supposed that Charles did it out of fear of Blood, and from a desire to secure his own safety; for the villain had said that he was indifferent to either life or death; but that he felt it a duty to warn the king of the danger which would attend his execution, as his comrades, who were very numerous, had bound themselves, by the most solemn oaths, to avenge the death of any of their members, and that no power or precaution could elude their attempts.—While the villain Blood was thus rewarded for attempting to steal the crown, poor old Mr. Edwards, who had been nearly killed in his attempts to defend it, was left unnoticed.

To relate all the events of this busy, though worthless time, would alone fill many volumes; only the most important can be alluded to. Charles, in the year 1672, by the advice of the Cabal ministry, shut up the exchequer—a public fraud, by which he gained about £1,500,000; but thousands of persons were reduced to ruin or great distress. On the 15th of March, in the same year, Charles, still aiming at the restoration of popery, and not having the courage to keep his word with the French king, and publicly profess it, exercised his power as head of the church, and issued a second Declaration of Indulgence. By this declaration, all penal laws were suspended against dissenters and Roman Catholics; Protestant dissenters were allowed publicly to perform the rites of their religion, and papists to exercise the functions of theirs, in private houses. This act, though proper in itself, was done for so mischievous a purpose, and in so illegal a manner, that it only irritated the nation.

In spite of his alliance with Holland against France, Charles, on the 27th of March, declared war against Holland, and prepared to assist France in its subjugation. Hostilities began by an attack on the Dutch Smyrna fleet, made before war was declared—a disgraceful act, "worthy," as a modern historian declares, "of a band of pirates rather than of a great nation." One Dutch man-of-war, and three or four merchantmen, of little value, were taken; but the rest of the fleet got safe into port. On the 28th of May, a great sea-fight took place off Solebay, in which the brave Dutch defended their national independence against the combined fleets of England and France. The conflict was a severe one, and the English admiral, Lord Sandwich, was killed; but neither side gained a victory. The ambitious Louis then poured his immense armies across the Rhine into the United Provinces, as the republic of Holland was called. The Dutch were, at first, seized with despair; but, after a time, they recovered their spirits, and, under the command of the Prince of Orange, checked the progress of the French. Charles sent a little army of 6,000 men to Holland to assist his ally; but the French and English together were not able to conquer the Dutch, though they suffered great losses. Charles concluded a separate peace with Holland on the 19th of February, 1674, by which all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war; and the Dutch paid to England 800,000 crowns (near £300,000). The war with France continued till 1678, when it was concluded by the peace of Nimeguen, signed on the 4th of August, and which contained terms very favourable to France; many towns captured by Louis's army being retained.

On the 4th of February, 1673, the parliament met, after a long recess. Extreme Royalists as most of the members were, they were indignant at the late proceedings of the king and his Cabal ministry. They were incensed at the manner in which Charles had issued the late Declaration of Indulgence, and passed a resolution, "That penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended by an act of parliament, and that an address and petition for satisfaction should be presented to the king." Charles was offended; but he saw, from the temper of the parliament, that resistance was useless, therefore he cancelled the Declaration of Indulgence, and even gave his sanction to a bill called the Test Act, to check the growth of popery. This intolerant law decreed, that every person who refused to receive the sacrament according to the church of England, and formally to renounce the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, should be excluded from all public employments. When this law passed, the king's brother, James, resigned his office of high admiral of the fleet, and soon afterwards publicly adopted the Catholic religion. This was at least honest, however wrong and imprudent; but the king would have taken fifty sacraments in an hypocritical manner, and have broken fifty oaths, sooner than have resigned the slightest advantage. He, too, was a papist at heart; but he thought his brother's open conduct perfectly absurd.

The Cabal ministry now came to an end; and the Earl of Shaftesbury, who saw that nothing more was to be got by advocating popery and despotism, changed his principles and turned patriot. In fact, this bad but brilliant man, who had done his best to crush what little remained of English liberty, seeing that the Commons possessed so much power, joined the Liberal party to secure his own safety.

During the year 1676, Charles, who would do anything for money, gladly became a pensioner of the French king, who engaged to pay him a yearly sum of £100,000—a sum which he afterwards doubled. This

was given to bind the English king to his service, and that he might be permitted to carry on his schemes of gigantic ambition without interruption. Of course this disgraceful bargain was kept a secret from the country. The following year (1677), the Prince of Orange visited England, and was married, on the 4th of November, to Charles's niece, the eldest daughter of the Duke of York. In after-times very important things arose from this marriage.

CHAPTER LXXXII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE SECOND.—A.D. 1678—1680.

THE alliance with France was very unpopular with the English people. As time progressed, and Charles's connection with Louis became more intimate, violent jealousies against the court began to be excited; there were also many rumours of noblemen—the Lord Treasurer, Earl Danby, amongst them—being bribed with French gold. Excitement against popery was also increasing: it was believed that an attempt was to be made to re-establish that religion; and the sects drew nearer to the church, under the conviction that another struggle with the "Man of Sin," as the pope was deemed, was at hand. This feeling was gaining strength day by day, when the nation was alarmed with the cry of a POPISH PLOT.

On the 12th of August, 1678, the king was walking in St. James's Park, when a man, named Kirby, thus addressed him—"Sir, keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life; and you may be shot in this very walk." Charles appointed a meeting with this person, who then informed him that two men, named Grove and Pickering, had engaged to shoot him, and that Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, had been bribed to poison him. He added, he had been told this by one Dr. Tongue, a Protestant clergyman, whom, if he were permitted, he would introduce to the king. Charles consented to see the clergyman, who brought with him a great roll of papers, containing the full particulars of the supposed plot, drawn out under forty-three heads. The king was too idle to read this long account: he suspected the whole affair was a mere invention, and he referred the matter to the Earl of Danby, his prime minister.

Dr. Tongue told the minister that he had not written the papers, but that they had been thrust under his door by a man whom he had seen, and thought he could produce, though he was not acquainted with him. He added, that this man wished his name to be kept secret, lest he should be murdered by the papists. The Earl of Danby wanted to arrest all the persons named in the roll of papers as conspirators; but the king would not permit this, and treated the whole affair as an impudent fabrication. Dr. Tongue, however, was not to be discouraged, and he informed Danby that a packet of letters was to be that night put into the post, directed to Bennifield, the confessor to the Duke of York, and that they contained further revelations. These letters had already (on the 31st of August) been received by Bennifield, who had shown them to the duke, saying, that he knew they were not in the handwriting of the persons whose names were attached to them, and that he feared there was some malignant design against him. This clumsy forgery was thus detected; and, in spite of the excited state of the nation about popery, the whole affair might have been forgotten, had it not been for a mysterious incident which has never yet been either explained or understood.

Titus Oates, the person whom Dr. Tongue said had thrust the papers containing the particulars of the plot beneath his door, suddenly made his appearance. Presenting himself before Sir Edmonbury Godfrey, an active magistrate of Westminster, he not only took his oath that the plot he had spoken of was a real one, but he added thirty-eight more articles to the original list of headings. Titus Oates was then summoned before the council of state, and there he delivered the following extraordinary narrative.

The pope, he said, claimed possession of the sovereignty of England, on account of the heresy of the king and the people, and had given his supreme authority over it to the Society of Jesuits. That the Jesuits, in consequence, had undertaken to expel the Protestant religion, and restore the Catholic faith. That the king, whom they called the Black Bastard, was to be murdered. That £10,000 had been offered to the queen's physician if he would poison Charles; that he himself had been urged to shoot him; and that Grove and Pickering had agreed to shoot him with silver bullets. That a wager had been laid that

the king should eat no more Christmas pies; and that if he would not become R. C. (Roman Catholic), he should no longer be C. R. (Charles Rex.) That the Jesuits had been the authors of the great fire of London; and that they had resolved to burn all the chief cities of England. That there were 20,000 papists in London who would rise in insurrection at a day's notice; and Jennison, a Jesuit, had said that they might easily cut the throats of 100,000 Protestants. That the pope, by a secret bull, had filled up all the bishoprics and dignities in the church, and appointed Lord Arundel to be Chancellor; Lord Powis, Treasurer; Sir William Godolphin, Privy Seal; Mr. Coleman (secretary to the Duke of York), to be the Secretary of State; Mr. Langhorne, Attorney-General; Lord Bellasis, General of the Papal Army; Lord Petre, Lieutenant-General; Lord Stafford, Paymaster; and that inferior commissions were to be given to other Catholic gentlemen all over England. That Coleman had sent £200,000 to Ireland to carry out the rebellion there, and the French king was to assist by landing an army on that island. That after the murder of the king, the crown was to be offered to the Catholic Duke of York, on condition that he consented to receive it as a gift from the pope, to pardon the murderers of his brother, and utterly to extirpate the Protestant religion: if he would not consent to these demands, he also was to be put to death.

Titus Oates, who pretended to have got all this information, was a worthless fellow, whose word could not be relied on. He was the son of an Anabaptist preacher; was born in 1619; and having received a university education, took orders in the church. After having obtained a living, he was indicted for perjury, and saved himself from punishment by flight. Notwithstanding this, he obtained a situation as chaplain on board the fleet, but was dismissed on account of his shameful conduct. He then became a convert to the papists, though he afterwards boasted that this conversion was only a pretence, in order to learn their secrets and betray them. After he had lived for some time at the College of Jesus, at St. Omer's, the Jesuits got tired of him, and dismissed him; and it is very likely that want, and a feeling of revenge, induced him to contrive the plot of which he accused the Catholics. At the same time, it is probable that while he lived among the Jesuits he may have heard some wild talk about the best means for restoring popery in England, which supplied him with hints for his improbable revelations.

Oates was asked if he had any letters or papers in evidence of the truth of what he asserted; but he had not a scrap. The second time he was examined, the king was present in the council, and convicted him of gross prevarication. Still the matter became the subject of general attention; and Coleman, the Duke of York's secretary, who was mentioned by Oates as the principal conspirator, was arrested.

Now came the mysterious event that gave an air of truth to the whole affair. Sir Edmonbury Godfrey, the magistrate who had taken Oates's deposition, after having been missed for six days, was discovered, on the 17th of October, lying dead in a ditch near Primrose Hill. The Catholics declared that he must have committed suicide; but from the appearance of the corpse, that was impossible. His own sword was thrust through his body; but there was no blood upon his clothes, and his shoes were quite clean, which they would scarcely have been if he had walked to that country spot in the month of October. His money was in his pocket, and his rings upon his fingers; but his neck was broken, and around it a livid mark, about an inch broad, which showed plainly enough that he had been strangled. Besides this, his breast was covered with bruises, which looked as if he had struggled violently; and every one declared that he must have been first murdered, and then carried to that obscure spot, where his sword had been thrust into him to lead people to believe he had destroyed himself.

To describe the excitement that prevailed throughout the country on the discovery of this dark crime, is impossible; a loud cry of terror and indignation resounded through the land; and the people became convinced that a horrible conspiracy existed among the papists to murder all the Protestants, and change the religion of England. The funeral of the unfortunate magistrate was attended by an immense procession, headed by seventy-two Protestant clergymen: every one dreaded assassination, and the citizens placed London in a state of defence. By whom, or for what purpose, Sir Edmonbury Godfrey was murdered, is known only to God. He might have been put to death by some zealous popish ruffians; but if so, his murder seems to have had no connection with the plot spoken of by Oates.

Another circumstance helped to keep up the alarm and the excitement of the nation. The duke's secretary, Coleman, had destroyed most of his papers; but a few letters remained, which contained some startling expressions. They were addressed to Father la Chaise, confessor to the French king, and to the pope's nuncio at Brussels. Their object was to obtain money from the pope to re-establish the Catholic religion in England. In one of these letters Coleman said—"We are about a great work—no less than the conversion of three kingdoms, and the total and utter subversion and subduing of that pestilent heresy which has domineered over great part of this northern world a long

time; there never was such hope of success since the death of Queen Mary as now in our days." If letters containing many similar passages to this had been overlooked through negligence, what might not be expected from those which had been destroyed? There is little doubt that a scheme against the religion and liberty of the country was on foot, and that both the king and the Duke of York were concerned in it; but that plot, and the one that Oates had fabricated, had no connection, though the nation now insisted on confounding them together. In consequence of these letters, Coleman was condemned and executed as a traitor.

On the 21st of October, while the country was in this state of excitement, the parliament met; and the members gave full credit to the revelations of Titus Oates. Calling him before them, they proclaimed him the saviour of the nation, and gave him a pension of £1,200 a year, and a guard to protect him from being murdered. They also committed the Catholic lords—Stafford, Powis, Petre, Arundel, and Bellasis—to the Tower; and both houses voted, "That the Lords and Commons are of opinion, that there hath been, and still is, a hellish plot, contrived and carried on by the popish recusants, for assassinating the king, for subverting the government, and for rooting out and destroying the Protestant religion."

The great reward bestowed upon Titus Oates encouraged another vagabond to act a similar part. This was William Bedloe. He had been a stable-boy, but had risen to be a gentleman's courier, in which situation he had travelled over many parts of Europe. For a long time he got a living by swindling, and had more than once been imprisoned for theft. A reward of £500 being offered for the discovery of the murderers of Sir Edmonbury Godfrey, this man came forward and declared he could reveal them. He said that the murder had been committed at Somerset House, where the queen lived; that he had himself seen the body there: and that Le Fevre, a Jesuit, had told him, that he and another priest, together with some of the queen's servants, had smothered the magistrate, and, several nights afterwards, removed his body to the ditch where he was afterwards found. This fellow equivocated terribly; and, on his second examination, pretended to have a knowledge of the plot as well as of the murder. Then he said, that while travelling abroad, he had mixed with the Jesuits, from whom he had learnt that the king was to be murdered; that an army of 10,000 men was to be landed at Hull: that 20,000 or 30,000 pilgrims were to arrive from Spain; and that by their means the English army, the citizens of London, and all persons noted for Protestantism, were to be massacred. This shocking plot, he added, was known to all the considerable Catholics in England, who had been sworn upon the sacrament to assist in its execution.

Though this statement was plainly a pack of impudent falsehoods, which there was not one jot of evidence to prove, yet it obtained pretty general belief, and the consternation of the people rose into a perfect storm of excitement and fury. Oates was afraid of being outdone in lying; and as he knew that Charles had a dislike to the queen, he accused that neglected lady of a plot to murder her husband, and even impeached her of treason at the bar of the House of Commons. But this seemed too incredible: Charles was angry, and the matter was allowed to drop.

Now came the tragic part of the business—the trial and execution of the persons denounced by Oates as being concerned in the plot. Stayley, a Catholic banker, was executed; Grove, Pickering, and Father Ireland were put to death for the assumed intention of murdering the king. Three men, named Hill, Green, and Bury, were also hanged for the murder of the magistrate, on the evidence of Bedloe and a silversmith, named Prance, whose statements were drawn from him by torture, and afterwards solemnly denied.

Shortly after these sad events, Charles's minister, the Earl of Danby, was impeached by the Commons, because they discovered some letters written by him to the French king, begging money for his own sovereign. This money was of course to be the price of some political treachery; and as the letters were written by Charles's orders, he felt bound to protect his own minister. He therefore dissolved the parliament, to prevent it from carrying on the impeachment. The dissolution took place on the 24th of January, 1679, after the House of Commons had sat for more than seventeen years.

The king's want of money obliged him to summon another parliament immediately. During the elections there was a strong contest of parties; the court interested itself actively in the proceedings; but such was the strong torrent of prejudice, and strong religious faith united, that no influence could prevail against it. The consequence was, that the great majority of the new parliament was composed of the court and ministry, and haters of popery. Indeed, the feeling of the country was so alarming, that Charles persuaded his popish brother, James, to retire for a time to Brussels. The new parliament assembled on the 6th of March, 1679. Its first act was, to proceed with the impeachment of the king's minister, the Earl of Danby. The king did all he could to shield the earl; but Danby, after seeking his safety in flight, surrendered himself on the 16th of April, and was committed to the Tower.

Charles wished to replace Danby by Sir William Temple, a statesman who had distinguished himself on

several occasions. By his recommendation, with a view to avert the jealousies of the people, and restore confidence between them and the sovereign, a new privy council of thirty persons was constituted, amongst whom were the most popular opponents of the court party; and the chief power of the state was to be given into their hands. The head of this council was the changeable Earl of Shaftesbury, who still did all in his power to vex the king and his partisans. He even prevailed on the Commons to pass a bill excluding the Duke of York from the throne, because he was a papist; but it was rejected by the House of Lords when sent to them for their sanction. The Commons, however, resolved to curb the power of the king, which they felt had for some time been growing so great as to threaten the extinction of the national freedom. They declared a standing army and the king's guards to be illegal; they began to examine into pensions and secret service money; and passed the famous Habeas Corpus Act, which is very justly considered one of the bulwarks of English liberty. By it, any person committed to prison can demand his habeas corpus—that is, a writ from a judge commanding his gaolers to produce him in court, and publicly state the cause of his arrest and imprisonment. Then, if no crime is proved against him, he can demand his discharge, and, after having been set at liberty by order of the court, he can never be re-committed for the same offence. This act prevented all despotic imprisonments of those who had incurred the displeasure of the king.

The trial of Danby and the five papist lords also imprisoned in the Tower, had been proceeded with. It gave rise to a dispute between the Lords and Commons, as to the right of the bishops to vote on that trial; and the Commons were preparing a remonstrance, which would have still more inflamed the minds of the nation against popery. With a view to put a stop to the quarrel between the two Houses, and to prevent the appeal to the people, Charles, on the 13th of May, prorogued parliament; and, on the 10th of July, dissolved the Commons without the consent of the council of thirty. Great excitement prevailed in consequence; and the Earl of Shaftesbury even declared publicly that he would have the head of the man who advised the king to take that step.

Before another parliament assembled more persons fell victims to the pretended plot. Five unhappy Jesuits, named Whitbread (the provincial), Fenwick, Harcourt, Gavan, and Turner, together with Langhorne, a famous Catholic lawyer, were, on the 13th of June, condemned for being concerned in that assumed conspiracy, and, on the 28th, were all executed. Titus Oates, the chief witness against them, was afterwards convicted of having perjured himself upon this occasion. The queen's physician, Sir George Wakeman, who had been accused of accepting a bribe to poison the king, was also tried, but acquitted. But such was the fear and hatred of popery now felt by the people, that eight Catholic priests were soon after executed, merely for performing the rites of their religion.

Before this event, Archbishop Sharp had been put to death by the Covenanters in Scotland. Six years before, he had been fired at by an enthusiast, named Mitchel, though the assassin missed his aim; but the gray hairs of the priest were doomed to descend to a blood-stained grave. The Scottish people, who still bitterly hated the episcopal church which had been forced upon them, were treated with great severity by Sharp and the Duke of Lauderdale, who governed their country. The Covenanters, driven out of their chapels, and not even permitted to meet for religious worship in each other's houses, took to the field and forest, and praised God in their own way under the magnificent blue vault of heaven.

Even there they were not allowed to assemble in safety; and regiments of dragoons were employed by Lauderdale to disperse these prayer-meetings, and arrest those who attended them. Death and a confiscation of all their property was the punishment decreed against such as were taken. A large reward was also offered to those who would seize any of these unhappy men, and they were to be held guiltless of any murder they might commit in doing so. The persecuted Covenanters were obliged to arm in self-defence; and they went to their prayer-meetings in the wild leafy temples of nature, with a Bible in one hand and a sharp broadsword in the other. Many times were their congregations alarmed by the appearance of the king's troops: there was a cloud of dust, a cry of terror, a savage attack, and soon the wild moor or romantic hill-side was wet with blood, and dotted with the ghastly corpses of those who, but a few minutes before, were peacefully uttering the words of prayer or thanksgiving to their God. When the royal troops, or the human bloodhounds of Sharp and Lauderdale, were victorious in these wild conflicts, they are said (we hope untruly) to have spared no one—man or woman, white-haired grandfather, or little rosy-lipped, lisping child. At one field conventicle alone, it is recorded that upwards of 100 unoffending persons were thus slaughtered in cold blood.

The wretched Covenanters were driven into a state of frenzy; and a band of them resolved to take the life of a ruffian, named Carmichael, who was employed by Archbishop Sharp in arresting those who would not conform to the church. On Saturday, the 3rd of May, 1679, they laid wait for him by the road-side, intending to put him to death as he returned from hunting on the moors. By some accident they missed him, and were

about to separate and return to their homes, when a little boy cried out, "There goes the bishop!" Looking in the direction the child pointed, they saw the coach of Archbishop Sharp approaching, drawn by six horses. "Truly," said one of them, "this is of God; the Lord hath delivered the wretch into our hands."

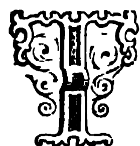
This saying was recognised as a truth by that little band of fanatics; and, in an instant, nine armed horsemen were in pursuit of the archbishop, against whom they were the more enraged for his having left the Presbyterian church; allured, as they believed, by the wealth and position offered him in the episcopal one. When he beheld them he turned to his daughter, who sat by his side, and exclaimed, "The Lord have mercy on me, my dear child, for I am gone!" The assassins then dragged him from the carriage, and, notwithstanding his appeals for mercy, and the tears and cries of his daughter, slew him with many wounds. After this, they retired, and spent the rest of the day in prayer; for they sincerely believed that, in thus destroying the persecutor of their brethren, they were doing an act acceptable in the sight of God. Still it was a murder—an awful and irrevocable crime, hateful to the Almighty, and condemned by human laws. It gave the ministers a pretext—which they eagerly seized—for more violent persecutions against the fanatics.

There was great joy in Scotland when the death of the archbishop was known. On the 29th of the same month (the anniversary of Charles's restoration), a body of armed men entered Rutherglen, a small borough near Glasgow, put out the bonfires that were burning in honour of the king, and fixed a declaration against bishops to the market-cross. An insurrection followed; and the Covenanters were defeated in an engagement at Bothwell Bridge, fought on Sunday, the 22nd of June. The vanquished were not treated with so much severity as might have been expected; for Charles was alarmed, knowing that a large party in England wished well to the Covenanters, and would have joined them had they been successful.

There had been so much excitement about plots, and the discoverers had been so handsomely rewarded, that a vagabond named Dangerfield—a fellow who had been branded, whipped, and pilloried as a felon—pretended that he had discovered a plot of the Presbyterians against the life and government of the king. Charles was pleased that a conspiracy was charged against those whom he considered his enemies, and gave the man forty guineas; but he was only a clumsy rogue, and his plot was so evident a forgery, that nobody believed it. Dangerfield soon saw that he had made a mistake, and that to get up an excitement he must find out a popish plot, and not a Presbyterian one. Therefore he altered his plan, and declared that he had been induced, by some Catholic ladies, to invent a sham plot of the Presbyterians, for the purpose of directing attention from a real one by the Catholics. He added, that documents in proof of this second plot would be found in a meal-tub, in the house of Mrs. Cellier, a Catholic midwife. This foolish affair was therefore called "The Meal-tub Plot." The papers were certainly found, because Dangerfield had put them in the tub; and Mrs. Cellier was sent to prison. The informer, however, fell into contempt, and in the next reign he was severely punished for his imposture.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE SECOND.—A.D. 1680—1685.



THE Duke of York had returned from abroad; and the bold and talented Earl of Shaftesbury attended in Westminster Hall, followed by many nobles and gentlemen, and presented to the grand jury of Middlesex reasons for indicting him as a popish recusant. The result of this resolute act might have been the prosecution of the heir to the throne as a felon, had not the judges in alarm dismissed the jury. Charles had an illegitimate son, on whom he had bestowed the title of Duke of Monmouth. He was a Protestant, and much looked up to by the people; for there was a story abroad that the king had really been married to his mother, and that he was the true heir to the throne. This was not the case; and Charles had even publicly declared him to be illegitimate. But Monmouth hoped to succeed his father on the throne, and there was a bitter jealousy in consequence between him and the Duke of York. The popish duke, however, was so much hated, that the king thought it necessary to desire him to retire to Edinburgh. He also sent Monmouth to the continent.

The parliament assembled on the 21st of October, 1680, when the excitement about the popish plot and

the hatred of popery was just as violent as ever. The infamous Dangerfield even accused the Duke of York of instigating him, not only to frame his false plot against the Presbyterians, but even to murder the king. This, very probably, was believed; but the Commons proceeded to consider how they should suppress popery, and prevent a popish successor to the crown. For this purpose they brought forward the famous Exclusion Bill, by which the Duke of York was to be rendered incapable of ever becoming king. It passed the Commons in November by a great majority, but was rejected by the Lords, on the 15th of that month, by a majority of 63 against 30.

Disappointed on this subject, the Commons resolved to wreak their anger on the Catholic lords in the Tower, who had been arrested in consequence of the revelations of Titus Oates about the pretended popish plot. Lord Stafford, an aged peer, was tried for being concerned in it. The trial continued from the 30th of November to the 7th of December, when the noble earl was condemned, chiefly on the evidence of Oates. He was executed on the 29th of December, though generally believed to be innocent. His was the last blood shed on account of that infamous imposture.

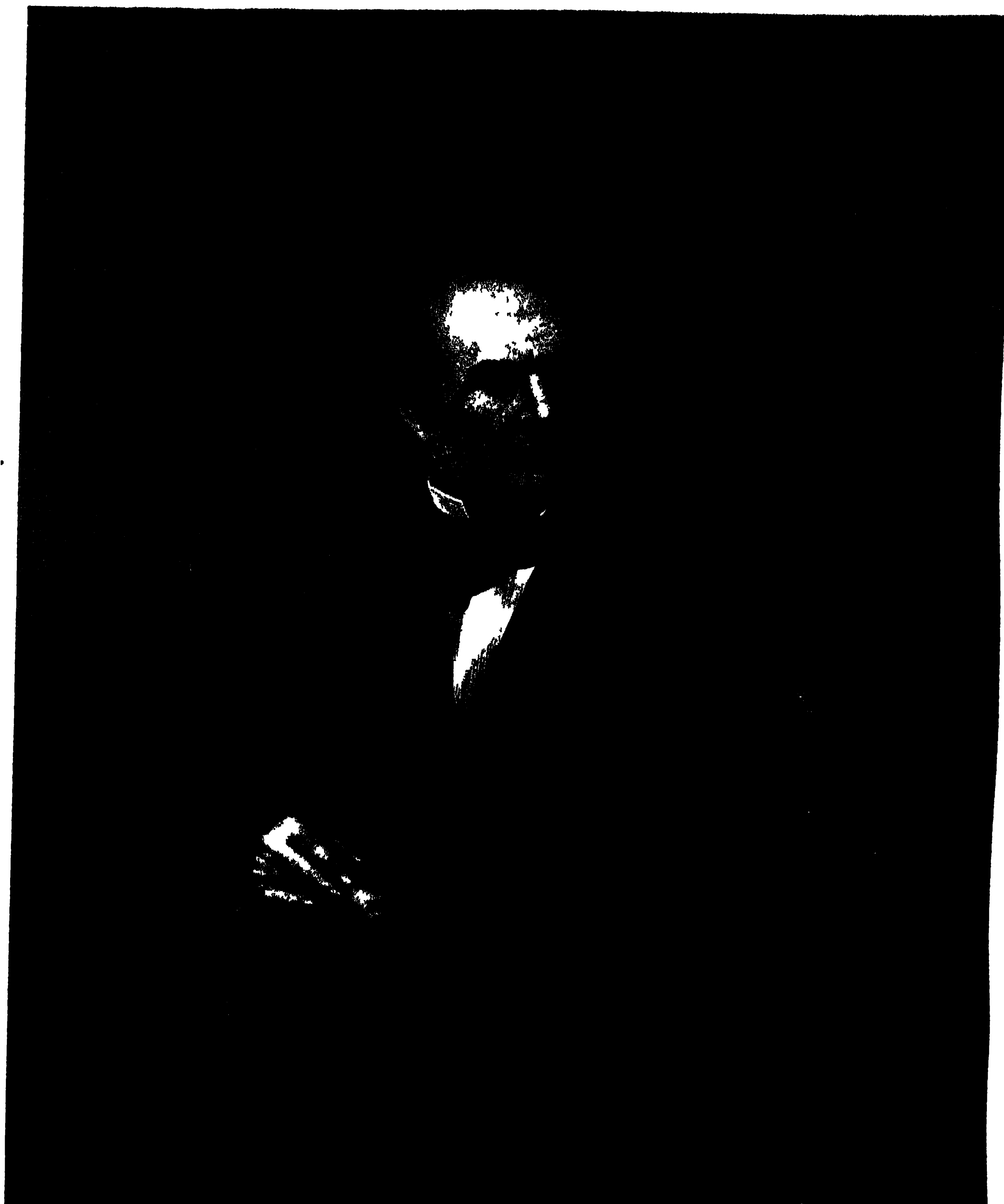
Still the Commons persevered about the Exclusion Bill, and refused to vote the king any supplies of money without it. They also brought forward bills for banishing the most distinguished papists of the country; for getting up a Protestant association against popery; for making the raising of money without the consent of parliament high treason; for securing the regular meeting of parliament; and for dismissing corrupt judges. They then addressed a remonstrance to the king, requiring him to consent to the exclusion of his brother from the throne. Charles replied that he could not consent to a bill which had been rejected by the Lords; but he said he would join them in passing any measures for the safety of the Protestant religion, and reminded them that he must have some supplies. The excitement of the Commons rose into fury, and they resolved that no money should be granted to the king until he would consent to the exclusion of the Duke of York. The storm of revolution was gathering; and it seemed as if another war would break out between the king and the parliament—such a war as might, perhaps, lead Charles to perish on the scaffold at Whitehall, as his father had done. He therefore, on the 8th of January, 1681, prorogued the two Houses; and, on the 19th, dissolved the Commons. On the morning of prorogation that House passed some startling votes; the chief of which was, that all who attempted to defeat the Exclusion Bill were traitors, who had sold the interests of their country to France.

Charles appointed a new parliament to meet at Oxford, where it was opened on the 21st of March. Both king and parliament went to that city surrounded by guards, servants, and friends; and the party opposed to the court wore ribbons round their hats, with the inscription of "No popery! No slavery!" Charles tried to make up matters; but this parliament was just as resolved upon the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession as the last had been. Determined not to sacrifice his brother (the only person for whom he seems not to have felt a selfish indifference), and perplexed as to what he should do, Charles dissolved this parliament after it had sat only a week. He never called another during the four remaining years of his life.

Not long before, the party words WHIG and TORY first came into use—foolish terms, as all nicknames are; yet they have continued in use to the present day; though the Tory party now is slowly disappearing. Those statesmen who still retain the Tory opinions hold them in a much milder form, and call themselves Conservatives: from "to conserve" or preserve the laws and customs of past times—a thing which it is only wise to do when those laws and customs are good and useful ones; and the Conservatives profess that they wish to preserve no others. The Tories of Charles's time, however, taught that kings reigned by divine right; that they could not err; that the duty of all subjects was passive obedience; that they had no right even to question what the king did; and that no tyranny, no cruelty, no wrong, however monstrous on his part, could justify resistance to his will. They held the church in a similar veneration; and argued, that the people ought to pay a blind, unreasoning submission to the bishops, under all circumstances, even though those bishops (as was too often the case) were slavish parasites, concealed papists, and acting in open defiance to the revealed will of God. The doctrines of the Tories were natural to wealthy and selfish men; but they tended to make the rich richer, the poor poorer, and to deprive the nation of all energy and spirit.

The principles of the Whigs were more liberal and generous. They taught that all power of the state was derived from the people; that the king had no right from heaven, but reigned by consent of the people, and was responsible to them for any gross misconduct. They respected the church and the bishops; but they regarded the latter as erring men, who were sometimes wrong in their decisions; and they maintained the glorious principle of the Reformation—that all persons had a right to read the Bible for themselves, and to exercise their own private judgment upon it, and that religion was a matter between them and their God.

Having dissolved his last parliament, Charles resolved to govern illegally without those assemblies, and to rule his people with a rod of iron. The Earl of Shaftes-



bury was arrested on a charge of instigating insurrection; and Stephen College, a joiner, famous for his zeal against popery, was tried for treason, because he had attended at Oxford, armed with a sword and pistols, while the parliament and the king were there. He was charged with having accused the king of tyranny and popery, and of having conspired to seize his person. This last was a falsehood, and Charles and his courtiers knew it; but they contrived to get the poor joiner hanged notwithstanding. He was condemned on the 17th, and executed on the 31st, of August. The Earl of Shaftesbury, however, was acquitted—to the great joy of the people, although many perjured witnesses were employed to crush him.

James, the Duke of York, had been for some time governing in Scotland, with the title of King's Commissioner; and he treated the unhappy people of that country with despotic severity. Liberty seemed crushed in Scotland, and the nation submitted in despair. But the courage of her people could never be quite extinguished even in that unhappy time. A band of Covenanters, led by a brave preacher, named Cameron, fixed, early in 1680, a paper to the market-cross of Sanquhar, in which they renounced Charles Stuart as their king; and, under the banner of the Lord Jesus Christ, declared war against him as a traitor and usurper; they also expressed their anger at having the Duke of York, a professed papist, set in authority over them. Poor Cameron and many of his followers were killed in an action with the king's troops at Aird's Moss, in June of that year. Donald Cargill, another enthusiastic preacher, then pronounced excommunication against King Charles, for what he truly called his mocking of God, his perjury, adultery, drunkenness, and dissembling with God and man. Donald Cargill also included the Duke of York, and other persecutors of his country, in this spiritual condemnation. This preacher was taken prisoner in the summer of 1681; and, with four of his followers, tried at Edinburgh, for rebellion, on the 26th of July: all were found guilty, and they were executed on the 27th. Still greater atrocities were committed, according to some authorities, while James remained in Scotland. One sufferer was the Earl of Argyll, who, for qualifying the test he took in the duke's presence, on the 3rd of November, as a privy councillor, and which passed unnoticed at the time, was, on the 9th, arrested. He was placed upon his trial on the 12th of December, and found guilty of treason and leasing-making. He made his escape from prison; but all his estates were confiscated. James returned to England at the close of 1681; and narrowly escaped being drowned on his passage.

At this time the Duke of Monmouth returned to England without his father's consent. He was a Protestant; and being a great favourite of the people, was received with enthusiasm. He made a stately progress through the kingdom with all the pomp of an actual sovereign, and adopted every means of endearing himself to the nation, in the hope of being made king after his father's death, instead of his popish uncle. At every place he dined he ordered 200 dishes to be prepared; and, at Liverpool, he even practised the royal blasphemy of touching persons afflicted with the king's evil. Though a man of no great heart or principle, he was exactly the person to become very popular. He was handsome, cheerful, gracious in his manners, graceful in his demeanour, and very skilful in all manly, country diversions, of which he was extremely fond. Everywhere the people welcomed him with shouts; but during this time the jealous Duke of York was at work, and Monmouth was suddenly arrested; but was soon liberated on bail.

Since Charles had so abruptly dissolved the parliament at Oxford, his power had been increasing, and he was now almost an absolute sovereign. The country thought he had been pressed too severely by the Liberals and the no-popery party, and the king's popularity revived. The power of the crown became immense, and he used it in an arbitrary manner. The citizens of London had always elected their own sheriffs; but, in 1682, Charles interfered, and two court partisans were placed in those important positions against the will of those citizens—sometimes called Whigs, and sometimes the country party. Charles's object was, that Tory sheriffs should appoint Tory juries, who would give any verdicts he might wish against such as opposed his despotism.

The effect of the king's interference in this way was soon discovered. A wealthy citizen, named Pilkington, who was a Whig, or patriot, had an action for libel brought against him by the Duke of York. Pilkington had refused, naturally enough, to join in a city deputation to congratulate James on his return from Scotland, and the refusal was uttered in an indecently violent manner. "He burnt the city at the time of the great fire," said Pilkington, "and he is now coming with his papists to cut our throats." The duke laid his damages at the enormous sum of £100,000, and the Tory judge and jury dishonestly awarded it. The object was utterly to ruin Mr. Pilkington, who was committed to prison because he would not pay such heavy damages. There he remained for some time, without a hope that he would ever be released and breathe the fresh air in freedom again.

After this, Charles determined to terrify the citizens into a servile submission to all his tyrannies. By some legal chicanery London was deprived of its charter, and only obtained it again on the mayor and council sub-

mitting to the most degrading interference, by the king, with their affairs. Other corporations were driven into a surrender of their charters, and large sums of money extorted before they were again granted. All offices of power and profit were now at the disposal of Charles; and no English sovereign ever exercised such despotic authority.

The Earl of Shaftesbury and other statesmen, who stood up for the liberty of the nation, now felt sure that their ruin, and the prostration of the English character, were sought for by the king and his corrupt courtiers. The wild, changeable Shaftesbury knew that there was no safety for him; for, in the heat of his temper, he had once declared, "That he would walk the king leisurely out of his dominions, and make the Duke of York a vagabond upon the earth, like Cain." Therefore, in the summer of 1682, he entered into a conspiracy against the king, in company with the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell, Lord Essex, Lord Howard, Mr. Algernon Sidney, and Mr. John Hampden, grandson of the great patriot. They were scarcely agreed among themselves as to what they intended to do; but all their schemes were desperate ones. Some wished to place Monmouth on the throne; others desired to restore the republic; but all wished to provide against tyranny and popery by driving Charles and his brother James from the country.

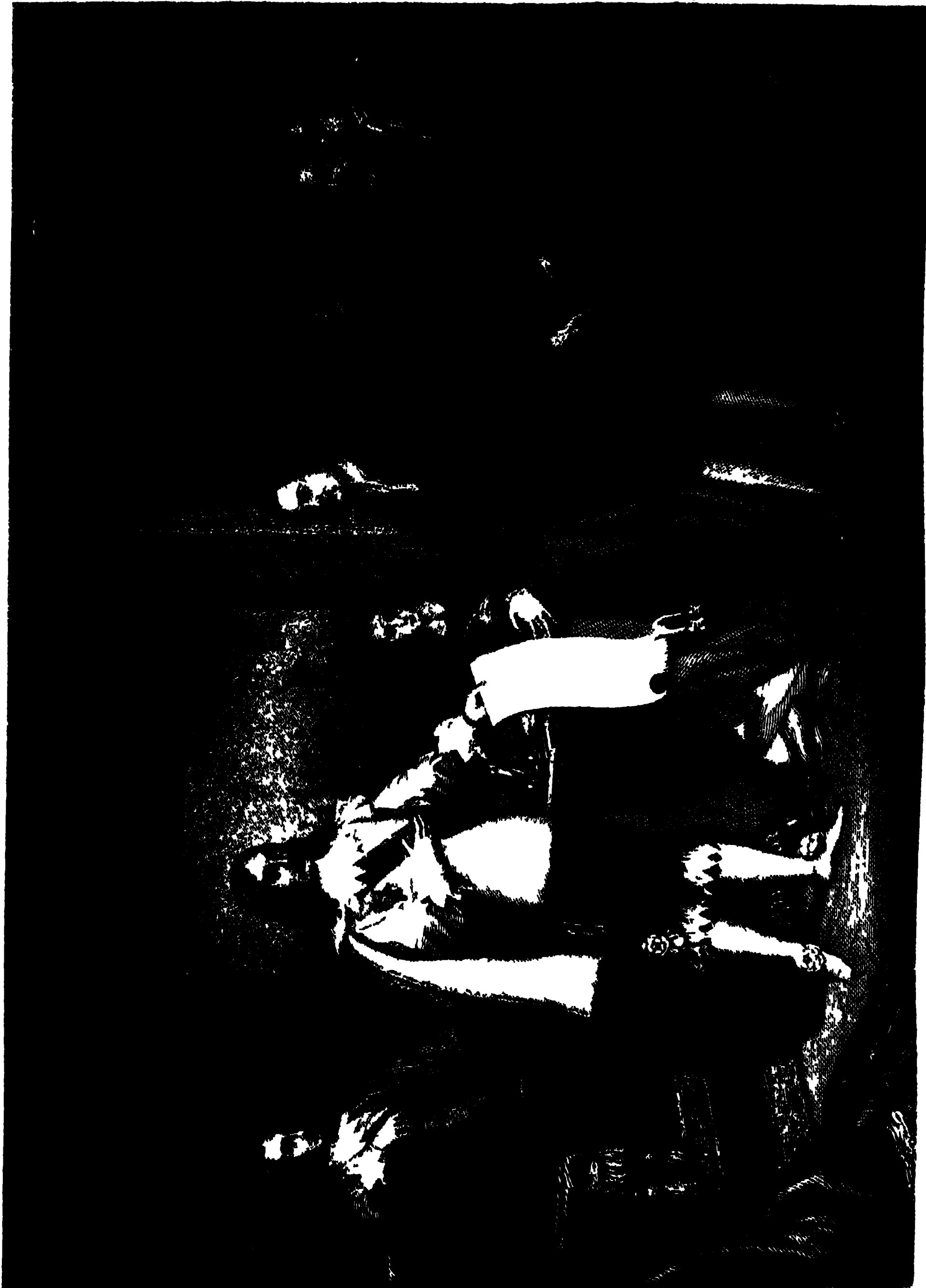
The Earl of Shaftesbury undertook to raise 10,000 "brisk boys" in the city; while the other conspirators were to induce the people to rise in arms in various parts of the kingdom. But the dilatory nature of his associates vexed Shaftesbury; they lost so much time that he became alarmed for his safety, which he secured by a flight to Holland, where he died on the 21st of January, 1683. His disorder was gout in the stomach; but disappointment at the failure of his plan for the overthrow of the king, no doubt contributed to his death. He was the most remarkable man of his time. Brilliant, courageous, and profligate, he had been as base a courtier as he was latterly a violent opponent of tyranny. He changed his principles just as he was pleased or offended with either party, and served his country, not because he loved it, but because he hated its oppressors. A distinguished writer of that time describes him as—

> "In friendship false, implacable in hate;
> Resolved to *ruin*, or to *rule* the state."

Shaftesbury's flight and death did not put an end to the conspiracy. So far from that, a new plot was got up, by a number of persons of inferior rank, to murder the king and the Duke of York. These men had some connection with Monmouth, Russell, Sidney, and the chief conspirators; but it does not seem that the latter sanctioned, or even knew of the proposed murders. Among the inferior conspirators was a maltster, named Rumbald, who had a farm called the Rye House, which lay on the road to Newmarket, where the king went once a year, that he might enjoy the races. It was proposed that, as he returned, several of the conspirators should fire at him with blunderbusses from the hedge by the road-side, and then make their escape across the fields to some distant part of the country. From the name of Rumbald's farm this was called "The Rye-House Plot," and the attempt took place in March, 1683. Some writers doubt if it was ever intended to assassinate the king at all, and whether this was not a sham conspiracy, like the popish plot. However that may be, the king left Newmarket a few days before he was expected, on account of a destructive fire which took place there; and the idea of murdering him was not put into practice.

A man of the name of Keeling, a salter, of London, was one of the conspirators. He revealed the particulars of the plot to the government, and some of his companions were immediately arrested. One of them, a wine merchant, named Shepherd, accused the Duke of Monmouth, Lords Grey and Russell, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Colonel Rumsey, and Ferguson, a preacher, of being implicated in the design on the lives of the king and Duke of York. Monmouth, the king's natural son, took to flight, but the others were arrested. Lord Howard was also taken, and, to save his life, promised to reveal everything against his associates. In consequence of his revelations, Lord Essex, Mr. Algernon Sidney, and Mr. John Hampden were also placed in custody.

After the condemnation and execution of some of the inferior conspirators, Lord Russell was, on the 13th of July, placed upon his trial at the Old Bailey. To render his conviction perfectly certain, a Tory jury was nominated—men who were said to be perfectly ready to sacrifice their consciences to please the king. The charge against the unfortunate nobleman was that of conspiring the death of the king, and consulting how to levy war against him. Charles feared and hated Russell, who was loved by the people for his patriotism, and had been resolute for the exclusion of the popish Duke of York from the succession to the throne. The prosecuting lawyers knew this, and they resolved, at all hazards, to procure the condemnation of the accused nobleman. He applied to have his trial postponed, if only for a few hours, because some of his witnesses had not arrived in town; but he was refused. He applied for the assistance of counsel; and that was also refused. He then asked for pens and paper, and whether he might have some one to write for him to assist his memory. A sense of



decency compelled the court to grant this request, and the chief justice said, "Any of your servants shall assist you in writing anything you please."—"My lord," remarked Russell, "my wife is here to do it." That brave and virtuous lady then seated herself by the side of her already doomed husband, that she might, in that sad hour of adversity, serve him with more industry and zeal than another.

It was proved that Lord Russell had been connected with a conspiracy against the government of the king, but not against his life; and he himself solemnly called heaven and earth to witness his innocence of any such criminal design. But this availed him nothing; the trial was conducted with the most shameful partiality, and he was condemned to death as a traitor. The fallen noble was prepared, and received his doom with dignified and heroic calmness. His father, the aged Earl of Bedford, offered £100,000 to the king to spare his life; but Charles was implacable; and much as he loved money, on this occasion he preferred revenge. Lord Russell was beheaded on the 31st of July, 1683. In his dying speech on the scaffold he protested his innocence of what he was condemned for, especially of any intention of killing the king; but he did not deny his connection with the conspiracy, which he thought necessary to preserve the religion and liberty of the nation. During the trial of this unfortunate patriot, his companion, the melancholy Lord Essex, had destroyed himself in his prison in the Tower. Many of the people said he had been murdered by order of the king and the Duke of York; but the report seems to have been unfounded.

The bold and patriotic Algernon Sidney was next placed upon his trial, on the 21st of November, at the King's Bench, where Jeffreys, a judge whose conduct has rendered him infamous, presided. Sidney was a stern republican, and had always manfully opposed the despotism of the court. It was therefore resolved that, either innocent or guilty, he should be put to death. His trial was the most impudent mockery of both law and justice. There was only *one* witness who could testify that he had been concerned in the conspiracy; that one was the recreant Lord Howard, who purchased his own life by betraying those of his associates. But the law required *two* witnesses, and two could not be procured. A manuscript pamphlet, found among Sidney's papers, was therefore produced in court, and shamefully affirmed to be quite equal to a second witness. This pamphlet contained nothing treasonable, but was a discourse on government, written some years before, and preferring a republic to a monarchy. It contained some sentiment in favour of liberty; "but such," says a Tory historian, "as the best and most dutiful subjects in all ages have been known to embrace." Sidney contended that the pamphlet was not proved to be his writing, and that it was no crime if it was. Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys hypocritically said, that neither the king nor any of his judges desired to take away the life of any man not forfeited by law, and that he had much rather many guilty men should escape than that one innocent man should suffer; but he told the jury that the evidence before them was quite sufficient; and the spirited Algernon Sidney was condemned to death as a traitor.

The patriot declared that he had not had a legal trial, and that there was a material defect in the indictment against him; but the furious Jeffreys, the most violent and abandoned ruffian in the whole kingdom, would not listen to him. Sidney exclaimed—"I appeal to God and the world I am not heard."—"Appeal to whom you will," said the brutal judge, as he passed the sentence of death. The noble prisoner was beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 17th of December, 1683.—Other conspirators were executed; a fine of £10,000 was inflicted on Mr. Hampden; and the Duke of Monmouth was pardoned.

Charles's triumph over the patriotic party was complete, and his power was absolute; no one dared resist him: he had no parliament to check his despotic fancies, and his servile judges were perfectly ready to use the law as an instrument of private vengeance against all who offended him. As the patriots in Scotland had corresponded with the conspirators in England, a fresh prosecution was opened against the Covenanters and discontented persons in that country. Many witnesses were put to the torture, and had their limbs dislocated or broken to extort evidence from them against such as were accused of treason. Numbers of unhappy Covenanters were imprisoned in a bleak, dismal fortress, situated on a wild, barren rock, called the Bass Rock, and surrounded by the sea. In this dreadful place they were treated with shocking cruelty, because they would not submit cheerfully to a church whose principles, both of doctrine and government, they believed to be contrary to Scripture: and to a king who was now undoubtedly a tyrant, ruling by his own will. Some people have tried to excuse the king by throwing these cruelties on the shoulders of his brother James; but they received Charles's sanction, and were done by his authority. All who offended the king were punished with relentless severity; and the vagabond, Titus Oates, came in for his share. He was charged with having uttered libels against the Duke of York, and condemned to pay £100,000 as damages. As he had not 100,000 pence he was sent to prison, where it was intended that he should be kept for life.

But Charles's despotic career was drawing to a close. For some little time he had lost the cheerfulness he

once possessed, and had become languid and melancholy. On the 2nd of February, 1685, he was seized with a fit of apoplexy. On the third day of his illness he seemed to be recovering, when a second fit attacked him, and his physicians announced that his death was at hand. At this time, his famous French mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, who was a Catholic, took the French ambassador into her private cabinet, and addressed him in the following words:—"Monsieur l'Ambassador, I am going to tell you the greatest secret in the world, and my head would be in danger if it were known here. The king, in the bottom of his heart, is a Catholic, and nobody tells him the state he is in, or speaks to him of God. I can no longer, with propriety, enter his chamber, where the queen is almost constantly with him. The Duke of York thinks about his own affairs, and has no time to take the care he ought of the king's conscience. Go and tell him that I have conjured you to warn him to do what he can to save the soul of the king, his brother. He is master in the royal chamber, and can make any one withdraw from it as he lists. Lose no time; for if you delay ever so little, it may be too late."

The ambassador hurried to the duke, who resolved to hazard anything to win his dying brother to popery. He entered the king's chamber, and spoke to him in whispers. What he said no one could catch; but the king was heard to reply several times—"Yes, with all my heart!" An English Catholic priest, named Huddleston, who had saved Charles's life after the battle of Worcester, was then procured. Every one, except those in the secret, was ordered to leave the chamber, and the disguised priest was introduced. "Sire," said the Duke of York, "here is a man who once saved your life, and who is now come to save your soul." Charles replied—"He is welcome." After this he confessed himself, received absolution, the Romish communion, extreme unction, and formally promised to declare himself a Catholic in case he should recover.

The Protestant bishops and courtiers, who were then readmitted, suspected what had been going on, and exchanged looks of meaning, but none of them alluded to what had passed. After that, the king sent for his natural children, gave them his blessing, and recommended them to the care of his brother. He lived until the next day, and died on the 6th of February, 1685. He was in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-sixth of his reign, counting from the Restoration. In legal documents his reign is calculated from the execution of his father, by which reckoning it extended over thirty-six years. He had been a man of such a robust constitution, that his death took the nation by surprise. It was even rumoured that he was poisoned by his brother; but, bad as James was, there can be no doubt that he never committed so unnatural a crime as that.

Charles has, by his friends, been represented as an erring, but a generous and amiable monarch. He certainly possessed gentlemanly manners, and an easy good-nature, which won him popularity with all classes with whom he came in contact; but, like Cromwell, he was a tyrant in his rule, though not in his nature; and he had not the genius for government, nor that sincerity in religious matters, which the Protector undoubtedly possessed. Thoroughly heartless and ungrateful, he was forgetful of his best friends. Insincere in everything, he had no belief in honour; and he thought those friends deserved the ingratitude with which he treated them. In religion, documents recently brought to light leave little doubt that, during his whole reign, he was a Roman Catholic, though he had not the courage to avow it. Extravagant in his expenditure, and his parliaments not granting him sufficient supplies, he turned a traitor to his own state, and sold himself to the French king. He was lascivious; inconstant in his affections; and the example set by him and his courtiers had a baneful effect on English society. He has been called the "Merry Monarch;" and so he was: but his merriment was that of the profligate and sensualist; and we may heartily wish that we "ne'er may look upon his like again." Indeed, he was indifferent to the prosperity of his people, a hater of their liberty, and an enemy to their religion. So coarse a sensualist, that his character even contaminated the nation, and spread a disregard for truthfulness, simplicity, honour, and decency over a great part of England.

During this reign, some scientific men founded the famous Royal Society; and Charles gave them a patent on the 22nd of April, 1663. England, in that era, possessed also many intellectual men and distinguished writers; but most of their works are so tainted by the prevailing profligacy, that they do not deserve honourable mention in the pages of history. Amongst them were Dryden, Waller, Cowley, Sedley, Denham, Otway, Wycherley, and Rochester. The famous Samuel Butler, the author of *Hudibras*, also lived in this reign. That satire is considered the most original and witty book in the English language; but it was written for an unworthy party purpose. Its object was to ridicule the religious and political principles of the Puritans—men who, with all their faults, were sincere and honest; but whose principles—as the experience of the commonwealth abundantly proved—are ill-adapted to the government of the English people. Charles greatly

admired *Hudibras*, and frequently quoted it in conversation; he allowed the author of it, however, to die in extreme poverty.

But there were some few great men in this bad time—some pure and lofty spirits—men whose mental qualities were natural miracles, and whose gigantic intellects make us view them with reverence. Chief amongst them stood John Milton, one of the greatest poets, and Sir Isaac Newton, perhaps the greatest master of the exact sciences, that ever lived.

Milton, the son of a scrivener of London, was born on the 9th of December, 1608. He received his early education at St. Paul's school, and, at the age of seventeen, went to the university of Cambridge. He was intended for the church, but could not persuade himself to sign the thirty-nine articles, and therefore abandoned the idea of entering it. After having published his exquisite poems of *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*, he travelled on the continent, and visited Paris, Florence, Rome, and Naples. On his return he opened a school in Aldersgate Street, and assisted the revolution which was then in progress by his eloquent and stirring writings in the cause of what he sincerely believed constituted the only true civil and religious liberty. After the execution of Charles I., Milton was advanced by Cromwell to the position of Latin secretary to the council of state. Milton fully approved of the trial and execution of the king, and gave the best justification that act is capable of receiving, in his work called *The Defence of the People of England;* his intense application to which, added to years of laborious study, produced blindness. His physician warned him that such would be the case; but he loved his country better than he loved his sight; and by persevering in his task, he earned the gratitude of those Englishmen who think with him. On the restoration of Charles II., Milton feared the vengeance of the Royalists; and not only was he arrested, but some of his noble works in the cause of freedom were condemned to be burnt by the common hangman. He was, however, fortunate enough to escape, and it is perfectly wonderful that he did not share the fate of the unhappy regicides. In his blindness and reverse of fortune he composed his sublime poem of *Paradise Lost*—a work which ranks him one of the world's greatest bards, and second only to the glorious and universal Shakspeare. In the beginning of the seventh book, he thus alludes to the tyranny and profligacy of the reign of Charles II.:—

> "More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchanged
> To hoarse or mute, *though fall'n on evil days*—
> On evil days though fall'n and evil tongues;
> In darkness, and with dangers compass'd round,
> And solitude."

Paradise Lost was followed by his poem of *Paradise Regained*—a work of inferior merit, though Milton himself thought it the most meritorious of the two. In the decline of life he composed other works, both in prose and verse. He died on the 10th of November, 1674, in his sixty-sixth year. He had been thrice married, and left three daughters, who did not treat their honoured parent with that affectionate regard to which he was entitled.

Sir Isaac Newton was born on the Christmas Day of 1642. After having received the rudiments of education, he proceeded to the university of Cambridge, where he devoted himself chiefly to the study of mathematics. He left Cambridge for a time, on account of the plague, and sought for safety in some rural retirement. It is related that there, while sitting in an orchard, he beheld an apple fall from a tree—a circumstance which would have passed unnoticed by most people. Not so, however, with Newton: it excited in his mind a train of reflection which ended in his discovery of the grand theory of the laws of gravitation. Newton's contributions to our scientific knowledge are too numerous even to be mentioned here; but they are of such value, that his name has become honoured among the philosophers of all civilised nations. The events of his life are not of a romantic character, the principal of them being the history of his discoveries. He lived to the age of eighty-four, and died in the year 1726, during the reign of George I. He was buried with public honours in Westminster Abbey; and, as a tribute to his gigantic genius, his pall was supported by six of the most distinguished of our nobles. The profound grandeur of his mind is nobly expressed in the two following lines by the poet Pope:—

> "Nature, and nature's laws, lay hid in night;
> God said, 'Let Newton be,' and all was light."

CHAPTER LXXXIV.

THE REIGN OF JAMES THE SECOND.—A.D. 1685—1688.

THE Duke of York, then in the fifty-first year of his age, was proclaimed as JAMES THE SECOND on the afternoon of his brother's death. Although an open and professed Catholic, no opposition appeared; for the great Whig party, or patriots, had been broken up, and the Tories, who supported his right of succession, and always opposed the proposal to exclude him, were, for the time, popular. The people received the proclamation with apparent joy. The king's first act was to address the privy council; and, in the course of his remarks, he said—"I have been reported to be a man fond of arbitrary power; but that is not the only falsehood which has been reported of me: and I shall make it my endeavour to preserve this government, both in church and state, as it is now by law established." We shall see how he kept his promise.

The very first Sunday after his brother's death, James went publicly to mass, attended by all the ensigns of his dignity. He even sent a messenger to Rome to make submission to the pope, and to pave the way for a solemn readmission of England into the communion of that corrupt and persecuting church. The pope, in reply, advised the bigoted king not to be rash and hasty in his proceedings, but to trust rather to time. James also commanded Huddleston, the priest, to publish an account of the late king's belief in the Roman faith; and he himself caused two manuscripts to be printed, which, he said, he had found among his brother's papers. They declared that there could be but one church; that this was the church of Rome; and that whosoever set up their authority against it, whether individuals or nations, fell immediately into fanaticism.

Having thus shown his intention of altering the religion of the country, James next assailed its laws. The customs and great part of the excise duties had been settled on the late king during his life, and consequently they stopped at his death. They were necessary for the support of the royal dignity; and the usual course was, for a new king to summon a parliament, which generally granted him the necessary supplies. James, however, before any parliament was called, arbitrarily commanded these duties to be paid as before—an illegal deed, which he would not deign to qualify by any apology or condescension.

James's next action was in itself a just and noble one; he is charged, however, with being prompted by treacherous motives. Many dissenters and papists had been languishing in prison on account of their attachment to their religion, and he set the whole of them at liberty by his royal warrant. This action was illegal, but its illegality would have been pardoned for its humanity had it been a sincere effort in favour of toleration; though it must be said, that neither papists, churchmen, or dissenters were at all inclined to tolerate each other. But James had no such object as toleration in view: he was aiming, under the pretence of establishing perfect religious liberty, first to remove the laws for persecuting the papists, and then to restore the *exclusive* dominion of the church of Rome.—On the 25th of April, 1685, James and his queen were crowned at Westminster Abbey, by Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury. It was received as an ill omen, that as the crown was placed upon the king's head it tottered, and almost fell.

James was a man who never forgave an injury: he received all the Whig statesmen and nobles who had voted for his exclusion from the throne with stern and haughty looks. It was plain that he was determined, as king, to punish all affronts that he had received when Duke of York. Titus Oates had certainly given deep cause of offence to James; but the man was expiating his frauds in an imprisonment from which there was but little chance that he would ever escape. But that was not sufficient for the king. Oates was brought from his prison, and, on the 7th of May, placed before Judge Jeffreys on two charges of perjury. Oates defended himself with great courage and audacity, and objected to some of the witnesses, who, he said, must have a feeling of malice against him because they were papists. "Hold your tongue!" shouted the savage judge to the prisoner; "you are a shame to mankind." —"No, my lord," answered Oates firmly, "I am neither a shame to myself or mankind. What I have sworn is true; and I will stand by it to my last breath, and seal it, if occasion be, with my blood."—"'Twere pity," answered the unblushing legal savage, "but that it were to be done by thy blood." Oates, who was clearly convicted of perjury, was sentenced to pay a fine of 2,000 marks, to be placed twice in the pillory, and to be whipped from Aldgate to Tyburn, and, two days afterwards, from Tyburn back to Aldgate. Besides this, he was to stand in the pillory five times every year as long

as he lived. The scourging was inflicted in so cruel a manner, that it was evidently the king's intention he should die under the infliction. But Titus Oates was a hardy man: he survived his sufferings; was recovered by the care of many who considered him as a Protestant martyr; and when James was a fugitive, he was set at liberty by King William, and had a pension of £400 a year settled upon him. He died in 1705.

Bedloe, the other speculator in popish plots, was dead; but the vagabond Dangerfield was living, and he was condemned to be scourged and pilloried with as much rigour as Oates was. The wretch was overcome with terror, and declared that such a punishment would be his death. He did die, either from the agony of his whipping, or from a blow which a spectator (a barrister) gave him in the eye with a cane, some angry words having first passed between them. The surgeons said the latter was the cause of his end, and the savage barrister was tried and hanged for his murder.

The parliament met on the 22nd of May. James, in his opening speech, assured the Lords and Commons that he would defend and support the Protestant church, and govern according to the laws. He then told them that he expected a revenue settled upon him for life, the same as had been granted to his brother; and thus continued—"There is one popular argument which may be used against what I have asked of you: the inclination men have for frequent parliaments some may think would be best secured by feeding me, from time to time, by such proportions as they shall think convenient; and this argument (it being the first time I speak to you from the throne) I will answer once for all—that it would be a very improper method to take with me; and that the best way to engage me to meet you often, is always to use me well." The Commons were displeased at this threat; but they thanked the king, and granted a revenue of £1,200,000 a year, *for his life,* as he asked it.

The deliberations of parliament were interrupted by the news that the Duke of Monmouth had arrived from Holland with three vessels, landed in the west of England, and laid claim to the crown. Though Monmouth had been pardoned by the late king after his connection with the conspiracy against him, yet he had again incurred his displeasure, and been ordered to quit the country. He had taken refuge in Holland; but supposing that the people of England would never submit to the rule of the popish tyrant James, he resolved to declare himself the legitimate son of Charles, and put forward his claim to the crown. In this he was encouraged by the fugitive Earl of Argyll; and it was agreed between them that two expeditions should be made—one into England, by the duke himself, and the other into Scotland, by the earl.

Argyll landed in Scotland before Monmouth was prepared, and but a small number of the Covenanters joined him; for James's awful severities had terrified those unhappy people into submission. The insurrection was managed badly: Argyll was deserted and betrayed by those who pretended to be his friends; and, being arrested on the 20th of June, was beheaded on the 30th, under the old warrant against him, without any further trial. Many other executions and punishments took place in consequence of this insurrection in Scotland.

Monmouth himself met with little better success. He landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, on the 12th of June, with scarcely 100 followers; though, in a few days, he was joined by about 2,000 men. He said that he was come to secure the Protestant religion, and to extirpate popery. He then put forth a declaration, in which he only gave the king the title of Duke of York, and called him a traitor, a tyrant, an assassin, and a popish usurper. He accused him of being the author of the great fire of London; declared him to be the murderer of Sir Edmonbury Godfrey, the magistrate, and of Lord Essex; and even revived the accusation that he had poisoned the late king. In conclusion, he invited the people to join in opposition to tyranny. Monmouth then marched through several towns, and arrived at Taunton on the 18th of June, where the Protestant dissenters were very strong, and the popish king much disliked. Here the ambitious duke was recived with enthusiasm; his path was strewn with flowers; and a procession of twenty-six young ladies presented him colours and emblems which they had wrought for him, and with a Bible. Monmouth kissed the volume, and said that he had come to defend its truth, and to perish for it, if it were necessary for him to do so. He then declared himself to be the lawful son of the late monarch, and, on the 20th of June, assumed the title of King of England. He even proclaimed as traitors all the members of the parliament then sitting, and issued a declaration about collecting the revenue.

James had not been idle all this time; the royal army was strengthened, and 3,000 men sent forward to check the insurrection. After several slight skirmishes, an engagement took place at Sedgemoor between the rebels and the king's troops, which commenced in the night of the 5th of July, and did not end till after sunrise on the 6th. Monmouth had about 6,000 followers, and the contest seemed, for some time, to be carried on without victory leaning to either side. But with all his rashness, the duke was at heart a coward, and in the height of the battle he rode off the field, and left his poor deluded followers to shift for themselves. So bravely did these poor peasants fight, that it is supposed they would have obtained a victory, if it had not been

for the desertion of their leader. As it was, they were defeated; 1,500 were slain, and 500 made prisoners. On the 8th of July, Monmouth was arrested: he was discovered in a miserable condition, disguised as a peasant, and lying concealed in a ditch, nearly covered with fern and nettles.

He might have been certain that James would never forgive such offences as he had committed: still he wrote a letter of penitence to him, imploring for pardon. In it he promised that, if the king would admit him to his presence, he would communicate something of importance. James consented to see him, and Monmouth crawled upon his knees, and begged for his life. "Remember, Sir," said he, "that I am your brother's son, and if you take my life it is your own blood that you will shed." James was inexorable; and when the duke found he had humbled himself in vain, he assumed more dignity, and was taken back to the Tower. A bill of attainder had already been passed against him; and on the 15th of July, two days after his interview with the king, he was led to the scaffold. There he professed great penitence, and acknowledged that he knew himself to be illegitimate, and that therefore he had no right to the throne. Before he laid his neck across the block, he felt the edge of the axe, expressed a doubt that it was not sharp enough, and begged the executioner not to treat him so awkwardly as he had done Lord Russell. From some cause or other the man was seized with a fit of trembling, and struck so feebly, that the unhappy duke raised his head, and looked him in the face. Two other blows were equally without effect, and the executioner then threw down his axe in horror, and cried out, "I cannot finish this work." The sheriffs compelled him to resume his revolting duty, and, with two blows more, the head was severed.—In this tragic manner perished the favourite son of the late king: he was in the thirty-sixth year of his age.

Immediately after the battle at Sedgemoor, Lord Feversham (a Frenchman), who commanded the king's troops, had caused twenty of his prisoners to be hanged at once without any trial. Probably more would have suffered in the same summary manner, had not the Bishop of Bath and Wells warned him that the unhappy prisoners were entitled to a trial, and that to execute them without was murder. One of his lordship's officers, Colonel Kirke, also had executed nineteen others in the same illegal manner. This cruel man would have put many more to death, but his avarice induced him to sell them their lives for money. This by no means satisfied the king, who determined to punish all persons connected with the late insurrection in such a manner as should strike awe and terror through the land. For this purpose, he sent the Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, and four other judges, through the districts which had favoured Monmouth, for the purpose of punishing all who had adhered to him. Jeffreys was in his proper element, and he set out on his dark expedition with a savage joy. The wretched people in the west long afterwards spoke of this fearful visitation as "the bloody assize." He went first to Winchester, and there he condemned a venerable and aged lady, Anne Lisle, who had given shelter in her house to two fugitives from the battle-field, to be burnt alive as a female traitor. To their honour, the clergy of the district interfered, and petitioned the king in her behalf. It was proved that she was a woman of the most amiable and loyal character, and that her son had even served in the royal army against Monmouth; but the utmost mercy that the tyrant would grant was, that she should be beheaded instead of burnt. The sentence was carried out on the 22nd of September.

Jeffreys then proceeded to Dorchester, where an immense number of rebels were at once arraigned before him. To save himself trouble, he told them that they who would plead guilty should find him a merciful judge; but that those who put themselves upon their trial should, if convicted, be hanged instantly. Many who were thus led to plead guilty were put to death, the only favour granted them being a brief respite. Eighty persons were hanged at Dorchester in a very few days, and as many more transported and sold as slaves. To one man who objected to the characters of the witnesses against him, Jeffreys roared out, "Villain! rebel! methinks I see thee already with a halter about thy neck." And, shortly after, the wretched man was hanged.

From Dorchester the savage judge (for such he really was) went to Exeter, where he tried no less than 243 prisoners. Many of these were condemned and executed; he even caused one man, who pleaded not guilty, to be taken out and hanged instantly. At Taunton and Wells, the centre of the late insurrection, nearly 1,100 prisoners were tried, and 239 hanged and quartered. All that part of the country was disfigured by the ghastly heads and dissevered limbs which were fixed up in every public place. In the streets, over the town-halls, and even against the doors of the churches, were to be seen these dreadful mementoes of the vengeance of a cruel king. "Every soul," says a writer of the time, "was sunk in anguish and terror, sighing by day and night for deliverance, but shut out of all hope by despair."

When Jeffreys returned to court, after this tour of horror, he was thanked and caressed by the king, created a peer, and, on the 24th of September, was appointed Lord Chancellor of England. But the work of blood was not yet over; other executions of persons disaffected to the government took place in London;

and a benevolent and religious lady, named Elizabeth Gaunt, was condemned to be burnt alive at Tyburn, for having given shelter to a man after the battle of Sedgemoor. The fate of this unhappy lady was more shocking than that of Mrs. Lisle; for the shameful sentence was actually put in execution on the 23rd of October. Mrs. Gaunt bore her fearful punishment with heroic fortitude, declaring that she had only obeyed the sacred precept, which commanded her to hide the outcast, and not to betray him that wandereth.

Parliament reassembled on the 12th of November; and James, delighted with the success of his tyranny, addressed the House in a commanding and dictatorial manner. He required a supply of money to support a standing army instead of the militia; but the nation knew very well that he wanted this army to crush what remained of their liberty, and to force upon them the Roman religion. He also alluded to his having employed a number of popish officers; and that he had, in their favour, dispensed with the law requiring the test to be taken by every one that held any public office. "These gentlemen," said he, "are most of them known to me; and having formerly served me on several occasions, and always approved the loyalty of their principles by their practices, I think them now fit to be employed under me; and I will deal plainly with you—that after having had the benefit of their service in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, if there should be another rebellion to make them necessary to me." The plain meaning of this was, that he would do as he pleased about employing papists, in spite of the laws which declared them incapable of holding office. The parliament, however, would not quietly submit to see the Protestant religion undermined, and all honours and preferments bestowed upon papists. Both Lords and Commons addressed the king, and requested him to discharge all officers who refused to take the Protestant test; and James passionately prorogued the parliament, after it had sat for eleven days only.

It was at this time that Louis XIV. revoked an edict issued by Henry IV. in 1598, and known as the Edict of Nantes, by which Protestants were tolerated in France. So cruelly were these unhappy people persecuted in consequence, that an enormous number fled their country, and about 50,000 sought a refuge in England, where the accounts of their sufferings kept alive a horror and detestation of the Roman Catholic religion. But the confident English tyrant, though his life was a most immoral one, and all his leisure was bestowed on ugly mistresses, pushed forward his labour of forcing the nation back to popery. His council consisted of popish lords, and his confessor, Father Petre, without whose advice he did nothing. With the concurrence of these men, James actually asserted that he had "a dispensing, a suspending, and a repealing power over all laws or acts of parliament whatsoever!" If such an insolent tyranny as this had been sanctioned, the laws of the country would have been powerless, and the people the slaves of every caprice of the king. The nation was alarmed and disgusted; but, for a time, the king had his way, and everywhere Protestants were dismissed from public employment, and papists placed in their stead. They were admitted into the corporations throughout the kingdom; and none but papists were made lieutenants of counties, sheriffs, and justices of the peace. "If," says an eloquent writer, "James had been suffered to follow this course for twenty years, every military man, from a general to a drummer, every officer of a ship, every judge, every king's counsel, every lord-lieutenant of a county, every justice of the peace, every ambassador, every minister of state, every person employed in the royal household, in the custom-house, in the post-office, in the excise, would have been a Catholic." While papists were thus everywhere encouraged, Protestant soldiers were disbanded throughout the three kingdoms; and in Ireland all Protestants were disarmed.

James's conduct, tolerated for a time by the Tories, at length roused the opposition, not only of that party, but of the bishops and clergy of the established church, whose creed is, in the words of Holy Writ, to "honour the king" (1 Peter ii. 17), and to "be subject unto the higher powers" (Romans xiii. 1), as long as subjection is not incompatible with the broad principles of honour and honesty, justice and humanity. The clergy caused their pulpits to resound with warnings of the danger to which the national religion and the national liberty were exposed. James issued letters to the bishops, commanding them to prevent their clergy from preaching on any controverted point. This order both bishops and clergy disregarded. One Dr. Sharp, rector of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, and Dean of Norwich, distinguished himself in particular by his sermons against popery; and James directed Compton, the Bishop of London, to suspend him. The bishop replied that he could not obey this command, as it was unlawful to punish Dr. Sharp before he had been heard in his defence. James was incensed, and he resolved to punish both the minister and the bishop.

The king had, in July, 1686, re-established the despotic High Commission Court—that court which had been the instrument of the tyrannies of the church of Rome. It had been abolished during the reign of Charles I. by an act of parliament, which also declared that neither it, nor any court resembling it, should ever be revived. But James held acts of parliament in contempt, and the High Court of Ecclesiastical Com-

mission was again set up. In it seven commissioners were vested with unlimited power over the church of England.

The Bishop of London was summoned before this court. He was a high-spirited man, and declared that it was illegal, that he was not therefore answerable to it, and could only be tried by the laws of his country. He, however, apologised for his resistance to the king's will; but James was resolved to make him an example, and both he and Dr. Sharp were accordingly suspended from the exercise of their duties. James knew that this tyranny was regarded by the nation with angry and jealous eyes; but he had a standing army of 15,000 men at hand, ready to crush the first appearance of insurrection. A clergyman named Johnson was even sentenced to be fined, whipped, and pilloried for writing an address in which he reminded the soldiers they were Englishmen.

James now attempted to open the universities and the church to papists. He demanded, in February, 1687, from the university of Oxford, that it should acknowledge a right in Father Petre, his confessor, to appoint seven Fellows of Exeter College; and, from Cambridge, that it should grant the degree of Master of Arts to a Benedictine friar. Both the universities refused, and the vice-chancellor of Cambridge was accordingly suspended by the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission.

But James would not give over his project; and as the university of Oxford had lately published a declaration in favour of passive obedience, he resolved to put that obedience to the test. The president of Magdalen College died in March, 1687; and James commanded the Fellows to elect a concealed papist, named Farmer, to that important position. The Fellows sent a petition to the king, to permit them to exercise their own authority in the matter; and as they received no answer, they elected Dr. Hough. The king then sent an inferior ecclesiastical commission to Oxford, which declared the election to be void; and (Farmer proving to be both ignorant and dissolute) issued a mandate to the college to elect Parker, the Bishop of Oxford, who was also suspected of popery. The college reasoned against this arbitrary dictation, and declared that Dr. Hough could not be deprived of his office, or any one elected to it during his life. Unable to bend the college to his will, James then attempted to ruin it, and he sent commissioners to alter its statutes, and make new ones. Dr. Hough was expelled, and Bishop Parker put in his place by force; and as the Fellows refused to sign an acknowledgment of their disobedience and repentance, they were driven from the college, and declared incapable of holding any preferment in the church.

James now proceeded with boldness in his work of restoring popery. Still hoping for success, he issued, under the pretence of toleration, on the 4th of April, a "Declaration for Liberty of Conscience," by which all penal laws against both Protestant dissenters and Catholics were to be suspended. Though this was an illegal exercise of power, it would have been a generous one if it had been fairly meant. But we are told it was intended merely as a snare; and the dissenters believed that, under pretence of granting a favour to them, the king wished only to suspend all laws which kept down the Roman Catholics. They felt convinced that, when the latter were once placed on a level with other religionists, they would soon be raised above them, and this pretended liberality be changed into a furious persecution.

James's court was filled with Jesuits and popish priests; a legate from the pope constantly resided there; four popish bishops were publicly consecrated in the Chapel Royal, sent to their dioceses with the titles of vicars-apostolical, and their pastoral letters were printed and dispersed through the kingdom. Such was the confidence of the papists, that their priests actually laid claim to some public buildings, which they intended to convert into monasteries and chapels. Excitement and agitation ruled throughout the country.

This was the state of things at the beginning of the memorable year 1688. On the 27th of April in that year, James not only published a second Declaration of Indulgence to all dissenters, but he commanded that it should be read by the clergy in all the churches after divine service. This command the Protestant clergy regarded only as a tyrannous insult; and they knew that if they obeyed, they should expose themselves to the contempt and hatred of the people. The bishops were in a peculiar and unpleasant position: they had preached the divine right of kings, and the imperative duty of subjects to obey; but they found that implicit obedience to this doctrine would be productive of the greatest evils, both to the religious and secular rights and interests of the people. With few exceptions, both bishops and clergy, therefore, resolved that they would not read the Declaration of Indulgence.

Six bishops met the primate (Sancroft) at his palace at Lambeth, and, having drawn up a petition to the king against the Declaration, they all went together and presented it to him in person at Whitehall, on the 18th of May. The tyrant read the paper with anger and disdain, and then muttered, "This is a great surprise to me. Here are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion." He then dismissed them with anger, resolved to devise some mode of punishing them. The petition was

printed and distributed, and, in a few days, seven other bishops publicly declared their concurrence with it; and, on the 20th of May, the first Sunday appointed for reading the Declaration, only four clergymen in London obeyed the king's orders for doing so; but those timid and unworthy ministers were groaned at by their congregations. The nation was so excited, that the friends of James were alarmed; even the bold Judge Jeffreys trembled, and urged his master to moderation; but the royal bigot thought himself safe, and he persevered. He summoned the primate (Sancroft) and the six petitioning bishops to appear before the privy council on a charge of high misdemeanour. They went to Whitehall on the 8th of June, and were, the same day, committed as prisoners to the Tower. The crown lawyers, at the same time, received directions to prosecute the bishops for a seditious libel—as the king called the petition.

This open blow at the liberty and religion of the people roused the whole nation. The bishops were taken from Whitehall to the Tower by water; and when they entered the barge which was to convey them, the shore of the river seemed one living mass of sympathising spectators. The people fell upon their knees, and implored the protection of the Almighty for the sufferers in the cause of a nation's religion and freedom. The soldiers flung themselves on their knees before the prelates, and implored the benediction of those whom they were appointed to guard. Some persons even ran into the water to obtain the blessings which the bishops were conferring on all around them; the dissenters sent a deputation to console them; and twenty-eight peers expressed their readiness to be bail for them, if they should require it.

The bigoted king took no warning from this universal expression of feeling from all ranks of the nation; and, on the 29th of June, the seven bishops were placed on their trial in the Court of King's Bench. They were attended to the court by the peers who had offered to become their bail, and by immense crowds of the gentry and people—all wishing them success, and praying God to bless and protect them. The cause was heard with the most profound attention; for there had not been any such great public excitement since the revelation of the popish plot. James thought that the judges and jury dared not find the bishops innocent, when they knew it to be his intention that they should be pronounced guilty. He was mistaken. The judges, encouraged by the public sympathy with the accused, lent favourably towards the bishops: the attorney-general dared not accuse them harshly, for fear of the people; witnesses, for the same reason, could scarcely be brought to open their lips against them; and every check the counsel of the king sustained was received by that crowded court with shouts of joy and laughter. After a trial which lasted for ten hours, and a long deliberation of the jury, a verdict of not guilty was returned. This verdict would have been given at once, but that some of the jury were creatures of the king. When the result was known, a loud shout of joy reverberated through Westminster Hall. The people outside knew the meaning of that shout, and they raised another, which passed on from group to group throughout London. So tremendous was that wild explosion of joyful noise, that it was heard at Hounslow Heath, where the tyrant was that morning engaged in reviewing the troops he kept in readiness to crush any outbreak against his shameful proceedings. It was echoed back by the troops, who sympathised with their fellow-countrymen whom they were engaged to enslave. James was startled, and asked Lord Feversham the meaning of that noise. The general replied—"It was nothing but the soldiers shouting for the acquittal of the bishops."—"Do you call that nothing?" said the king; "but so much the worse for them."

That night London blazed with bonfires; the church bells rang joyful peals; an effigy of the pope was burnt before the windows of the king's palace; and the people not only drank health to the bishops, but also confusion to the papists. The royal madman took no warning from these signs of coming revolution, but obstinately pursued his course of tyranny. He deprived of their offices two of the judges who had presided at the trial of the bishops; he issued orders for the prosecution of all those clergymen who had not read the Declaration of Indulgence—that is, of the whole church of England, with the exception of about 200—and he endeavoured to force a Romish priest on Magdalen College at Oxford, in place of his creature, Dr. Parker, who had lately died.

James had been very anxious for the birth of a son, to whom he might leave the completion of the work of forcing popery upon England. Before the trial of the bishops took place—on the 11th of June—a prince was born, to the great joy of the papists, who called him the "Son of Prayer," in consequence of the many earnest solicitations they had addressed to heaven on that account. But this event was regarded with sorrow by the great mass of the nation; and it was commonly said that the queen had not become a mother, but that the infant was the child of a stranger, imposed upon the nation for the sake of being brought up in the Catholic principles. But there is no doubt that the infant—afterwards so notorious in history as the Pretender—was the child of James and Mary of Modena, his queen.

James's oldest daughter, Mary, had been, on the 4th of November, 1677, married to William, the Protestant

Prince of Orange—the famous stadtholder of Holland, whose military genius had saved his country from the destruction it was threatened with by the ambitious Louis XIV., King of France. Before the birth of the Prince of Wales, William had been looked up to as James's successor on the English throne; and many a fervent wish was secretly uttered that the period of his accession might be near at hand. The birth of a prince, however, put these hopes to flight; and it was evident the nation must submit to have its liberty and religion crushed by the tyranny of James, or at once adopt a very bold and startling measure. The Protestant nobles and clergy took the latter course; and an invitation was secretly sent to the Prince of Orange to come to England with an army, to question the legitimacy of the infant Prince of Wales, and redress the grievances of the nation.

An extensive conspiracy was soon entered into by the most distinguished men in England to depose their popish tyrant, and place William of Orange upon the throne in his stead. Men of the highest trust were engaged in it; even James's own ministers, and those he thought his most faithful friends, entered the league against him, and conveyed all the secrets of the state to his rival. William accepted the offer, and prepared an army for the invasion of England, and the deliverance of its people from slavery and popery. But, with a necessary caution, he concealed the object for which he intended it, and the king never suspected the design of his son-in-law. Though it was natural for him to have expected a signal retribution from his outraged people, he pursued his despotic career to the last with an absence of suspicion perfectly stupid.

At length, during the month of September, he received information, by a letter from the French king, of the intended invasion. The tyrant turned of an ashy paleness, and stood as if paralysed. The letter dropped from his hand, and he burst into tears. Knowing the cause that the whole of his people had to hate him, he feared the worst at once. He was distracted and irresolute: he first refused the offered assistance of the ambitious French king, and then begged him to keep a fleet and army ready for him at Brest. Then, when too late, he attempted to win back the affection of the people. He replaced the Protestant deputy-lieutenants of counties, and magistrates; he restored the charters of London, and of other corporations; he abolished his Court of Ecclesiastical Commission; he restored the suspended Bishop of London to his episcopal duties; he promised to call a parliament; and even flattered and caressed the very bishops whom he had so lately prosecuted. But every one knew that these concessions were the result of fear; and this humiliation did him no good.

At this very time James contrived to give fresh disgust to the zealous Protestantism of the nation. The infant prince, James Francis Edward, was baptized, on the 15th of October, according to the rites of the church of Rome, and the pope became its godfather. The irritated people expressed their disgust by everywhere declaring that the prince was not of royal blood, but the child of some unknown person, imposed upon the nation for the purpose of providing a popish successor to the crown. So general was this rumour, that the king found it necessary to call an extraordinary council to examine into the particulars of the birth of the child, and to prove its legitimacy.

William of Orange was now ready, and, on the 16th of October, he embarked with an army of about 15,000 men on board a fleet of 500 vessels. They were, however, much injured by a tempest, and compelled to put back at Helvoetsluys to refit. In the meantime, a declaration from William to the English nation was generally circulated. It contained a list of the chief grievances of the kingdom:—the pretended power of the king to dispense with or suspend the laws; the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission; the filling of all offices with Catholics, and the raising of a Jesuit to be privy councillor; the open encouragement given to popery; the displacing of judges if they refused to give sentence according to orders received from court; the annulling of the charters of all the corporations; the treating of petitions as criminal and seditious; the committing the whole authority of Ireland into the hands of papists; the assuming an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland; and, lastly, to inquire into the supposed imposition of a strange infant upon the nation as Prince of Wales. All these evils the declaration declared Prince William was coming over to redress; and his object in bringing an army was to protect him from the king's evil counsellors, and to provide for the safety and liberty of the nation.

William was soon again ready for sea. This time he had a prosperous voyage; and, on the 5th of November —the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot—he landed without opposition at Torbay. The English fleet had suffered from a recent storm, and was unable to intercept his approach; but it is doubtful whether the English captains and sailors would have done so if they could; for the hearts of most of them were with the brave prince who came to redeem their country from the grasp of a tyrant. William's banner bore the inscription—"I will maintain the Protestant religion and the liberties of England." He was received at Torbay by immense crowds of people, who greeted him with enthusiastic joy as the deliverer of the nation.

Prince William first led his army to Exeter, where he arrived on the 9th of November, and was but coldly

received, for the people were terrified by the recent atrocities of Judge Jeffreys. William was disappointed, and, for the present, gave up his intention of marching into the centre of England. But the nobles and military officers soon began to join him: and those who yet feared openly to go over to him offered no opposition. Every day the cause of the prince grew stronger, and that of James weaker. The whole nation was in a state of excitement, and London in wild disorder. As for the Jesuits and monks, whose evil counsel had helped to bring the tyrant into this dilemma, most of them deserted him, and provided for their own safety by flight.

James was bewildered. He set out to join his army, but changed his mind, and returned; again set out, and again came back, fearing that his own soldiers would betray him. Perhaps he was right; for his favourite officer, Lord Churchill, together with the Duke of Grafton (a natural son of the late king), left him on the 11th of November, and joined Prince William. It was soon seen that the whole army was disaffected, and preferred the good of their country to the service of their king.

Lord Churchill had been raised by James from the rank of a page, and he owed his whole fortune to the favour of the king. But Churchill not only abandoned his master, but persuaded Prince George of Denmark —who, on the 28th of July, 1683, had married the king's second daughter, the Princess Anne—to do the same. The princess herself was induced by Lady Churchill to follow her husband. On hearing it, the tyrant burst into an agony of grief, and cried out, "God help me! My very children have forsaken me." By this time, Plymouth, Bath, Bristol, York, and Hull, had declared for the Prince of Orange, and the principal nobles and gentry of England were crowding around his standard. James, who saw his fabric of arbitrary power melting like a palace of ice beneath the beams of a summer sun, issued proclamations, containing all sorts of promises to the people. He also called a council of all the peers and prelates left in London, which was held on the 27th of November, and issued writs for a new parliament to assemble on the 13th of January, 1689. The king also sent commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. It was useless: this forced repentance came too late. James began to tremble for his personal safety, and resolved on flight.

He first sent the queen, in disguise, on the 10th of December, with the infant prince to Gravesend, from whence they crossed over to Calais, where they arrived safely on the 11th. They were kindly received by Louis XIV. The same day, James, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, crossed the Thames to Lambeth, taking with him the great seal, which he threw into the river. Horses having been provided by one of the equerries, they rode hastily to Feversham, and then embarked, in disguise, for France. As soon as the king's flight was known, the people burst into a frantic expression of joy. Popish chapels were broken open, and then set on fire; the houses of some of the ambassadors were attacked; and a search was made for James's confessor, Father Petre, who had fortunately escaped. The general confusion was increased by the disbanding of the king's army, which was neither paid nor disarmed. A report soon after was spread that the Irish disbanded soldiers had commenced a massacre of the Protestants. The people were both terrified and furious; the church bells rang out alarms; guns were fired, and beacons blazed. Happily, this rumour turned out to be utterly unfounded; and it speaks well for the character of the people, that, during this state of excitement, the Catholics were not severely ill-treated or murdered. This alarm occurred in the night of the 12th of December, which was known long after, in London, as "The Irish Night." It was during this time that the notorious Lord Chancellor Jeffreys was discovered in a public-house at Wapping in the disguise of a sailor. Had the mob followed his own dark example, they would have hanged him instantly—a fate he richly deserved. But although they beat him severely, they spared his life, and then carried him before the Lord Mayor, who sent him to the Tower, where he died on the 18th of April, 1689, in consequence of the treatment he had received.

James had not yet made good his escape. The little vessel in which he was embarked was driven by a gale of wind into the Isle of Sheppey, where the disguised king was seized as a fugitive Jesuit, and carried back a prisoner to Feversham. The rabble of smugglers and fishermen, into whose hands he had fallen, treated him in the most abusive manner. It was in vain that he declared he was their king—that the Prince of Orange was seeking his life; and screamed for a boat in an agony of fear. Being rescued from the hands of his rough captors by Lord Winchelsea, that nobleman lodged him in a private house of the town, where he burst into tears on discovering he had lost a bit of wood said to have been part of the true cross, and to have belonged to Edward the Confessor.

As James's flight rendered the throne vacant, the bishops and peers who were in London assembled, chose the Marquis of Halifax as their Speaker, and, having sent directions to the Lord Mayor of London to preserve the peace of the city, they invited the Prince of Orange to enter London, and sent word to James that he might either retire to the continent, or return to the metropolis, as he pleased. To their great surprise he chose the latter course, and invited his son-in-law to

meet him at Whitehall to settle the disorders of the nation. William declined the interview, and was annoyed at learning that the fickle people had received James, on his return to London, with expressions of respect and sympathy. William regretted that James's flight had been prevented, and steps were taken to frighten him away again. For this purpose four battalions of Dutch guards were placed around Whitehall; but still the humbled tyrant hesitated, being loth to abandon even the shadow of that royalty he had so wickedly abused. The prince then, on the 17th of December, sent him a message by the Earls of Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, that he must leave the palace, and go to Ham House, near Richmond. James saw that his resistance was useless, and only said that he should prefer going to Rochester. The desire was granted, and he departed, attended by a few ultra-royalist nobles. He lingered a few days at Rochester; but his fears were excited by the Dutch troops, by whom he was followed and watched. It seems he still hoped that he should be recalled; but seeing that neither the nobles, prelates, or people took any notice of him, and dreading that he might be deprived of his liberty or his life, he resolved to retire to France. During the night of the 23rd of December, he rose from his bed, dressed himself, and put off in a boat, with a few attendants. The next morning he reached a fishing-smack, which had been hired for the purpose, and made the best of his way to France. He landed safely at Ambleteuse, in Picardy, and hurried to St. Germaine, where he was received by the French king with hospitality and respect.

Thus was England freed from the rule of the male branches of the Stuart family; who would, if they had been allowed free scope, have converted her government into an iron despotism, her religion into a papal superstition, and her people into slaves. Let us honour and cherish that liberal and manly spirit by which such calamities were prevented.

James was stern, merciless, and cruel where he believed himself right. But he always professed to be the friend of toleration and religious liberty. There is no doubt that this was merely a profession, and he aimed at relieving Roman Catholics from their disabilities, without interfering with the liberties of others. All his acts show one intent—that of making the Roman Catholic faith once more the religion of the state. Papists will not allow any toleration or liberty in religion: they say positively that they are right, and all the rest of the world is wrong; and they deem it a part of their creed to persecute, put down, and, if possible, utterly extirpate, all forms of religion except their own. The obstinate, unbending James was just the man to have carried out such principles; and had the nation submitted to him, we must, however reluctantly, come to the conclusion that he *would* have carried them out with a remorseless vindictiveness. Indeed, it is highly probable that the terrible scenes which were witnessed in England during the reign of the Catholic bigot, Mary, might have been repeated, with no diminution of horrors, during the time of the equally bigoted Catholic James. He who caused a righteous woman to be burnt at the stake for an act of Christian charity, would have had no hesitation in condemning Protestants to an agonising death by fire because they would not desert their principles, and yield themselves up, body and soul, to the tyranny of Rome.

It must be allowed that James was sincere in his religious views; but though sincerity may be an apology for error, it is none for cruelty: and his religion did not preserve him from private vices. He openly violated the marriage tie, and set a public example of immorality. He was haughty, domineering, and remorseless; and, under a great pretence of openness, retained that vice of his family—equivocation. Vicious in all things, this bad man, and worse monarch, only wanted intellect to have made him as terrible as he at last became contemptible. That he did not possess; and the blind bigot sacrificed his throne in a madly impatient attempt to make it the most despotic one in Europe.

CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND MARY STUART.—A.D. 1689—1691.

AFTER the flight of James, England was, for nearly two months, without a king. The peers and bishops, to the number of ninety, at once drew up an address to the Prince of Orange, requesting him to summon a convention by circular letters, and, till it met, to take upon himself the duties of government. William did not hesitate to comply with the latter part of their request, as it was necessary for the preservation of the public peace; but he doubted the propriety of summoning a convention, his authority being so imperfect for that purpose. It was then suggested—we are not told by whom—that all the members of any House of Commons that had met during the reign of Charles II., together with the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council of the city of London, should meet, and determine what course it was proper, under the circumstances, to pursue. This was done; and the assembly thus constituted adopted the views of the peers and bishops, and requested William to summon a convention: thus urged, he at once complied. This body met on the 22nd of January, 1689, and the members voted —"That King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits, and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has ABDICATED the government, and that the throne is thereby become VACANT." They also declared that it was not consistent with the safety of this Protestant nation that it should be governed by a popish prince. After a great deal of discussion, the Lords agreed with these votes, only they wished to say that James had *deserted* his throne, instead of that he had *abdicated* it. In the end, both the Lords and the members of the convention declared that the Prince of Orange and Mary Stuart, his wife, should be proclaimed lawful King and Queen of England. It was also declared, that if Mary left no children, the crown should descend to James's other daughter, the Princess Anne.—The two Houses also adopted, on the 12th of February (the day the Princess Mary landed at Greenwich), a *Declaration of Rights*, setting forth James's offences; claiming civil and religious freedom for the people; and circumscribing the exercise of the royal prerogative.—On Ash Wednesday (February 13), a court was held at Whitehall, where the Declaration was submitted to the prince and princess, who accepted it; and they were that day proclaimed, in London, King and Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.

The Scottish convention, which met at Edinburgh on the 22nd of March, followed the example of the English one, by declaring that James had forfeited his crown, and making an offer of it to William and his wife, Mary. Ireland, where the greater part of the people were Catholics, adhered to the late King James. William and Mary were therefore crowned King and Queen of England on the 11th of April, 1689; the convention having been previously declared a legal parliament. A new oath of allegiance to the sovereign was then framed: but a few of the nobles, together with the Archbishop of Canterbury, seven other bishops, and about 400 of the clergy, refused to take it. In consequence of this, they were called Nonjurors; that is, persons who refused to swear allegiance to William, because they thought James had been unjustly deposed. This conduct on the part of the clergy seems strange; for they, of all men, had cause to bless the revolution, and the Protestant prince it had placed upon the throne; as that revolution and that prince had saved the Protestant religion from being crushed beneath the iron heel of Rome. But many of the bishops and clergy of that day could not shake off their belief in the old doctrines of divine right and passive obedience; and they must be respected for their honesty, however mistaken we may deem them.

The House of Commons had learnt, by experience, that the way to spoil a king, and tempt him to become a tyrant, was to render him independent of a parliament by settling an income upon him for life. Therefore they determined, in future, to grant supplies of money only for short terms, and to state, at the time they voted it, what it was to be used for. This principle has been adhered to ever since, and has at last made the Commons the real governors of this country. An English monarch, in these days, could not do anything in decided opposition to the House of Commons without being in danger of losing his crown—a danger he would, without doubt, incur, unless he was wise enough to see his error, and submit to the will of his people. Thus, although the *form* of government in this country is monarchical, there is a great deal of republicanism in the *spirit* of it. Supplies were voted

for the government, and for the protection of the nation; and £600,000 was also voted, to be given to the Dutch, as a remuneration for their services in effecting the revolution. But the Commons were jealous of the kingly power, and not so liberal as William wished them to be; and he complained of their want of confidence in him.

The new king had been educated as a Calvinist in religion; but he was a liberal-minded man, and hated all persecution for opinion's sake. For the benefit of the dissenters, he proposed that the Test Act should be abolished; that is, the act which declared that no person should be employed in any office of the state without taking the sacrament according to the church of England. But the bishops were alarmed: they thought the Test Act a defence of the church against both papists and dissenters; and they contrived to get the bill which was introduced to repeal it laid aside. At the same time, the bishops tried to get the law repealed by which they and the clergy were to take an oath of allegiance to the new government. They were not successful in this attempt; but were enjoined to take the oath before a certain date, under a penalty of being suspended from their offices for six months, and of being deprived of their benefices altogether if they would not take it at the end of that time. At the suggestion of the king, what was called a Bill of Comprehension was brought forward, by which the church of England, the dissenters, and the kirk of Scotland might all be united into one church—a church which should only require all its members to be Christians and Protestants, and not to be too rigid about forms. This scheme scarcely pleased anybody, and, after violent disputes, was rejected. A bill to relieve Protestant dissenters from certain penalties—now known as the Toleration Act—was, however, introduced, passed by both Houses, and became law on the 24th of May.—William had a deal of trouble with his parliament on other subjects besides that of religion: he knew that many of the Tories were plotting both against his life and government; and he became jealous of the Whigs, who wished to obtain all offices and authority in the state for themselves, and to limit the power of the sovereign more than he thought consistent with the dignity of his position: in fact, like Charles and James, William was very desirous of having his own way; and, as was the case with them, the Commons frequently refused to permit him.

The fugitive King James and his queen had been treated very generously by Louis of France, who gave them the palace of St. Germaine to reside in, and supported it for them in a style of splendour. Besides that, Louis (from a motive of self-interest) promised to do his best to restore James to the throne from which he had been driven on account of his vices. As Tyrconnel, the governor of Ireland (though he pretended to be faithful to William), was in reality secretly working as a traitor, and as a great part of the Irish were papists, it was resolved that James should land in that country with a French army, to assist him in recovering his regal authority.

Tyrconnel, who was a very dangerous man, treacherously disarmed all the Irish Protestants, and collected a popish army of from 40,000 to 50,000 men. James then set sail with a little fleet of fifteen vessels; and, on the 12th of March, he landed at Kinsale, in Ireland, and was received with enthusiastic rejoicing by the Irish people, who soon had good cause to wish he had never set his foot upon their shores. For the present, however, all was joy; and the people were delighted that they had got back their popish king. All Ireland, except the province of Ulster, submitted to his authority; and Londonderry and Enniskillen alone were strong enough to defy it. The English fleet ought to have stopped James upon the sea; but it missed him, and afterwards met the French fleet on the 1st of May, and was beaten by it. It is said, that when a French nobleman boasted to James how the sailors of his nation had beaten the English, his national feelings overcame him, and he observed sadly, "It is the first time!"

When James entered Dublin, he was met by a procession of popish bishops and priests bearing the host, to which he publicly offered adoration. He then dismissed all who were not Catholics from the council board, and issued five proclamations. Most of the Protestants had fled from Ireland when he landed there; and his first proclamation commanded them to return, on pain of being considered outlaws, and of losing all their property: it also required every one to take up arms to expel the Prince of Orange from the throne. The second proclamation expressed James's gratitude to his Catholic subjects, and desired all of them who were not in military service to lay up their arms till they were wanted. The third desired the people to supply his soldiers with provisions, which were to be paid for honestly. The fourth declared that twenty shillings should pass for a guinea: and the fifth summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th of May.

When this popish parliament met, it gave the estates of Protestants to parties of armed Catholics, whenever the latter laid claim to them: it declared all who assisted the Prince of Orange to be traitors; voted £20,000 a month for James; and passed an act granting liberty of conscience to all Christians. James's acts, however, soon showed that he meant to make popery predominant. All the churches, colleges, and schools

were given to the papists; and, as if in mockery of the law just passed granting liberty of conscience, Protestants were forbidden to assemble under a penalty of death.

That he might subdue the Protestants utterly, James laid siege to the city of Londonderry. His troops had invested the city in April; and hostilities commenced on the 21st of that month. The siege was actively pressed, and as gallantly resisted, during the months of May and June. The inhabitants indeed defended themselves so bravely, that Enniskillen, and, by degrees, nearly the whole province of Ulster, rose up against the besieging army. James took the command of the siege in June; and assaults were made, day after day, for eleven days without effect. He then went back to Dublin, and left the operations to be conducted by a French general, named Rosen. This man, on the 30th of June, issued a proclamation, to the effect that, if the city were not surrendered on the 1st of July, all the inhabitants of the surrounding country should be collected and driven under the walls, there to starve, or be a burthen to the city; and that when the city was taken, no quarter should be given to age or sex. As soon as James heard of this proclamation, he ordered it to be withdrawn; but Rosen suffered great cruelties to be practised. After considerable delay, the place was rescued by the troops King William had sent over to its relief; and, on the 30th of July, Rosen was obliged to abandon the siege. On the same day the brave Protestants of Enniskillen defeated their popish assailants with great slaughter.

During this time, an insurrection had been got up in favour of James in Scotland. It was led by Lord Dundee (better known as the fierce Graham of Claverhouse). The spirit and genius of this stern man might have largely helped to retrieve the fortunes of a monarch not so odious as James. Dundee and his wild Highlanders, on the 26th of May, defeated one of William's generals at a place called Killiecrankie; but he himself perished in the moment of victory, and his followers mournfully dispersed, and retired to their homes. The Highlanders said that Dundee had a charmed life, and was impenetrable to either leaden or iron bullet, but that one of the English soldiers, who knew this, tore off a silver button from his dress, and, loading his gun with it, gave the Scottish leader his death-wound. On the 13th of June, the Duke of Gordon, who held Edinburgh Castle for James, surrendered it; and, in a short time, the whole of Scotland submitted tranquilly to the rule of William.

On the 19th of October, William reassembled the convention parliament, which passed the Bill of Rights, embodying the provisions of the Declaration of Rights before referred to; excluding from the throne a papist, or any sovereign marrying a papist; and taking from the king his dispensing power. A bill was also passed reversing the attainders against Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, Alderman Cornish, and Mrs. Lisle. These were the most important acts of the session and of the convention, which William dissolved on the 6th of February, 1690. By that time he had lost much of the popularity he possessed at first. His manners were cold and reserved, and many persons fancied his chilly dignity concealed an arbitrary disposition. The Whigs were desirous of keeping all the power and good things of the state to themselves, and allowing nothing to the king; many of them, also, were unprincipled, crafty men, who held a secret correspondence with the exiled James; and William became irritated against them.

A new parliament met on the 20th of March, in which the Tory party was the strongest. It readily agreed to support the king in a war with France, and to find supplies for the reduction of Ireland to his authority, and the expulsion of James from that island. It also settled the revenues of the crown upon William for his life. A general pardon, or act of grace, was passed by this parliament, and cheerfully signed by the king, who wished to put an end to the quarrels, fears, and jealousies of the two great parties into which the country was divided. Thirty-one persons, however —known and irreclaimable traitors—were excepted from it. William then prorogued the parliament; and in the month of June, 1690, he went over with an army into Ireland, resolved at once, by a great effort, on crushing the rebellion against him in that country.

He landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th of June; and was very pleased with the appearance of Ireland, declaring it to be a country worth fighting for. The armies of the rival kings, on the 30th of June, faced each other on opposite sides of the river Boyne. The soldiers of James wore bits of white paper in their hats as cockades, and those of William little green sprigs, to distinguish them during the action. On that day, as William was riding along the bank of the river to reconnoitre, two field-pieces were fired at him. The discharge from one killed a man and two horses close by him: the ball from the other struck upon the ground, and, rebounding, wounded William on the right shoulder. The enemy thought he was killed, and spread a report to that effect; but he himself treated the matter with calm indifference. The next day (the 1st of July, 1690—a lovely summer's morning) the battle took place. William's Dutch guards dashed into the river, and forced their way across in spite of a terrible fire of musketry. The action was bravely fought on both sides; William's forces were several

times repulsed; but, in the end, they gained a decided victory. James kept himself out of danger, and his spiritless conduct was supposed to have contributed to his defeat. As soon as he saw that the day was going against him, he left his army to its fate and fled to Dublin. Still in terror, he proceeded to Duncannon, and from thence embarked for France. He landed at Brest on the 9th of July, and again took up his residence at St. Germaine. His defeat was followed by a general flight of the papists from Dublin; and William, entering that city in triumph on the 6th of July, proceeded to the cathedral church of St. Patrick returned thanks for his victory, and declared the Protestant religion restored. But he was not abl altogether to subdue the Jacobites (as the followers of James were called) in Ireland; and early in September, after some unsuccessful military movements, he returned to England. During his absence, a French fleet of eighty-two vessels had the boldness to attempt to sail up the Thames, in the hope of seizing and carrying off Queen Mary. It was stopped by the English and Dutch fleets, and an engagement took place off Beachy Head. The French were superior in numbers, and took two Dutch and two English ships. The Dutch, whom Torrington, the English commander, put in the van, were obliged to draw off, and Torrington did not offer to support them, but withdrew hi ships into the Thames. The allies lost 900 men and the French admiral was severely censured by his government for not following up what was considered a victory.

On William's return from Ireland, he met the parliament, which granted £4,500,000 to subdue Ireland, and carry on the war against France So large a sum had never before been voted by an English parliament; but it was necessary to make great efforts, as the ambitious Louis was attempting to extend his dominion over the whole of Europe. The cool, resolute William was the most unconquerable opponent he ever had; although a league of several continental nations was formed against him. Louis therefore supported James, because by so doing he hoped to crush William.

Having for a time settled the affairs of England, William visited Holland, as he still remained stadtholder of that country, although he had become King of England. On the 16th of January, 1691, he embarked at Gravesend despite the extreme severity of the weather. He was attended by twelve men-of-war and seven yachts. As the Dutch coast was frozen in, it was difficult to get into port with the large vessels. William, therefore, when within about a league and a-half from Goree, embarked, with a few friends, in an open boat, and pushed off for the shore. The danger of this act made the sailors hesitate, when the king asked them if they were afraid to die in his company, and commanded them to push off. They soon lost their way in a thick fog, and, during the whole of a bitter night, had to row slowly and cautiously in darkness, amid masses of floating ice. They reached land the next morning, almost perished with cold.

The Dutch celebrated the arrival of their prince with bonfires, illuminations, and other tokens of enthusiastic joy. During his absence they and their allies had been defeated by the French, and they were glad to see William again amongst them; for they regarded him as their hero and deliverer. He had met the continental princes who had leagued themselves against Louis, and infused fresh hope and spirit into their proceedings. To relate the events of that great war would be to give the history, not of England, but of Europe. It continued during a great part of William's reign, and extended into that of Queen Anne: but to describe the constant battles, sieges, and manœuvres of it, even in the briefest way, does not fall within the scope of this history. It was prosecuted by William with a view of achieving the constant object of his life—to check the gigantic power and restless aggression of the mighty Louis XIV. of France. To attain that object, in which England had but a secondary interest, those wars were commenced which laid the foundation of that debt now pressing so heavily upon Englishmen; and that enmity excited between the two nations, which has only, within the last few years, evinced any symptoms of fading away.

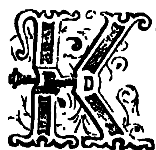
Having done his best, in his first campaign, towards the accomplishment of this object, William returned to England, where several conspiracies against his government had been detected and put down in his absence. Then he promoted the famous Bishop Tillotson to be primate of England, and gave the sees of the nonjuring bishops, who still refused to take the oaths of allegiance to him, to wiser, perhaps, but not better men. Having made arrangements for the vigorous prosecution of the war in Ireland, he again started for Holland, to assist the confederate princes in the war against France.

The conduct of the war in Ireland had been entrusted to General Ginckel, who soon brought it to an honourable end. Having crossed the river Shannon, in the teeth of the French and Irish troops, he captured the town of Athlone on the 1st of July. Driven from the town, the French and Irish retired to Aghrim, and encamped in an excellent position, protected by hills and bogs. They were followed by General Ginckel with his army, and a fierce encounter took place on the 12th of July, which ended in the victory of the English. The battle lasted only two hours; but, in that brief time, 4,000 Irish and French were sent to a sudden and

blood-bedewed grave. Nearly as many more perished in the pursuit; but the English lost only about 1,400 men. The fatal battle of Aghrim was followed, on the 3rd of September, by the surrender of Limerick, which put an end to the war; and the cause of James and popery was lost in Ireland.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND MARY STUART.—A.D. 1691 —1694.



ING WILLIAM returned to London during the autumn of 1691, and opened the parliament, which voted money for carrying on the war with France, and for increasing the army and navy.

In the commencement of the following year a shocking event happened in Scotland—an event which has ever been considered a stain upon William's character. It is known in history as the massacre of Glencoe. The Scottish people, and especially the Highlanders, were strongly attached to the cause of the Stuarts, and did their best to restore James to his throne. A Scottish nobleman, the Lord Breadalbane, proposed to William a plan for winning the affections of these men, and the English king consented to it. It was, that a general pardon should be given to the Highlanders, £12,000 distributed amongst them, and pensions bestowed upon their chiefs, on condition of their keeping 4,000 of their clansmen ready to resist any invasion from France. The Highland chiefs were ready enough to take the money; but they were a treacherous set of men, and wrote to the banished James for permission to cheat William by pretending to submit, and thus obtain the reward of obedience while they held themselves ready for rebellion. Having made up their minds to this baseness, they could not agree about the division of the money. Indeed, they were so clamorous, and made such extravagant demands, that Breadalbane was unable to come to any terms with them, and the scheme of conciliation was given up.

But as it was necessary to subdue the rebellious spirit of the Highlanders, Breadalbane and some other Scots advised William to make a terrible example of the most abandoned and restless of them. He accordingly resolved to put in execution an old law of the country, and issued what was called "letters of fire and sword." The clan pointed out to him as the most incorrigible and ruffianly was that of Macdonald of Glencoe. Besides being rebels, these men were cattle-lifters, or thieves, and not unfrequently concealed their robberies by murder.

King William had, in August, 1691, offered peace and indemnity to all who had been in arms against him, provided they would submit and take an oath of allegiance before the 1st of December. The obstinate Macdonald of Glencoe, cherishing treason to the latest moment, did not present himself to take the oath until the last day allotted for that purpose. Alarmed for the consequences, he then hurried to Fort William, and offered to take the oaths. The commanding officer refused to administer them, as he was not a civil magistrate. Macdonald was therefore obliged to travel to Inverary, where he arrived three days behind the time. After some hesitation the sheriff consented to receive the oaths, and the chief returned to his native valley, believing himself and his clan to be in safety.

They were not so: the king was not made aware of Macdonald's submission, and he signed a warrant for the extermination of the clan. The mode in which this severity was inflicted has caused it to be regarded, both then and since, with feelings of execration. Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, was directed to march into the valley with two regiments of soldiers, under pretence of levying some taxes in arrear. They arrived on the 1st of February, 1692; and as they said they came in peace, they were received with hospitality, and lived for thirteen days on terms of hollow, false friendship with their devoted victims. Then, during the night of the 13th of February, they suddenly turned on the unsuspecting Highlanders, and butchered thirty-eight of them in cold blood. Old Macdonald himself was shot through the head, and fell a corpse into the arms of his wife, who, overcome by the horror of the scene, survived only till the next day. It was intended to put to death all the males of the clan, who amounted to upwards of 200; but as the mountain-passes were not effectually secured, as many as 160 escaped. Captain Campbell then carried out his instructions by burning all the houses in the valley, and the wretched women and children were driven out into the bleak, wild country, where many of them perished in the snow from cold, want, and distraction. A great outcry followed this cruel deed: the Jacobites represented William as an inhuman monster. It was long

before the feeling abated; and it is not, even now, extinguished. The king directed an inquiry to be made into the affair; but it was afterwards abandoned; and no one connected with the massacre was punished.

The same year that this infliction fell upon the Highlanders of Glencoe, William abolished the episcopal form of worship—a form hated by the Scots, who thought it scarcely better than popery. The attempt to force it upon them had led to the revolution which conducted Charles I. to the scaffold; and had ever since been attended by persecutions, insurrections, and bloodshed. Its abolition, however, could not detach them from the cause of the Stuarts, which they still continued to support.

In March, 1692, William went over to the continent, and joined the grand army of the confederacy. He engaged in several military enterprises without success; and it is remarkable that, though he was, without doubt, both a brave and skilful soldier, he failed in more sieges and lost more actions than any general of that day. While he was abroad, an officer in the French service, named De Grandval, was arrested, in the middle of July, for a design to assassinate him. The villain confessed that he had been hired to murder William, and that he had afterwards seen James, who said to him, "If you and the other officers do me this service, you shall never want." He was very deservedly shot for his intended crime. James declared, however, in his *Memoirs*, that he had no idea the "service" alluded to, included the assassination of the king. Other traitors at home were plotting the ruin of William; and amongst them was the Earl of Marlborough—a man whose great genius as a warrior has alone redeemed his memory from some of the censure attached to it for his desertion of James, and his subsequent bad faith to William in the early part of his reign. Marlborough was sent to the Tower on a charge of treason, in designing to restore King James—a design he was certainly guilty of; though, as his accuser bore a bad character, the double-dealing earl was soon set at liberty.

While Marlborough was in the Tower, a great sea-fight took place, on the 19th of May, between the English and Dutch fleets, under Admirals Russell and Rooke, and the French, under De Tourville. The latter made the attack, expecting the allies would repeat the tactics of Beachy Head; and that his fleet, stronger than either the English or Dutch singly, but not equal to the two united, would beat them both in detail. There was no defection, however, but the wind was unfavourable to the allies, and only half Russell's ships could be brought into action. They thoroughly beat the French, capturing thirteen ships. The rest took shelter under the guns of the batteries at La Hogue, where the greater part of them were destroyed, on the 23rd of May, by a flotilla of gun-boats, led into the harbour by Admiral Rooke. The French fleet was intended to convoy a French army, collected to make a descent upon the English coast. The defeat put a stop to the expedition. The affair of the 23rd was witnessed by James; who, at the close, retiring in hopeless despondency, exclaimed, in a mournful tone—"Heaven fights against me!"—Queen Mary commemorated the battle of La Hogue by ordering that the royal palace of Greenwich should thenceforth be an asylum for aged and disabled seamen, in honour of that event.

William returned to England on the 18th of October, and was joyfully and enthusiastically received by his people. The parliament was opened on the 4th of November. During the session the Whigs brought forward a bill for purifying the House of Commons of court influence, by making all persons who held places under the crown incapable of serving as members of it. Although the House was full of officers and placemen, this self-denying measure actually passed; but it was rejected by the Lords. Another bill—the famous bill to provide for triennial parliaments—was then introduced. It was very properly argued, that to have a new parliament every three years, was necessary to obtain a fair representation of the people, and to prevent a corrupt and servile one from mismanaging the country for a great period of time; as the Pension Parliament, which sat for seventeen years, did during the reign of Charles II. The generally liberal William acted in an illiberal manner upon this occasion; and, after the bill had passed both Lords and Commons, refused his assent to it. He feared the people—who disliked William personally, and were offended by his evident partiality for the Dutch—might return such members as would place his crown in jeopardy by encouraging the Jacobites.

At the end of the session William again went abroad; indeed, during the whole of his reign, he constantly travelled backward and forward between Holland and England, and devoted his energies to the welfare of both countries. There was probably not a more industrious man in all England than the king who sat upon its throne: this quality helped greatly to make him, in spite of all his errors and military reverses, one of the best monarchs that ever wore the triple crown of the British empire. In the campaign of 1693, he lost, on the 19th of July, the famous battle of Landen. The slain was about equal on both sides; and William conducted his retreat with so much skill and cool bravery, that he rather gained than lost honour by it. During the summer, the French also achieved a triumph over William's forces at sea. A Dutch and

English fleet of twenty-three vessels had undertaken to protect a convoy of merchant ships, known as the Smyrna fleet, and destined for the Mediterranean and the Levant. The French fell upon them with a very superior force. Two vessels were destroyed and two captured, but the rest escaped.

William returned to England, and took up his residence at Kensington at the close of October. The parliament assembled on the 7th of November; and the king met it with a new ministry. He had tried to govern first with a Whig, and then with a Tory ministry; and "cabinet councils," before unknown, had become a recognised part of the administration. He now nominated a cabinet of Whigs and Tories—one, in effect, neutralising the other.—The Commons were not influenced by the change of ministers. They still supported the king in his desire to carry on the French war; voting him more soldiers, more sailors, and greatly increased taxes.

The king prorogued the parliament on the 25th of April, 1694, and returned to the continent at the beginning of May. The events of the continental campaign that year were only important so far that Louis made no advance; but he held his own. A naval expedition to Brest was defeated; its purport having been made known to James by Godolphin and Marlborough.—On the 9th of November, William returned to Kensington; and on the 12th, parliament reassembled. The Triennial Parliaments Bill was one of the first measures passed; and not daring to veto it again, the king gave the royal assent on the 22nd of December.—In this session the act was passed incorporating certain London merchants as "the governor and company of the Bank of England," they having lent the government £1,200,000.

William now received a blow from an inexorable power, which seems to have afflicted him more than all the successes of his enemy, Louis. This was the loss of his queen, Mary, who died on the 28th of December, 1694. Her disorder was a malignant form of small-pox, which, added to much mental anxiety, proved fatal. As soon as she became aware of her danger she was perfectly resigned, and her last days were spent almost entirely in prayer: she expired in the thirty-third year of her age. She was tall, and elegant in her figure; her features were pleasing, her manners mild, and her conduct dignified. She had a mind of more than ordinary capacity, and was a zealous Protestant in religion. As a wife, she was most devoted and affectionate. On one occasion, when writing to her husband when he was abroad, and complaining of the difficulties by which she was surrounded, she added—"But do but continue to love me, and I can bear all things else." Her conduct as a daughter, in ascending the throne from which her father had been driven, and doing so without one apparent sign of regret, has been much censured. Certainly James deserved no sympathy from any one; but a forbearing tenderness on the part of his own daughter would have been natural and pleasing. She had long quarrelled with her sister, the Princess Anne; and some say that, in her dying moments, she refused to see her, or be reconciled to her; though, according to another account, she sent her a kindly and forgiving message.

Though William was a man of cold manners, and apparently of cold affections, he returned the tender love which his queen bore to him, and mourned her loss with a grief so violent as seriously to affect his own health. During her illness he frequently burst into tears; and he told Bishop Burnet, that from being the happiest, he was now going to be the most miserable creature upon earth. He added, that he had never known a single fault in her. When she died, he broke out into violent lamentations, fainted frequently, and for some weeks was incapable of attending to business, or of seeing company. Mary's funeral was performed with great magnificence; and her body was followed to its last resting-place, in Westminster Abbey, by the members of both Houses of Parliament. Though a diversity of opinion existed as to the character of the queen, she seems, generally speaking, to have enjoyed the respect of the nation; and the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and common council of London came to a resolution to erect her statue with that of the king in the Royal Exchange.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE THIRD.—A.D. 1694—1702.



ROM the death of his queen, Mary Stuart, William of Orange reigned over England as sovereign in his own right until the end of his life. Many of the Jacobites said, that now his wife, through whom he ascended the throne, was no more, his right to it had ceased, and that the Princess Anne ought to wear the crown. But William was too firmly seated for those dangerous insinuations to have any effect.

Busy as this time was, and full of parliamentary contests and continental wars, yet no event of striking interest or importance took place for more than a year. A dangerous conspiracy of the Jacobites was then discovered—a conspiracy which there is scarcely any doubt was sanctioned by the exiled James, and entered into at his express command. It was arranged to attack King William on the road between Brentford and Turnham Green, as he returned from hunting at Richmond, and either carry him off a prisoner to France, or murder him on the spot. During the confusion and terror which would follow this event, it was intended that James should make a descent on the English coast with a French army, and take possession of the throne from which he had been so properly expelled.

After one or two disappointments, the conspirators resolved to put their wicked scheme in practice on the 15th of February, 1696. But before that day, some of them, seized with horror at the intended murder, revealed the plot to the government. The first information came from a Captain Fisher, who communicated it to the Earl of Portland. There had of late been so many sham plots, that William gave no credit to the affair; but, on the 14th, an Irish officer, named Pendergrast, addressed the earl at Whitehall, and assured him that if the king went to hunt the next day he would certainly be murdered. He said that he had been called up from Hampshire to assist in the assassination—a crime he regarded with detestation, and resolved to prevent. He owned himself a Catholic; but said he did not believe any religion could justify so treacherous a deed. He then gave an account of the whole plot; but refused to name the conspirators, considering himself bound in honour not to do so. When the king heard this disclosure, he was still scarcely convinced of the reality of the plot; but a third conspirator, named La Rue, having revealed the same particulars, without knowing any one else had done so, he was satisfied of its existence. William examined La Rue and Pendergrast separately, and prevailed upon the latter to give him a list of the conspirators.

As William did not go to Richmond on the 15th of February, the conspirators put off the intended execution of their wicked plot until the 22nd. On that morning he entered his coach, but, after riding a short distance, suddenly returned; and Sir George Barclay, the principal conspirator, fearing his plot was discovered, fled back to France. Most of the other plotters were seized that night in their beds. A proclamation was issued for the apprehension of those who had absconded, and £1,000 offered as a reward to any one who should seize them. Amongst the names inserted in this proclamation was that of James's natural son, the Duke of Berwick, who had visited and encouraged the conspirators. Some writers have denied that James, who, during his exile, devoted the greater part of his time to his religious duties, sanctioned the proposed murder. The ex-king himself, in his *Letters* and *Memoirs*, admitting the conspiracies against William's government, which he considered were right, always denied a connection with any attempts on his successor's life.

On the 11th of March, Charnock, King, and Keys, three of the conspirators, were tried at the Old Bailey, and condemned to death as traitors. They suffered at Tyburn, confessing the plot in their last moments; but Charnock, who was a scholar, left a paper, in which he attempted to justify his conduct by saying that William was an usurper. It also declared that King James had no knowledge of the intended murder. Sir John Friend, Sir William Perkins, Brigadier Rookwood, Major Lowick, and Captain Cranburn were tried, condemned, and executed a few days afterwards. Friend, a rich brewer, declared he believed that he was going to suffer for the cause of God and true religion. He added, that he knew nothing either of the proposed murder of William, or the invasion of the kingdom; and that he could not understand that James's subjects had a right to depose or dethrone him on any account whatever. These traitors were attended on the scaffold by three nonjuring clergymen, named Cook, Snatt, and Collier, who publicly absolved the criminals of all their sins. For this conduct, which was intended as a justification of the conspiracy, Cook and Snatt were sent to Newgate, but Collier escaped.

The projected invasion was as fruitless as the plot for

assassination; and, although James had proceeded as far as Calais, it was abandoned as hopeless. He then published a denial that he knew anything about the proposed murder; but the majority of the English people did not believe him. Both Houses of Parliament waited on William with addresses of congratulation, and assured him that they would defend his life to the utmost; support his government against the late King James and all other enemies; and declared, that in the event of his coming to a violent end, they would avenge it upon his adversaries and their adherents. To provide for his present safety, they suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and voted the banishment of all papists from London and Westminster. Lords and Commons both joined in a bond of association for the defence of the king: it declared that "King William hath a right by law to the crown of this realm, and that neither King James, nor the pretended Prince of Wales, nor any other person, hath any right whatsoever to the same." This bond of association was signed, not only by most of the members of the Houses of Lords and Commons, but by the people generally.

During the month of June, 1696, Sir John Fenwick, who had been connected with the late plot, and with several others, was arrested as he was attempting to escape into France. To save his own life, Fenwick revealed to the Duke of Devonshire, that the Earls of Marlborough, Shrewsbury, and Bath, the Lord Godolphin and Admiral Russell, were all in correspondence with James; and although they pretended to be very loyal to William, were in the habit of betraying his secrets to his banished rival, whom they were ready to restore. It is known that some of these lords were traitors; and there is little doubt they all were; but as it was now their *interest* to act honourably, William trusted that they would do so, and did not seem to give any credit to the accusations of Sir John Fenwick. There were only two witnesses to convict that known traitor, and Lady Fenwick bribed one of them to leave England, and thus render his conviction by the ordinary laws of the country impossible. But there was an extraordinary way of procuring the condemnation of an enemy to the state—and one which those who bitterly condemned any extraordinary exercise of the prerogative by the sovereign, never failed to resort to when the law would not support them—namely, by an act of attainder in parliament. By this means Fenwick was sentenced to the block, and was beheaded upon Tower Hill, on the 28th of January, 1697. On the scaffold he declared that he was innocent of any share in the intended invasion, and that he regarded the idea of assassinating William with horror. Still he professed his loyalty to James, and prayed for his speedy restoration.

This bill of attainder was the most important act of the session of 1696–'97. Parliament was prorogued on the 16th, and the king embarked for Holland on the 26th, of April. The campaign of 1696 had not been favourable to Louis; nor was that of 1697; and the monarch who had so long been at war with half Europe, was at length desirous of a peace. His people were weary; his treasury almost exhausted; and he had a design upon the crown of Spain, which he feared he could not accomplish while so many confederated princes were in arms against him. A treaty was therefore set on foot at Ryswick, and peace was concluded, on the 22nd of September, 1697, between England, France, Holland, and Spain. By this treaty Louis abandoned the cause of James, acknowledged the Prince of Orange to be King of England, and agreed to restore to the potentates of Germany, of Spain, of Holland, and of other countries, all that he had won from them by force of arms. The French people were terribly mortified; but they needed peace; and Louis merely made that peace to serve his own ambitious schemes, and intended to break it again as soon as it was convenient for him to do so.—William remained at his favourite residence, the palace of Loo, some time after the treaty had been signed. He did not return to London till the 26th of November, when he was received with transports of joy; and the people hailed him as their deliverer from a war which had so long consumed their resources, and held back the tide of their prosperity.

A coldness soon began between William and the House of Commons. He wished to retain his army, because he believed Louis would not long observe the treaty that had just been concluded; but the Commons entertained a natural jealousy of permitting him to keep up an army in time of peace, and insisted that it should be disbanded. When he opened the parliament on the 3rd of December, 1697, the king distinctly stated his opinion, "that, for the present, England could not be safe without a land force." The Commons took up the subject a few days subsequently; and in reply to the ministers, who supported the king's wish that a respectable army should be kept up, it was maintained that a standing army was utterly inconsistent with a free government; and that if it were once established, it was a power kings would never forego. That the history of every country showed, that to establish a military force apart from the people, had ever been an act fatal to liberty; that a people could no longer be free when they were disarmed, and the power of the sword placed in the hands of mercenaries; and that the fruit of the Revolution would be trampled upon and lost if a standing army were permitted to exist in England. These arguments had such an effect that, by the votes of 185 members against those of 148, it was resolved to disband all the forces raised since 1680—

a vote which reduced the troops of the country to no more than 10,000 men. William was much hurt, and declared to some of his friends, that he would never have interfered with the affairs of the English people, had he thought they would have treated him with so much distrust and ingratitude. The people were not yet satisfied with the reduction that had taken place; the parliament began the agitation again; and William, though it had voted him most liberal supplies—in all, amounting to £7,118,000—dissolved it, and summoned a new one.

The affairs of Spain at this time occupied a large share of the attention of the other European powers. That country had been the wealthiest and most powerful in Europe; but, from long-continued, bad government, it was gradually declining to a state of anarchy and weakness. Spain was the most intensely popish country in Europe; the Roman church had hung like a mill-stone around the neck of its people, and the result was, that it was hastening to decay. At the period we are now arrived at, it was governed by Charles II., a young king whom constitutional maladies had left a mere wreck both in mind and body. He was childless, and such a prey to illness and melancholy, that he had given up all idea of being blessed with children. The question which engaged the attention of the statesmen of Europe was, who should succeed him on the throne of Spain?

There were three competitors for the dignity which Charles II. was almost daily expected to leave. His eldest sister had been married to Louis XIV. of France. Louis's son, the dauphin, would therefore have succeeded to the Spanish crown in the common course of inheritance, if his mother, at the time of her marriage, had not solemnly renounced her claim to it—a renunciation that had been confirmed by the Cortes, or parliament of Spain. The second claimant was the electoral Prince of Bavaria, the son of a younger sister of the Spanish King Charles. She also had renounced her claim to the crown at the time of her marriage; but as the Cortes had not sanctioned this renunciation, it was not considered binding on her posterity. The third claimant was Leopold, the Emperor of Germany, who was descended from a daughter of Philip III. of Spain. His claim was the weakest; but no renunciation of the crown had been exacted from his mother on her marriage.

Who was to succeed to the crown of the afflicted Spanish king? was a question of immense importance. All the sovereigns of Europe were interested in preventing any one becoming so powerful that he could endanger the independence of the rest. They were interested in supporting what is called a balance of power between the great states of the continent. To prevent the alarm and jealousy which would have been excited, had either the Emperor of Germany or the Dauphin of France become King of Spain, each of those princes offered to give up his right in favour of his second son;—the emperor in favour of the Archduke Charles; the dauphin in favour of Philip, Duke of Anjou.

The King of England dreaded the great power and ambition of the French king, and he would have snatched the crown of Spain from the grandson of that monarch by force of arms, if he could. This he was unable to do; for, since the peace of Ryswick, as just stated, he had been compelled to disband the greater part of his army. Therefore William tried to reduce, by statesmanship, an evil he could not prevent by force. He entered into an arrangement with the French king to settle the question of the succession to the Spanish crown, without consulting either Archduke Charles or the Emperor of Germany. On the 11th of October, 1698, a treaty, known as the First Partition Treaty, was concluded between England, France, and Holland, by which the Spanish dominions were to be divided among the rival claimants. It was arranged that the electoral Prince of Bavaria should succeed to Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands; that the son of the German emperor should have the duchy of Milan; and the dauphin the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily. This proposed division of the inheritance of the Spanish king, when it became known, caused great excitement and indignation among his people. To prevent it, Charles resolved to bequeath his dominions to the Prince of Bavaria—an arrangement which was considered to have settled the question. The settlement, however, was a very brief one; but it led to important results, in which England was greatly concerned.

When the English parliament met on the 6th of December, 1698, the Commons were irritated because the king had kept together a greater number of troops than their predecessors had voted should be retained. Determined that he should feel their displeasure, and respect their decision, they not only omitted the usual compliment of an address to him, but, on the 16th of December, resolved that a still further reduction of the army should take place. They determined that no more than 7,000 soldiers should be kept up in England, and 12,000 in Ireland, and that all of them should be natural-born subjects. Though William was bitterly vexed, he gave his royal assent to the bill; but he sent a message to the Commons, requesting that his faithful Dutch guards, who had followed him through good and through ill fortune, might remain in his service. The Commons refused his request. William's cool temperament was now effectively roused; and in the violence of his feelings he even threatened privately to leave the kingdom. It is said that when the talented but un-

principled Earl of Sunderland heard of William's threat to resign the crown, that nobleman exclaimed—"Does he so? Well, there is Tom Pembroke, who is as good a block of wood as a king can be cut out of! We will send for him, and make him our king." By Tom Pembroke he meant the popular earl of that name.

The year 1699 presents no incident of great historical interest: it was occupied chiefly by parliamentary proceedings, and by political struggles and jealousies, and meannesses, which are not only tedious to relate, but would be devoid of interest to the reader.

In the year 1700, Spanish affairs again occupied the attention of William. The Prince of Bavaria, to whom Charles had bequeathed his crown, had died, and that vexed question yet remained to be settled. On the 18th of March, a second treaty of partition was entered into, by which it was agreed, that Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands should descend to the Archduke Charles of Germany; and that the Dauphin of France should have the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, together with other possessions; but that the crown of Spain should never be worn by a French prince. When information of this second treaty reached Spain, both court and people were as incensed at it as they were at the first. The Spanish ambassador was directed to remonstrate with William: and he did so with such insolence, that he was commanded to leave the country; the English ambassador, also, was recalled from Spain, and the crafty and ambitious French king thus had the field all to himself. He used every art to influence the mind of the dying Charles; and at length induced him to sign a will, leaving his crown to the grandson of Louis. Charles did so with the greatest reluctance, for he wished to leave it to a member of the House of Austria, to which he was closely related. But the papal influence was given to France; and the cardinal, Porto Carrero, who was the papal nuncio at the court of Spain, so worked upon the religious fears of the dying king, that he did as he was directed. He signed the will, and, bursting into tears, exclaimed, "God gives kingdoms and takes them away. I am already one of the dead."

The anticipations of the wretched monarch were soon fulfilled, and he expired on the 3rd of November, 1700. The will was then made public; the delighted King Louis broke the partition treaty, and placed his grandson Philip, Duke of Anjou, on the Spanish throne. William was bitterly vexed and angry at this perfidious conduct; but he accepted the apologies of Louis. He would instantly have declared war against him if he could; but his hands were tied by the jealousy of his people: he had no army: the nation was not inclined to engage in another war; and his own health was breaking.

The Princess Anne had, on the 24th of July, 1689, given birth to a son—a promising little boy, who was educated as a Protestant, and to whom the crown of England would have descended after her death. The little prince, who was called the Duke of Gloucester, fell ill, and died during the summer of 1700; and when the parliament assembled, on the 6th of February, 1701, William said that it was necessary it should provide for the Protestant succession of the crown after him and the Princess Anne. He added, very truly, that the happiness of the nation and the security of the national religion depended greatly upon its safety on this head. The Jacobites were delighted at the death of the young prince, and began plotting how they might raise the son of the banished James to the throne. Many Protestants wished to see the proper line of succession kept up, and they were desirous that James's son might be sent to England, and educated in the principles of the church of England. They secretly sent Lord Preston to St. Germaine, with a proposal to that effect; but the ex-king rejected it. The Commons did not lose sight of this important question. On the 3rd of March, Mr. Harley introduced the Succession Bill; which, after long debates, passed both Houses, and received the royal assent. By it the PRINCESS SOPHIA, DUCHESS-DOWAGER OF BRUNSWICK, and granddaughter of James I., and her children after her, were declared next in succession to the Princess Anne, if that lady should die without leaving a child to ascend her throne. This bill placed several useful limits to the power of any future sovereign of England. It declared, that whoever hereafter came to the possession of the crown should join in communion with the church of England, as by law established; that they should not oblige the nation to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, unless they obtained the permission of parliament to do so; and that they should not go out of the kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland without the consent of parliament.

Shortly afterwards, William intercepted a letter from the Jacobite Lord Melfort, at St. Germaine, to his brother the Earl of Perth. This letter announced that Louis intended soon to sail from France with a great fleet, and restore James to his throne by force of arms. William sent it to the parliament, on which the Lords bound themselves to support the Protestant succession, and the Commons voted a large sum of money to put the nation in a proper state of defence, and raised the seamen of the royal navy from 7,000 to 30,000 men. The Lords also recommended, that all papists (a great part of whom were generally ready for conspiracy) should be banished from London, and that

all their arms and horses should be seized. The French king, however, declared that he had no intention of invading England, and he banished Lord Melfort from his court for daring to make such an assertion.

William, who was himself a wise and liberal sovereign, had been so annoyed by the jealousies of the contending parties into which the country was divided, that he sided sometimes with the Whigs and sometimes with the Tories, to see which would treat him best, and offer the least factious opposition to his government. He had so little confidence in either party, however, that once he said, in a moment of irritation, that all the difference between them was - that the Tories would cut his throat in the morning, and the Whigs in the afternoon. At this time the Tories were in the ascendant, and their chief object, instead of carrying out the king's wishes in any way, or caring much for the affairs of the nation, was to disgrace and ruin their rivals the Whigs.

To accomplish this, they appointed a committee to take the two partition treaties into consideration, and they impeached the Whig Earl of Portland of a high crime and misdemeanour for negotiating them, and the Whig lords, Somers, Halifax, and Orford, for having advised the signing of them. This was very annoying to William; for the partition treaties had originated with him, and been carried out by his commands. But the Lords and Commons could not agree in the matter. The latter presented an address to the king, desiring that he would remove the accused noblemen from his councils for ever; and then the Lords sent him an address, begging that he would do no such thing. William replied to the Commons, that he would employ none but those he deemed worthy of trust: to the Lords he gave no answer. As the two Houses could not agree, the impeachments fell through.

Many of the people of England were fairly tired of these contests of parties; and the Kentish men resolved to speak their minds freely, and give the parliament a little wholesome advice. Accordingly, at the quarter sessions for Kent, held at Maidstone, on the 29th of April, 1701, the grand jury drew up a petition, which was signed by them, the chairman of the bench of magistrates, twenty-one justices, and a large body of freeholders. This document, known as the "Kentish Petition," was presented to the House of Commons on the 8th of May. Its object was to recommend union to the representatives of the people, and confidence in the king, whose great actions for the nation, it said, could never be forgotten without the blackest ingratitude; to beg that those representatives would attend to the desires of the people, and effectually provide for their religion and safety; and to hint that their addresses to the king should be turned into bills of supply, so that his majesty might be enabled to assist his allies before it should be too late.

The Commons were in a perfect fury on receiving this petition, and declared they would punish those who presented it. Several gentlemen, who came up from Kent, were privately desired to apologise for their conduct, and beg the pardon of the House; but these spirited men refused to do anything of the kind, and declared that all Englishmen had a right to present petitions to the government. Then the Commons, on the 13th of May, voted that the petition was scandalous, insolent, and seditious, and committed the gentlemen who signed it, and were in attendance, to custody in the Gate-house. In former times despotic conduct had been exercised by the kings, while parliaments had been the defenders of liberty; but now matters were reversed, and England had a king who favoured freedom, and a parliament that aimed at increasing its own importance by curtailing the undoubted rights of the nation.

The Kentish gentlemen remained in prison until the parliament was prorogued, on the 24th of June; but the sympathy of the country was with them: they were visited by such numbers of persons, and treated with so much honour as defenders of the nation's freedom, that they had very little reason to complain of their confinement. This arbitrary proceeding of the House of Commons gave rise to a singular circumstance. A memorial was placed in the hands of the Speaker by a poor woman, together with a letter, in which he was commanded, in the name of 200,000 Englishmen, to deliver it to the Commons. This spirited memorial charged the members with illegal and unwarrantable proceedings, and directed them to amend their conduct, or they would soon incur the resentment of an injured nation. It concluded with these words—words which are well worth remembering:—"*For Englishmen are no more to be slaves to parliaments than to kings.* Our name is Legion, and we are many." This document, which created great alarm at the time, and was known as the *Legion Memorial*, was soon understood to be a hoax. It was the "memorial," not of 200,000 Englishmen, but was written by one honest, stout-hearted one—Daniel Defoe, the famous political writer and novelist, whose natural story of *Robinson Crusoe* nearly every schoolboy has read with delight, and believed in as a true narrative. The Commons had been much frightened at first; but when they found out that they had been tricked and laughed at, they put on a very dignified air, and said the thing was beneath their notice.

The exiled King James died on the 16th of September, 1701, at St. Germaine, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. His health had been broken by disappointments, and by the religious penances he imposed upon

himself. A fortnight before his death he was seized with a fit in the chapel of his palace. A few days afterwards it was followed by a second one, and then it was plain that his last hour was near. Sending for his children, he blessed them, and urged them always to adhere to the Catholic faith. He also made a short, pious exhortation to almost every one around him, and urged them to embrace Roman Catholicism. When the sacrament was brought, he cried out, "The happy day is come at last!" And when the priest who administered it inquired if he believed that the bread and wine contained the real and substantial body and blood of the Saviour, he answered fervently, "Yes, I believe it; I believe it; I believe it with my whole heart." He declared he forgave all his enemies, particularly the Prince of Orange and his daughter Anne. In his last moments he was visited by King Louis, who permitted his pity for the dying man to overcome his prudence, and he acknowledged the son of James as the future King of England.

William was highly incensed at this conduct of the French king, as it was a violation of the treaty of Ryswick, by which Louis acknowledged him as the lawful sovereign of this country; and he instantly recalled his ambassador from the French court. But the indignation of William was no greater than that of the English people, when they heard that Louis had presumed to decide who should be their king. The excitement was tremendous: for once, Whigs and Tories agreed; and a cry for war with France, to avenge the insult, rose from all parts of the land. This cry went to William's heart like life-blood; and although he was nearly in a dying state, it restored, for a time, the vigour and almost the strength of his youth. At last he thought the English people were aroused from their lethargy, and by their assistance he would yet punish the oppressor of his country, and humble the monarch who had so long striven to overturn the peace and freedom of Europe. He had been in Holland since the 3rd of July; where he had signed, on the 7th of September, a treaty of alliance with the emperor and the States-General, which had for its object the union of the crowns of France and Spain. He hastened home, reaching London on the 4th of November; and on the 11th dissolved the Tory parliament, and appealed to the people for another. A new parliament was elected—a parliament actuated by Whig principles—which met on the 30th of December. William's opening speech to the members was so admired, that the lovers of liberty printed it in several languages, surrounded with decorations: they even hung it up in their houses, as the king's last legacy to his own and to all Protestant people. After pointing out to them the dangerous ambition of Louis, the ruin it might bring upon England, and the necessity to resist it, he thus concluded:—"I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy and fatal animosities which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any, even the highest, offences committed against me. Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of your enemies by your unanimity. I have shown, and will always show, how desirous I am to be the common father of all my people: do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions. Let there be no other distinction heard of among us, for the future, but of those who are for the Protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who mean a popish prince and a French government. I will only add this: if you do, in good earnest, desire to see England hold the balance of Europe, and to be indeed at the head of the Protestant interest, it will appear by your rightly improving the present opportunity."

This was William's last speech to his parliament, and the effect of it was electrical: the voice of opposition was silenced, and his long-clouded popularity revived in the nation. Both Houses presented loyal addresses to him, and declared that they would enter heartily into the new confederacy for a war against Louis, and snatch Spain from the grasp of his grandson. They then decreed that the navy should be increased to 40,000 men, and that an army of the same number should be raised; and they cheerfully voted large supplies of money to carry on the war. Not satisfied with the exclusion of the son of the late King James, on the 15th of January, 1702, the Commons passed, unanimously, an act of attainder against the pretended Prince of Wales (as he was called), by which he could be arrested and put to death if he presumed to land in England. In the Lords this bill was warmly opposed, and twenty peers signed a protest against it.—Another measure of the session was the Act of Abjuration, by which all persons were required to take an oath abjuring the Stuart prince, and acknowledging William as the rightful and lawful King of England.

Active as William was, and brightly as his genius shone even till the last, he knew that the hand of death was upon him, and that his days were numbered. His constitution was exhausted, and his sufferings during the winter had been extremely severe. Still he never relaxed that wonderful industry which, all his life, he had been accustomed to. He never omitted attending to the welfare of his people and the concerns of state; while, in his hours of relaxation, he amused himself with horse exercise. On Saturday, the 21st of February, 1702, as he was riding from Kensington to Hampton Court, his horse stumbled and fell, and

William was thrown to the ground with such violence that his collar-bone was fractured. His attendants conducted him to Hampton Court, where the bone was set, and in the evening he returned to Kensington in his coach, by which means the fractured bone became disunited. It was re-set, and he appeared to be in a fair way of recovering from the consequences of the accident: he even sent a message to the two Houses of parliament, regretting his present inability to attend in person, but recommending to their attention the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The favourable symptoms were delusive: having fallen asleep on a couch in the gallery at Kensington, he awoke and was seized with a shivering, which ended in fever. The utmost care of his physicians was nugatory in arresting the progress of his disorder; and on the 7th of March, when some papers were sent to him for signature, he was unable to sign his name, but affixed it with a stamp made for the purpose. The same day his favourite courtier, Lord Albemarle, arrived from Holland with good news; but the exhausted king heard it without any emotion of satisfaction, and exclaimed languidly, in French, "I approach the end of my life."

Archbishop Tennison, and Bishop Burnet, the historian, remained with him in his last hours. They prayed beside him, though he was so feeble as scarcely to be able to speak; but he gave the archbishop his hand, as a sign that he was a firm believer in the Christian religion. Afterwards he collected his strength so far as to be able to receive the sacrament. To the last he was tranquil, and his mind remained unclouded. After suffering much from a hollow cough, and a difficulty of breathing (for he was always asthmatical), he died on Sunday, the 8th of March, 1702. He was in the fifty-second year of his age, and had reigned thirteen years. He was buried in a vault in Henry VII.'s chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

William scarcely reached the usual height of men: his person was thin; his constitution delicate; and he was subject to a cough from his infancy. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave, solemn aspect. He was usually cold and retired in his manners, and very sparing in conversation; though, in battle, his tongue was unbound, and his manner spirited and cheering.

With respect to his character, he has been called the "hero of Protestant liberty, and the most illustrious of the kings of England;" and there can be little doubt that we are indebted to him for that religious freedom which our country at present enjoys. If James was sincere in his expressed wish to allow perfect liberty of conscience to all his subjects, it is impossible that that liberty could have been secured under a Roman Catholic sovereign; and the establishment of the Protestant succession was the most beneficial act of William's reign. As a king, in his general character, that reign was certainly of much benefit to England. Holland, as was natural, held a great place in his affections and in his views; the interests of that country were never lost sight of; whilst those of England were, to a certain extent, made subservient to his foreign policy. In estimating the character of William, it must never be forgotten that he carried on the great work of tolerance, freedom, and justice, which was so nobly begun by Oliver Cromwell, and which some future Oliver or William will come, in time, to finish. A great historical writer (Mr. Hallam) has said, that "it must ever be an honour to the English crown that it has been worn by so great a man." A skilful yet humane warrior, distinguished in the field alike by his fortitude and his bravery—just in his conduct, sincere in his character, calm and passionless in his conversation—he may almost be referred to as the model of a wise and patriotic sovereign. Ascending the throne under such peculiar circumstances as he did, William had many enemies, and it is not wonderful that his motives should have been misrepresented and his character traduced by party writers. Still he had many friends in England—men who, like the Kentish petitioners, loved a purified religion better than a popish superstition; a civil freedom better than a rigid and harassing despotism. William's errors were merely faults of judgment, not deeds done in defiance of his sense of justice and humanity. Considered altogether, though his reign was not a period of prosperity—though, during it, England was engaged in a long, wasting war, and involved in a heavy debt—yet every lover of his fatherland will speak of that period with gladness, and yield to William a tribute of gratitude and honour.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE—A.D. 1701—1707.



ILLIAM was succeeded on the throne by the PRINCESS ANNE, the second daughter of James II. When Anne became queen, she was nearly thirty-eight years old, and had been married eighteen years. The people generally seemed very pleased with her accession; and even the Jacobites, who wanted her young half-brother to have been made king, gave no opposition; for they hoped that she would contrive that he should succeed her on the throne. This they supposed to be the more probable, as, although the new queen had had many children, she had been unable to rear any of them.

Anne's husband, Prince George of Denmark, was a fat, lazy sort of person, very fond of his queen, and of eating and drinking, and as much of a Tory as such an insipid character could be anything. Anne, who seems to have been tolerably fond of her dull husband, soon contrived to get £100,000 a year settled on him for life, and to have him made generalissimo of the army and lord high admiral of the navy. He had no talent either as a soldier or a sailor; but he took the salaries attached to those offices, and other people did the work. Indeed, from the beginning of Anne's reign, until the conclusion of peace with France, the army was, in reality, under the command of that famous soldier, but avaricious and, we fear, not very honest man, the Earl of Marlborough: and Anne, who had been completely in the hands of the Countess of Marlborough before she became queen, continued under her pupilage when she ascended the throne.

Anne met the parliament on the 11th of March; and, in a brief speech, assured the two Houses that she intended to fulfil the late king's engagements with the allied princes on the continent, to reduce the overgrown power of Louis XIV. On the 4th of May, war was, therefore, declared against France, and the Earl of Marlborough sent to Holland, where it was arranged that he should have the command of the allied armies; it being supposed that he was the best substitute that could be found for the brave King William. Several military exploits took place during this campaign, and Marlborough was made prisoner, with some of his officers (while on a canal), by some Frenchmen, who, not knowing the rank of their captives, merely plundered them, and set them at liberty. To give a detailed account of the incessant military proceedings which took place in this reign until the peace of Utrecht, would be extremely tedious, and by no means instructive. The great battles that occurred, however, such as Blenheim, Ramilies, Almanza, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, will be noticed. Battles and sieges were constantly going forward on the continent between the French and allied armies; but those mentioned were the chief military struggles in which England was engaged; and in all of them, except one, the genius of Marlborough won for her the victory. At the battle of Almanza, where the English were defeated, that great soldier was not present. It is strange that several of the most distinguished victories ever obtained by the arms of this country, were won while England was governed by a queen remarkable for her timidity of character.

A new parliament met on the 20th of October, 1702—a parliament so intensely Tory that the queen was perfectly delighted. The first thing this assembly did, was to pass a vote reflecting on the memory of the late king. Marlborough had as yet only taken a few towns; but the parliament declared that he had "retrieved" the ancient glory and honour of the British nation: a motion to substitute "maintained" for retrieved being negatived by a large majority. For this a vote of thanks was passed to him; but when the queen created him a duke, and conferred upon him a pension of £5,000 per annum, the Commons expressed great disapprobation. Marlborough, therefore, declined the pension, but accepted the title. The queen then set apart £2,000 a year for him out of her privy purse: this was also declined at the time; but it was claimed several years after; when all the arrears were applied for, and paid.

The Tory parliament next attempted to roll back the progress of the nation in good feeling and enlightenment by bringing forward the "Occasional Conformity Bill." This bill enacted, that all who had taken the sacrament and test for offices of trust, and afterwards frequented any meeting of dissenters, should be disabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of £100, and another fine of £5 for every day they continued to fulfil their public duties after they had been at any such meeting. The Commons passed this uncalled-for and ungenerous bill by a great majority; but the Lords rejected it, so it did not become law. During this reign the Lords were far more liberal, and showed more

concern for the rights of the people, than did the Commons.

The Tories were extremely anxious to blacken the characters of their rivals the Whigs, and they presented a long address to the queen, in which they charged that party with having involved the nation in the debt which was incurred for carrying on the war during the late reign. They also charged the Whigs with having improperly used the public money, and, at the close of 1702, appointed a commission to examine the state of the public accounts. In consequence of this, Lord Ranelagh, the paymaster of the army, was disgraced by being deprived of his office, and expelled from the House of Commons. In consequence of these disputes, the queen prorogued the Houses on the 27th of February, 1703. The quarrels that agitated parliament spread to the clergy, who began to be distinguished as high churchmen and low churchmen. The former adhered to the ceremonies as well as the doctrines of the church, and declined all co-operation with dissenters. The latter neglected church forms, and considered the religious views of dissenters as correct as their own: associating with them in preference to the high church party. The queen was a member of the high church. Her majesty revived the practice of touching for the evil; and a form of prayer was inserted in the church service to be used on the occasion. On one day her majesty touched 200 persons afflicted with the malady. One was a poor, half-blind, heavy-looking boy, five years old, named Samuel Johnson. In after times that boy became Dr. Johnson, the famous lexicographer and moral writer. The ceremony was always accompanied by the gift of a small gold coin; and as most of the patients appear to have been poor people, if the queen's touch did them no good, the money did.

The war on the continent continued to be carried on by the Duke of Marlborough and the allies against France. Several successes were acquired, and the military duke obtained considerable renown as a soldier; but no great result was gained on either side. When the queen reopened parliament, on the 9th of November, 1703, she spoke in a very warlike way, and declared that it was her intention to continue the struggle until the allied armies had driven Louis XIV.'s grandson from the throne of Spain, and placed the Austrian prince, Archduke Charles, upon it. This was a very foolish resolve; and the attempt to carry it into execution cost a fearful loss of life, and immense sums of money, and yet failed at last. That which we have no right to attempt deserves to fail, as this did. The Tory Commons, who had blamed the Whigs so much for the war that had been carried on in William's time, now turned round, and voted immense sums for carrying on a more aggressive war in Anne's time. They also made another attempt to persecute the dissenters by again bringing forward the intolerant Occasional Conformity Bill; but again it was rejected by the more enlightened and patriotic Lords. In consequence of this, and some other disputes, great ill-feeling prevailed between the two Houses.

Anne was certainly sincere in her attachment to the Protestant church; and she showed that sincerity in a very generous manner. In February, 1704, her majesty granted that part of her revenue which was derived from the taxes, called first-fruits and tenths (which amounted to about £16,000 a year), to the *poor* clergymen of the land, to enable them to live in a more comfortable and independent manner. The clergy presented addresses of thanks and acknowledgment to the queen, and bestowed on her the title of "Nursing-Mother to the Church"—a distinction of which she was very proud. This grant is known by the name of "Queen Anne's Bounty."

During the month of July, 1704, the Duke of Marlborough, together with that equally distinguished general, Prince Eugene, gained a famous victory over the Elector of Bavaria, who was an ally of the French king. The war in which the ambition of the aged French king had engaged England now agitated all Europe. On one side was France, Spain, and Bavaria; on the other, England, Holland, Germany, and many inferior states. This contest, which is known as the battle of Schellenberg or Donawert, was fought in a beautifully romantic spot on the banks of the river Danube, in Germany, near the town of Donawert. The battle was fought on the 2nd of July; and although the allied army (as the English and those associated with them were called) won the victory, yet both sides suffered severely, but the enemy the most. They were encamped upon the hill called the Schellenberg. The allies stormed and carried the camp; the Gallo-Bavarians fled towards Donawert, and when crossing the Danube, the bridge gave way, and numbers were drowned.

After this battle a negotiation was begun between the allies and the Elector of Bavaria. It had got so far, that articles were prepared, which the elector was expected to sign; but he declined, because the French general, Marshal Tallard, was coming to his relief with 30,000 men; and he could not, with honour, desert the French interests. In consequence, soldiers were sent to ravage and lay waste a great part of Bavaria. In a short time upwards of 300 towns, villages, and castles were given to the flames, and the wretched inhabitants ruined. To the honour of Marlborough, it must be said that he was much affected at the sight of the misery which he caused to be inflicted. "My nature," he said, "suffers when I see so many fine places burnt, and that

must be burnt, if the elector will not hinder it." The stern dictates of war left him no choice.

This desolation was soon followed by the famous battle of Blenheim—a battle which humbled the pride of France, changed the affairs of Europe, restored the military fame of England to the height it had reached in the days of Edward III. and Harry V., and made the name of Marlborough illustrious for ever. This memorable battle was fought at the village of Blenheim, on the banks of the Danube, on the 13th of August. It was gained by the allied armies; but the British troops distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner, and Marlborough was acknowledged to be the hero of that fatal field. The united French and Bavarian armies amounted to 56,000 men; the English and their allies to 52,000. The battle was bravely and furiously contested, and the victory was dearly purchased by a loss of above 12,000 men in killed and prisoners. The French and Bavarians lost, altogether, as many as 35,000. Of these, 13,000 were taken prisoners, 10,000 were left dead upon the field, and the rest driven into the Danube, and drowned in its blood-polluted waters.

This great battle is known by different names: the English call it Blenheim: the French, Hochstet; and the Germans, Plentheim. The Elector of Bavaria fled from the field in terror; the whole of his dominions fell into the grasp of the victors; and the French king was seized with astonishment and dismay. For some time no one dared to inform him of the ruin which had fallen upon his army; but at length a lady of the court told him that he was no longer invincible. Such is the atmosphere of delusion and flattery by which sovereigns are surrounded.

Marlborough and Eugene closed this brilliant campaign by the siege and capture of Ulm, Landau, and Traerbach. The great English warrior then returned home, carrying the French general and other distinguished officers with him as prisoners. He also brought an immense number of standards, colours, and cannon as trophies of victory. Marlborough had deserted the Tory party, because they refused to grant his pension; and they were displeased that a man who had left their ranks should have obtained such honours; but the Whigs and the nation generally received him with transports of grateful joy. The queen shortly afterwards rewarded him with the princely domain of Woodstock. She accompanied the gift with an order to the Board of Works to build him a magnificent palace at her expense, which, in memory of his victory, was to bear the name of Blenheim.

The month before the victory of the allied army on the banks of the Danube, the English obtained a remarkable conquest at sea. This was the capture of the famous Rock of Gibraltar—a fortress in the possession of the Spaniards, and considered impregnable. Although the natural advantages and strength of the place were such that it is said it might have been defended by a garrison of fifty men against a considerable army, yet it was taken by Admiral Rooke in three days, surrendering on the 24th of July. Such fierce broadsides were directed against its walls, that 15,000 shots were discharged in about five or six hours. The famous old rock has remained ever since in the hands of the English; and it has been so fortified by modern science, that there is very little doubt it will ever remain so. At any rate, it has not yielded to sieges of many months' duration, and has more than once defied the united power of France and Spain. After taking the Rock of Gibraltar, Admiral Rooke came up with a French fleet slightly superior to his own. An engagement took place between them off Malaga. Not a ship was captured on either side, but the loss of life was great: both sides claimed a victory; but posterity has adjudged it to have been a drawn battle. Admiral Rooke was a Tory; and the Tories declared him to be as great a hero as Marlborough. But party spirit ran very high in England at that time, and the Whigs declared that Rooke, so far from being a hero, had not even discharged his duty; and as the Whigs were now rising into power, and the Tories falling from it, Admiral Rooke was dismissed from the command of the fleet for alleged mismanagement, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel appointed in his place. Sir Cloudesley was a brave and talented officer, who, by intelligence and good conduct, had risen to his distinguished rank from the humble position of a cabin-boy.

The Tory House of Commons had gradually become very unpopular; and on the 5th of April, 1705, the queen dissolved it. The Whigs then came into power, and Marlborough was regarded as their hero. The professed principles of the Whigs were liberal—in favour of popular rights, and love of country; but their conduct certainly was not in accordance with their professions, as the public soon found.—Queen Anne met her new parliament on the 14th of June, 1705. She told them that she intended to press on with the war against France; for, said she (or rather her new ministers wrote it for her), in the speech which she read—"Nothing can be more evident, than that if the French king continues master of the Spanish monarchy, the balance of power in Europe will be utterly destroyed, and he will be able, in a short time, to engross the trade and the wealth of the world." After that, she asked for large supplies to carry on the war (for even victories are usually very expensive things); and recommended a commission for treating of a union between England and Scotland. These two countries had, since the accession of James I., both been ruled by the same sove-

reign; but they were two distinct nations, each possessing its own peculiar customs, and each governed by its own laws. William III. had longed to see the two nations united—incorporated into one great people; but such strong prejudices existed on both sides, that he was unable to carry his desire into execution.

The disappointed Tories, who were out of place, gave all the opposition they could to the progress of the government. Knowing how fond the weak queen was of the bishops and the very high church party, they tried to frighten her back to their councils. For this purpose they got up a cry that the church was in danger: as if God's truth could ever perish in a Christian land. The Whigs, who quite understood the trick, challenged the Tories to *prove* that the church was in any danger; and a day was appointed for the examination of the subject. When the day came, the Tory orators declared that the church must be in danger because episcopacy was *not* tolerated in Scotland, and because dissenters *were* tolerated in England;—because the Protestant successor to the crown was not resident in England; and because a city clergyman, named Hoadley, had preached a manly sermon, declaring that subjects had a right to resist a wicked king. After much of this frivolity, which it would be wrong to dignify with the name of argument, it was resolved by both Houses—"That the church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by King William III., of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever goes about to suggest and insinuate that the church is in danger under her majesty's administration, is an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom." Disappointed in this scheme, the Tories consoled themselves with blackening the character of the Duke of Marlborough, who had now quite deserted them, and was the idol of the Whig party.

The famous general again left England for Holland in the spring of 1706, and soon gained another great victory over the French and Bavarian armies. This was the famous battle of Ramilies, fought on the 23rd of May, in which the French and Bavarians suffered a decided and terrible defeat. Their united army consisted of 80,000 men, of whom 13,000 were killed or wounded, and the rest fled in confusion. Marlborough, in killed and wounded, did not lose more than 3,000 men. The great duke himself, however, narrowly escaped; for, having ridden forward to cheer his soldiers while they were exposed to a murderous fire, he was recognised and shot at by the French. He instantly retreated within his own lines; but the head of an officer who was holding his stirrup was struck off by a cannon-ball. The result of the battle of Ramilies was, that the French were driven out of the Spanish Netherlands, and that country was given to the Austrian claimant, the Archduke Charles.

Shortly after the battle, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and other towns submitted, and were thus wrested from the grasp of France. The French troops were utterly dispirited, and the aged Louis seriously affected by these startling reverses. He assumed an air of calmness; but the check his ambition had received so injured his constitution, that his physicians thought it necessary to subject him to frequent bleedings. In his court no mention was made of the war; and an air of gloomy constraint prevailed in his once brilliant, gay, and gorgeous palace. But the misfortunes of the French were far from being ended. Very soon after Marlborough's victory over them at Ramilies, they were again defeated at Turin, on the 7th of September, by the brave Prince Eugene.

In spite of all these reverses on the part of the French, the great war went on, and the very life-blood of France was drained to maintain it. But while Spain, France, Holland, and Bavaria were the scenes of many fearful struggles, an event of a very different character took place in England. This was the UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND into one nation, under the title of GREAT BRITAIN. Commissioners were appointed to represent each country, and make such arrangements as should be satisfactory to both peoples. Though the union was a wise measure, and by far the best thing done during the reign of Queen Anne, yet it met with the greatest opposition. On each side there were many jealous prejudices to overcome. The English looked down upon the Scots because England was the wealthiest country; and the Scots loved their nationality, and feared that their independence would be sacrificed. To such an extent was this feeling carried, that the Scottish people were thrown into a violent excitement. Great riots took place at Edinburgh: those members of the Scottish parliament who were known to be in favour of the union, went in fear of being murdered by the mob. Peace only was maintained by regiments of soldiers, and the ministers were protected by troops of dragoons. But the riots in Edinburgh failed: other riots, got up elsewhere, failed too; and the fiery people were gradually pacified.

On the 16th of January, 1706, the Act of Union passed the Scottish parliament: on the 6th of March, 1707, it received the royal assent, and, as far as law was concerned, the mingling of the two nations into one was effected. Many little jealousies and foolish feelings were, however, to be overcome before a real national mingling took place, and Englishmen and Scotsmen regarded each other as fellow-countrymen as well as fellow-subjects. Thank God, all this enmity

has at length died away, and the noblest men of both sides the river Tweed join their hands in the hearty grasp of affection, and regard each other as brothers. The Scots will not yield to the English in their admiration of Shakspeare or Milton, nor will the English yield to the Scots in an affectionate appreciation of that noble, manly poet—that simple, self-taught son of genius—Robert Burns.

By the Act of Union, it was agreed that the Scottish parliament should be abolished, and that Scotland should be represented in the British parliament. Sixteen Scottish peers were to sit in the House of Lords, and forty-five Scottish gentlemen were to be sent as members to the House of Commons. No attempt was ever again to be made to alter the form of religion to which the Scottish people attached themselves. Episcopacy was never to be forced upon them; bishops were never again to be appointed in Scotland; and the church, or kirk, was to remain a Presbyterian church, as it has remained to the present hour; but it is divided into the established and the free church; and the followers of episcopacy are becoming more numerous.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.—A.D. 1707—1714.



RANCE, as time progressed, seemed about to pay a bitter penalty for the tyrannical ambition of her king. The country was hovering on the brink of utter ruin; constant wars had drained it of people and treasure; land lay uncultivated, trade was stagnant; and the poor were perishing from famine. Her aged king longed for peace, but he could not bring his proud mind to surrender all his vast conquests, and humble himself before the allied princes in array against him.

But some good fortune was still in store for Louis. The allies were jealous of each other, and took to quarrelling amongst themselves.—In 1705, the Earl of Peterborough had been sent to Spain, where, having landed in Catalonia with a not very numerous land force, he achieved a series of the most brilliant successes; his career in Catalonia and Valencia being one of rapid conquest. The fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were taken with little resistance. Barcelona capitulated, after a siege, on the 4th of October; and the two provinces acknowledged the Austrian prince as their sovereign. In 1706, the Portuguese forces joined the English; Madrid was captured on the 24th of June; and the archduke was proclaimed king, as Charles III. But, in that year, the command of the English troops had been taken from the chivalrous Earl of Peterborough, and given to Lord Galway, a man of very little military talent. The result of this was, that in a battle fought on the plain of Almanza, on the 14th of April, 1707, by the English, Dutch, and Portuguese, against the French and the Spaniards, the latter obtained a great and complete victory. In a few hours the English and their allies lost, 18,000 men in killed and prisoners, 120 standards, and all their artillery and baggage. In this disastrous battle the French were commanded by an English general, in whose veins ran the blood of the great soldier, Marlborough. This was the Duke of Berwick, an illegitimate son of the late James II., by Arabella Churchill. Berwick was not free from the family vices of the House of Stuart, but he was a warrior of bravery and genius. Still, had Marlborough commanded at the battle of Almanza, it is likely it would have ended very differently. The French followed up their victory by taking Valencia, Saragossa, and a number of other towns. These successes fixed the grandson of Louis firmly on the Spanish throne; and the regal dignity of that distracted country was lost to the Archduke Charles.

The united parliament of England and Scotland (called the first parliament of Great Britain) assembled on the 23rd of October, 1707. In her opening speech the queen spoke of the late military reverses without despondency, and said that all which was lost would soon be recovered. The Commons seemed to think so too; for, in the address they presented in reply, they assured her that the want of success in the last campaign should not discourage them from making the utmost attempts for recovering the whole Spanish monarchy.

Queen Anne was a weak-minded woman, incapable of acting for herself, and always governed by some one. She had, up to this period of her life, been greatly attached to the Duchess of Marlborough—a clever and commanding woman, who completely ruled her. The duchess at length exercised her power a little too openly, the queen became afraid of her, and longed for some opportunity of getting rid of her late

favourite. That opportunity at length arrived; for the duchess having introduced a poor relation of her's, named Mrs. Abigail Masham, to the queen as her bed-chamber woman, that cunning person contrived to supplant the duchess in the royal favour; and Anne came to love Mrs. Masham quite as much, or more, than she had loved the haughty Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough.

The Marlboroughs belonged to the Whig party, and Mrs. Masham was a Tory, being bribed by that party, according to popular rumour, to take their part in private with the queen. Mr. Henry St. John and Mr. Harley—men of great talent, strongly attached to their party, and not very scrupulous as to the means to be employed in advancing its interests—were the leaders of the Tory party, and obtained an influence over the queen through the intrigues of Mrs. Masham; and the Whigs began to sink in the royal favour, and the Tories to rise in it. The Duchess of Marlborough was unable to recover her lost ascendancy, and a party was formed to ruin both her and her husband.

The discontent of a great part of the Scottish people encouraged Anne's half-brother, the son of James II., to make preparations to invade England, and obtain that crown which had been forfeited by the crimes of his father. On account of his claim to the English throne, this young man was called the Pretender; but he himself, although his real name was James Stuart, assumed the romantic one of the Chevalier St. George. A constant intercourse had been kept up between the chevalier and the discontented in Scotland; but he had no means of raising an army and fleet. In 1708, however, the French king furnished him with ships and a body of troops; saying that he did so merely for the sake of restoring the prince to the throne of his ancestors; but his real motive was, to get up such a revolt in England as would give Queen Anne quite enough to do at home; and prevent her from sending armies against him to the continent. On parting from the Pretender, Louis gave him many rich presents, and the pope blessed the standards of the young Stuart, who was then at the head of 5,000 troops, with a fleet of five ships of war and twenty frigates at his disposal.

Anne had received information of this intended invasion, and was prepared for it. The Pretender and his ships were blockaded in the port of Dunkirk by an English squadron under Sir George Byng. The ships got out of port on the 19th of March, but, meeting with an English fleet, tacked about and sailed away as fast as they could. One of them, however, was captured. The Lords Griffin and Clermont, together with several Scotch and Irish officers, were on board. These men were imprisoned, but none of them put to death. With all her faults (and she had many), Anne was a merciful princess. During her reign no blood was shed upon the scaffold for the crime of treason. As for the Pretender, he was glad enough to get back to France, after having been tossed about at sea, in very tempestuous weather, for nearly a month.—An attempt was then made to get up an insurrection in Ireland in his favour; but, after a great deal of spying and trickery, it was abandoned.

In the spring of 1708, the Duke of Marlborough again led an army to Holland, and joined his forces to those of Prince Eugene. The French army, cheered by its late success, had taken the towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, and had invested Oudenarde. It was near the latter place that it met with the allied armies. The French numbered 100,000 men; Marlborough and Eugene 80,000; and for some years two such noble armies had not been seen in Europe. With the French was the Pretender, in arms against his own countrymen; with the English was Prince George of Hanover, who afterwards became King George II. The battle of Oudenarde took place on the 11th of July, 1708, and the French were utterly defeated. They lost 15,000 men (though only 3,000 were slain, the rest being prisoners), and above 100 standards, and were only saved by the approach of night from total destruction. At the beginning of the battle, the French generals quarrelled amongst themselves, and gave contradictory orders; and to this circumstance their defeat has been partially attributed. No doubt, however, it was largely owing to the military genius of Marlborough and Eugene.

After the brilliant victory of Oudenarde, the successful generals laid siege to the city of Lisle, a place of great importance to France. The city surrendered on the 22nd of October; but the citadel was defended till the 10th of December. Before it yielded, the allies had lost an immense number of men. Ghent was then taken, and the dispirited French abandoned Bruges, Plassendahl, and Leffinghen to their triumphant foes. The Whigs, and the English people generally, were delighted with these successes of the national arms, and naturally proud of the courage and military genius of their countrymen. But the Tories, who would rather have seen England disgraced than a Whig general triumph, grieved for the successes of the British troops, and did their utmost to asperse the character of the Duke of Marlborough. During the month of August in this year, the island of Minorca, in the Mediterranean, fell into the hands of the English.

The queen, soon after, lost her husband, Prince George of Denmark. His chief occupation for many years had been eating and drinking, of which he was very fond, so that he had grown enormously fat, and had suffered from those disorders to which gluttonous people are subject. He died on the 28th of October,

1708, of a complication of asthma, dropsy, and the gout.

The frightful state to which France was reduced made King Louis again anxious for peace. One of his own grandchildren had summoned courage to ask the proud old monarch, what had been the fruits of his insatiable ambition, and why the succession to the Spanish crown should be preferred to the prosperity of France? Louis was convinced of the hopelessness of his attempt to sway the destinies of Europe, and, before the year 1708 closed, he entered into a negotiation for peace. The victorious allies made many demands as conditions, the chief of which was, that Louis's grandson, Philip, should resign the crown of Spain to the Austrian Charles. To this Louis would not consent; and after a great deal of diplomatic discussion, the treaty was broken off, and hostilities were resumed, Prince Eugene declaring, that the only proper place to treat with the French was a field of battle.

Accordingly, Marlborough and Eugene again took the field in Flanders, with an army consisting of 110,000 men. They crossed the frontiers of France on the 21st of June, 1709; and first they besieged Tournay, a town in the possession of the French, and compelled it to surrender after a siege which continued from the 7th to the 28th of July. Whole battalions of the besiegers were, however, blown up into the air by the explosions of concealed mines of gunpowder, or crushed and buried beneath the falling ruins.—The movements in August were not important; but, at the close of that month, an enormous French army, amounting to 120,000 men, encamped in the woods near the town of Malplaquet. The allies were so near that a brief cannonading ensued between the forces; but the battle did not take place until three days afterwards—the 12th of September, 1709. Marlborough was waiting for reinforcements; and for two days these gigantic rival armies stood looking at each other. At length the battle began, and lasted, with fearful fury, from eight in the morning until three in the afternoon. The French fought with the ferocious courage of despair; but seeing their general dangerously wounded, their lines forced, and the left wing and centre of their army giving way, they retreated in good order, and left the field to Marlborough and Eugene. The allies, therefore, claimed the victory; but it was indeed dearly bought. Twenty thousand soldiers of the allied army lay dead upon the ground, while only half that number of the French perished. England and Holland certainly had the glory of the day, but France reaped the most advantage from it. However, it was a victory, and is ranked as one of the triumphs of the British arms.

During this year (1709), London was disturbed by the movements of a vain and arrogant clergyman, named Dr. Henry Sacheverel, rector of the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark. He was a person without principle, and ready to do anything to obtain notoriety. At one time he was a furious Whig, and constantly abused the Tories in his sermons; but as the Whigs took no notice of him, he turned Tory, and lavished his invectives on the other party. In 1705, he obtained the living of St. Saviour's. Having to preach, during the summer assizes of 1709, at Derby, before the judges, he vehemently abused the dissenters, and cried up the doctrine of the divine right of princes, and the duty of the people to pay them a passive obedience in all things. Soon afterwards he preached in St. Paul's cathedral, before the Lord Mayor and coporation of London. On this occasion he repeated what he had said at Derby, but in a more violent manner. He traduced some of the bishops in the most scurrilous way, because they approved of the doctrine of toleration, and thought it did not become a Christian prelate to persecute or annoy those who differed from him in opinion. He furiously abused the dissenters; spoke of the Revolution as a great sin; defended the doctrine of non-resistance to princes; declared that the church was dangerously attacked by her enemies, and only slightly defended by her false friends; and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God, and stand up in her defence.

Not contented with having preached this absurd and ridiculous sermon, Dr. Sacheverel published it, with the title of *The Perils of False Brethren.* It created quite an excitement; and, in a short time, as many as 40,000 copies were sold. No doubt it was irritating to the feelings of right-thinking men to see the church and the press put to this bad purpose; but the best plan would have been to let the clerical parasite alone, and he would have been soon forgotten. A member of the Commons, however, complained of it in parliament; the trashy sermon was produced, passages were read, and it was voted a scandalous and seditious libel. The doctor was taken into custody; and it was resolved, by a great majority, that he should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. Some of the ministry thought that this would be making the man too conspicuous; but others, who had been abused in the sermon, insisted that it was the best way of proceeding with him.

The Whig ministry was now sinking in public opinion; for the nation was weary of the heavy taxes it had to pay for the support of the war. Anne had always been a Tory in her heart; and the Tories and the high church party resolved to seize this opportunity, and make an outcry against the government. They declared that the Whigs had formed a design of

ruining the church, and that the prosecution of Sacheverel was merely done to try the temper of the nation; and that, if this were borne, the Whigs would proceed to the execution of their wicked object without fear. These reports were spread in every direction, and by every means, money not being wanting to pay agents. The Tory and Jacobite clergy also took them up, and from their pulpits inveighed against the Whig government, and in favour of the impeached doctor. In a little while an intense excitement prevailed, and a perfect storm of Tory feeling and sympathy for the preacher spread over the land.

On the 27th of February, 1710, Dr. Sacheverel was placed on his trial at Westminster Hall, before the assembled Lords and Commons. He was assisted by several distinguished Jacobite clergymen, and even by some of the queen's chaplains. The trial occupied no less than six days, and was extended over a period of three weeks. Each time the doctor was brought to or from the hall, the streets through which he had to pass were thronged with dense crowds, who prayed for his delivery as if he had been a hero and a martyr. The queen herself attended the trial, and her sedan was beset by the mob, who cried out, "God bless your majesty and the church! We hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." It is strange that the *people* should have been in favour of this advocate of a doctrine that approached to slavery; but they followed their leaders without reflection, and loved the excitement of a popular disturbance. Indeed, riots occurred in many parts of the kingdom; and butcher-boys, sweeps, scavengers, costermongers, thieves, and women of the most depraved character, went about shouting prosperity to the high church and Dr. Sacheverel. These people knew nothing of what they were shouting for. Probably, similarly excited, if the cry had been, "Down with the church, and death to Sacheverel," they would have joined it just as heartily.

Several members of the Commons were appointed managers of the impeachment, and amongst them was Mr. Robert Walpole, a rising statesman, who ultimately obtained great distinction. His speech was much admired. In it he said—"I hope that your lordships' just judgment will convince the world, that every seditious, discontented, hot-headed, ungifted, unedifying preacher (the doctor will pardon me for borrowing one string of epithets from him, and for once using a little of his own language), who has no hope of distinguishing himself in the world but by a matchless indiscretion, may not advance, with impunity, doctrines destructive of the peace and quietness of her majesty's government and the Protestant succession, or prepare the minds of the people for an alteration by giving them ill impressions of the present establishment and its administration. This doctrine of unlimited, unconditional, passive obedience, was first invented to support arbitrary and despotic power, and was never promoted or countenanced by any government that had no designs, some time or other, of making use of it. What, then, can be the design of preaching this doctrine now, unasked, unsought for, in her majesty's reign, when the law is the only ruling measure both of the power of the crown and the obedience of the people?"

After Sacheverel's counsel had replied, he himself read a speech which had been written for him; for although a doctor of the church, he was a very ignorant person; and the Tories who backed him thought anything of his own composition would be too illiterate for the august assembly in whose presence he stood. In this paper he declared himself innocent of any evil intentions towards the queen or her government. He spoke in respectful terms of the Revolution and the Protestant succession; maintained that the doctrine of non-resistance, in all cases whatsoever, was a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and, finally, called God and His holy angels to witness that he had never been guilty of the wicked, seditious, or malicious intention imputed to him.

Notwithstanding the great excitement in his favour, the doctor was found guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors. The judgment was, that he should not be permitted to preach for three years, and that his two sermons should be burnt by the common hangman. The lightness of this sentence caused it to be looked upon by the Tories and the doctor as a triumph. Some dissenters' chapels had been broken into and burnt during the trial; and when it was over, London was illuminated, and bonfires were made in the streets. Barrels of beer were given to the mob, and all passers-by compelled to drink health to Sacheverel. He himself, for several days, went about from house to house, attended by a noisy, dirty rabble, to return thanks to the nobles and gentlemen who had given him their support. Many of these gave him presents of money; and one peer even presented him with as much as £50. Portraits of him were printed, and medals struck to commemorate his trial. To crown his triumph, he rode through the country, and made seditious and foolish speeches at every town he came to. At many places the inhabitants received him with the most extravagant rejoicings. The university of Oxford even gave a great dinner to the doctor to do him honour.

The Tories did not really care about Sacheverel; but they used him as a tool to serve their purpose. That purpose was answered; the Whigs were made unpopular, and soon after displaced from the government of the country. The Whig parliament was, on the 26th of

September, dissolved by the queen, and, while the people were still drunk with excitement about the late trial, a thoroughly Tory one was elected. Mr. Harley became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Henry St. John (afterwards Lord Bolingbroke), Secretary of State; and the queen's uncle, the Earl of Rochester, a noted *bon vivant* of the day, was made President of the Council.

While these popular tumults and ministerial changes were taking place at home, negotiations were being carried on abroad. After the battle of Malplaquet, the French king again made overtures for peace, and conferences to arrange it took place at Geirtruydenberg. There the allies insisted, as a condition, that Louis should compel his grandson Philip to surrender the Spanish crown within two months, and, if necessary, join his arms with theirs for that object. Louis humbled himself on many points, but he would not submit to that; and as the Dutch resolutely insisted upon it, the conference was broken off, and he resolved to try the chance of war once more.

The Duke of Marlborough was greatly vexed that the Whig party, of which he was a member, was driven from power; still he and Prince Eugene again took the field with an army of 60,000 men. After they had taken several towns, and many skirmishes had occurred between them and the French, both armies went into winter quarters. Nothing brilliant was done by the allies; and it was noticed, that, since the downfall of the Whig party, Marlborough was an altered man. His usual cheerfulness and self-possession in war had left him: and, indeed, the brilliant military successes of Anne's reign were soon about to be terminated by a peace, which many writers have branded as infamous. In Spain the war was in favour of the French; the English suffered several reverses; Charles III. had to leave Madrid; and the fortunes of Philip V. were again in the ascendant.

Marlborough returned home, during the Christmas holidays of 1710, to be treated with coldness by the queen, and to have insult and contempt heaped upon him by the new parliament, which had assembled on the 25th of November; and in which the majority was Tory, though containing a strong body of Whigs. After the Commons had passed many offensive resolutions, reflecting on the character of the late ministry, they made a law by which it was enacted that no person should be a member of any future House of Parliament unless he was qualified, not by intellect or education, but by *property*. No one was, henceforth, to represent a county in parliament unless he had a real estate in land of £600 a year value; and no one was to represent a borough unless he had a real estate of £300 per annum.

This parliament did one thing which promoted the religious instruction of posterity, and helped the adornment of London: it voted £350,000 for the building of fifty new churches. Amongst those which were erected on this occasion, is the magnificent church of St. Martin-in-the Fields, which was designed by a talented Scotch architect, named James Gibbs. After the great fire of London, in the time of Charles II., fifty-one new churches were built in the city, from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren, the famous architect of St. Paul's cathedral. It is rather singular that he was engaged to repair the old cathedral—a magnificent Gothic structure, which being destroyed by the great conflagration, gave him the opportunity of exhibiting his talents in the erection of an entirely new one. St. Paul's was completed during the reign of Queen Anne, and the gifted architect himself had the satisfaction of laying the last stone in his seventy-ninth year. He lived to the advanced age of eighty-six; died in the year 1723; and was buried under the choir of the cathedral.

The minister Harley had a narrow escape of his life at this period. The English government employed a number of foreign spies to bring secret intelligence. One of these—a Frenchman, who called himself the Marquis de Guiscard—had £500 a year allowed him, which Mr. Harley, thinking it was too much, caused to be reduced to £400. Shortly afterwards, Guiscard was arrested for selling the secrets of his employers to the French court. He was brought before the council on the 8th of March, 1711. On entering the council-chamber, he desired to speak privately with Mr. St. John, whom it is supposed he intended to assassinate. His request was refused; and as St. John was out of his reach, Guiscard stepped up to the table, and exclaiming, "Have at thee, then!" stabbed Mr. Harley in the breast with a penknife which he had concealed about him. The instrument broke against the bone; but the ruffian repeated the blow several times with such violence that the minister fell bleeding to the ground. All was confusion; St. John drew his sword, and crying out, "The villain has killed Mr. Harley," plunged the weapon into Guiscard. The rest of the ministers attacked the assassin—some with their swords, and others with their naked fists; and the Frenchman, after making a desperate defence, was dragged away with several of his bones broken, and lodged in Newgate, where he shortly after died. Such was the excitement this event created, that the turnkey preserved the body for some little time in brine, and exhibited it for a small sum of money. This revolting circumstance coming to the ears of the queen, she commanded the corpse of the assassin to be buried instantly. Mr. Harley was made so popular by this attempt on his life by a French papist, that Anne created him a peer, with the title of Lord Oxford. A proclamation was also issued against

the papists, and the parliament besought the queen to take care of her own sacred person.

The English people were tired of the long harassing war with France. They began to think, that although military glory was, perhaps, a very fine thing, it was also a very expensive thing, and that they had to purchase it by the constant payment of exorbitant taxes. The Tory government also hated the war, because all its triumphs had been gained by a Whig general, and a secret negotiation was opened with the French king for peace. This the English ministers were resolved to have at any price; but as yet they kept faith with their allies; and Marlborough, on the 4th of March, 1711, went abroad, for the last time, to conduct the war. The French had made great preparations, and threw up lines at Arleux, which were thought impregnable. So proud were they of these defences, that they called them the *ne plus ultra* of Marlborough—meaning that they were much beyond his ability to force. But the great English general did force his way through them; and, after a brilliant siege of twenty days, became master, on the 14th of September, of the town of Bouchain. This was Marlborough's last military exploit; and after it the allied armies separated and went into winter quarters. The Tories at home had predicted the duke's disgrace in this campaign; but we cannot believe they wished it, as their country would have been involved in it.

As, in the peace which the Tories had resolved on, they would no longer require the assistance of the great military genius of Marlborough, they ungratefully resolved to wreak their party spite upon him. An opportunity soon offered itself: the general had accepted a small per-centage from the money paid to the contractors who supplied the army with bread. This was not proper, but it was usual; and every commander did the same. It would have been quite just to deprive Marlborough of this improper source of revenue; but the Tories brought a charge against him, in the House of Commons, of having appropriated to his own use more than £500,000 of the public money; or, to use plainer language, of having robbed the state. Marlborough attempted to justify himself by stating that the money he had received was a customary perquisite, to which he considered himself entitled. This defence was useless; and the queen, now the tool of his enemies, dismissed him from all his employments. Marlborough submitted; merely telling Anne that this was an ill reward for his long services.—The Tories next attacked the eloquent patriot, Mr. Robert Walpole, who, as Secretary of War, had accepted a present of £500 from some army contractors. This certainly was an act of corruption which the Whigs would have earnestly denounced had it been practised by any of their opponents. It caused Walpole's expulsion from the House of Commons, and his imprisonment in the Tower.

After a great deal of weary negotiation, the war was concluded on the 11th of April, 1713, by the celebrated PEACE OF UTRECHT—so called because it was entered into at that place. It was considered that the conditions were far too favourable to France, and by no means honourable to England. Many people thought that, after so many military successes, the peace was scarcely more advantageous to England than if she had been conquered. Indeed, the Whigs furiously opposed it; but the Tories possessed all the power of the state, and it was carried. By the articles of the Peace of Utrecht, the French king recognised the Protestant succession of the House of Hanover, and engaged not to permit the Pretender to return to his dominions, or in any way to assist him. Louis also agreed that France and Spain should never be governed by one man; but Philip, the French prince, remained King of Spain, and Charles of Austria was obliged to abandon that country. A great deal has been written against this treaty, and it has been denounced as disgraceful and infamous; but, although the motives that dictated it may have been unworthy ones, the act itself was a benefit to the English nation. It was right to go to war with France when the power of that nation threatened to overturn the independence of Europe; but it was well to sheathe the sword when that power had been shaken to its foundations, and its pride humbled in the dust.

There were great rejoicings in England on the 7th of July, when the peace was proclaimed; and a public thanksgiving was appointed, and observed with great solemnity. Marlborough had previously left England in disgust at the ill-treatment he had received, and retired to Brussels, where he corresponded both with the Pretender and the princes of the House of Hanover; and his enemies say that he held himself ready to betray either, and attach himself to that side which he saw likely to succeed to the English crown after the death of Anne. On the 16th of July, the queen prorogued the parliament; and, in her speech, took a great deal of credit to herself for having ended the war. The speech caused some alarm to the Whigs, because she did not even allude to the Pretender and the Protestant succession. They thought that Anne would have been very glad that her popish half-brother should succeed her on the throne, and feared that she had entered into some scheme to ensure his doing so. It is certain that Anne was favourably disposed towards the Pretender; but she was too prudent or too timid a woman to attempt anything on his behalf; for she knew that any such act would be followed by a loud outcry of popular indignation. Despite the intrigues of the Jacobites, Tories, and Papists, the

English people had too much good sense to prefer a popish king of the Stuart race, to a tolerant Protestant sovereign.

During the month of March, in this year, that disgrace to the church, Dr. Sacheverel, came again into notice. He had been forbidden to preach for three years. That period had expired, and the vain, servile priest again took possession of his church in the Borough. His opening sermon was from the text—"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." In it he had the profane audacity to compare his deserved punishment (which, indeed, had proved no punishment at all) to the sufferings of the Saviour of the world. Yet this man was still caressed and followed; and a bookseller gave him £100 for this very sermon. The Tories even bestowed upon him the rich rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn; but he soon afterwards sank into the obscurity from which he ought never to have been raised.

Anne had long been ailing; and she survived the peace little more than a year. That year was spent by the Whigs in exerting themselves to secure the Protestant succession to the House of Hanover, and by most of the Tories in intrigues to bring in the Pretender, and make him king on the death of the queen. The Tories, who were in power, would have succeeded in their scheme, had they not possessed a wholesome dread of the vengeance of the people. Lord Bolingbroke's activity in this bad cause was surprising. Still the Whigs were strong enough to be able to carry a vote, by which it was decreed, that if the Pretender dared to land in Great Britain, a large reward should be given for his apprehension. Shortly afterwards, two Irish officers were actually arrested in the city, while engaged in the daring act of enlisting men for the service of the Pretender. In consequence of this, a bill was passed making it treason to enlist or be enlisted in his cause.

The last act of the Tories, during this reign, was one of great intolerance; but it was only in unison with the spirit of the time, when the principles of general liberty were understood only by a few; and each party in the state, and every religious sect, only sought to establish its own supremacy. The act alluded to was the Schism Act; the object of which was to prevent dissenters from educating their own children, and to make education a monopoly of the church of England. It enacted, that no person in Great Britain should keep a public or private school, or act as a tutor, unless he signed a declaration to subscribe to the church of England, and obtain a licence from the bishop of the diocese. The mode of education used by the clergy of the church of England was, no doubt, a very good one; but the dissenters did not think so; and it was tyranny to compel them either to adopt it, or bring up their children in ignorance. This act, which was defended as necessary for the welfare of the church, was actually drawn up by Lord Bolingbroke, who was not even a believer in Christianity, but held that the Bible was a collection of fables.

The Whigs gave great opposition to the passing of the Schism Act; and as, in the debate upon it, the bishops were silent, Lord Wharton, turning to the benches where they sat, thus addressed them:—"Precedents and authorities have been cited in favour of the present measure; but there is against it an authority of the highest weight, which has not yet been mentioned. I acknowledge that it would have come with most force and propriety from that venerable bench; but, since their lordships have been wholly silent in this debate, I will myself tell them, that it is the rule of the gospel to do unto others as we would be done unto." Still the Schism Act was passed; but the very day it was to come into operation, the queen breathed her last, and it was never put in practice. In the next reign it was repealed.

The queen had been suffering from many disorders, and these were aggravated by agitation of mind, produced by the disputes of the ministers with her favourite, Mrs. Masham. A violent quarrel that took place in her presence had such an effect upon her, that she declared she could never recover. A few days afterwards (on the 30th of July) she was seized with an apoplectic fit. When the fit was past, Anne sank into a stupor, and it was soon evident that she was dying. Bolingbroke's plots for bringing in the Pretender were not yet ripe, and he was struck with astonishment and dismay. The Dukes of Argyll and Somerset, two Whig noblemen, waited upon the dying queen, and offered their services. They recommended the Duke of Shrewsbury to her as the fittest person to fill the vacant office of Lord Treasurer, which had lately been held by Lord Oxford (formerly Mr. Harley). The Duke of Shrewsbury was a Whig; but he had played a doubtful part, and Anne thought he was a Tory. She therefore, by a sign, signified her assent to his appointment as Lord Treasurer. The ground thus slid from beneath the feet of the Tories, the Whigs were restored to power, and England saved from the danger of having a popish king.

The queen continued to doze in lethargic insensibility, and did not recover her senses sufficiently either to sign her will or to take the sacrament. On the morning of the 1st of August, 1714, she breathed her last, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Anne's personal appearance was pleasing, but not majestic: she was of the middle height, had dark-brown hair, a ruddy complexion, and a round full face. She was not deficient in understanding, but her mind was

uncultivated and full of prejudices. The things she seemed to love best were high-church principles and good eating and drinking. She was a conscientious princess, and did everything for the best; but her judgment was not strong enough to discover what was the best. She mistook a love of bishops for a love of the true precepts of religion, and, with the best intentions in the world, was ready to persecute dissenters to the verge of despair. She was a merciful sovereign, and would have advanced the prosperity of her people if she had known how to do so. But her want of judgment, and love of favourites, always made her the tool of some one; and, unfortunately, she fell into bad hands. Although she loved the church with perfect sincerity, she plotted against the Protestant succession, and desired that her popish half-brother, the Pretender, should succeed her. This was not very wonderful; for the high church of Anne's time was not far removed from the superstitions of the church of Rome. Anne was the last of the Stuart race that sat upon the English throne, and she was certainly the best. Still she inherited their love of the kingly prerogative, or, in other words, of despotic power; but her natural timidity restrained her from any bold attack upon the national liberties.

The age of William III. was not very remarkable for its literary and scientific men, though it produced John Locke, the famous philosopher, and author of the celebrated *Essay on the Human Understanding*, and other works. So many great writers, however, lived in the reign of Anne, that it has always been regarded as a brilliant age, and is styled the Golden Age of English Literature. The most distinguished poet of her time was Alexander Pope, whose *Essay on Man* is still extensively read, and frequently quoted. His poetry is extremely interesting and instructive, and his versification exquisite. Jonathan Swift (better known as Dean Swift) was the most famous prose writer of that time; but his writings, though powerful, brilliant, and witty, are frequently extremely indecent. Joseph Addison and Sir Richard Steele were two distinguished liberal writers of a more pleasing character, to whom, amongst other things, we are indebted for those delightful volumes called *The Spectator*. The famous Daniel Defoe lived in this age; and so did John Gay, whose fables are so much admired. Mr. Henry St. John (otherwise Lord Bolingbroke) was an elegant writer on the Tory side; and so was Matthew Prior, the poet; but their works are very little read now.

CHAPTER XC.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE FIRST.—A.D. 1714—1727.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the plotting there had been in favour of the Pretender, the Elector of Hanover was proclaimed King of England without any opposition, by the title of GEORGE THE FIRST. Thus a new family (the Guelphs) ruled in Great Britain, and George was the first sovereign of the House of BRUNSWICK.

The Elector of Hanover was a very plain old gentleman, slovenly in his dress, clumsy in his figure, but possessed of a good understanding, a phlegmatic nature, and a resolute temper. At the time of ascending the British throne he was fifty-five years of age. He took matters very coolly, and did not arrive in England until the 18th of September, 1714—nearly seven weeks after the death of Queen Anne; but the government had been carried on in the meantime by a council of regency. The Whig party welcomed him with joy, and he returned the compliment by dividing all the great offices of state amongst them. The Duke of Marlborough, now an old man, but as fond of money and distinction as ever, returned to England, and was again made commander-in-chief of the army. As for the Tories, George feared and disliked them: he knew that nearly all of them had done their best to give the crown to his rival, James Francis Stuart, the Pretender, and he may be excused for looking on all Tories as concealed Jacobites and traitors. Lord Oxford, the late queen's chief minister, evinced much pleasure on the accession of the new king; but George treated him with a freezing coldness. As for Lord Bolingbroke, he had been turned out of his position as Secretary of State before the new king set foot in England. This was done in consequence of a command from George himself; so Bolingbroke was wise enough to keep out of the way.

The Pretender did not like to give up his chance of the crown without a struggle; but the old French king, Louis, was not inclined to do anything more for him; and without his assistance, the Chevalier de St. George was powerless. All he did was to issue a manifesto to the English people, asserting his right to

the throne, and complaining that his *subjects* (as he called them), instead of doing justice to him and themselves, had proclaimed a foreign prince for their king, in defiance of the incontestible laws of hereditary right. He added, that he could not doubt the good intentions of his sister, the late queen, towards him; in consequence of which he had waited with patience for a dignity which was now snatched from his grasp. Jacobite and drunken riots took place at Norwich, Bristol, Birmingham, and a few other places; but they were soon put down; and George was crowned King of England on the 20th of October, with the usual solemnities.

The new sovereign's eldest son, George, who had been created Prince of Wales, was present; but the king's beautiful and amiable wife, the Princess Sophia Dorothea, of Zell, was wearing out her life in confinement in the lonely castle of Ahlen, on the river Aller. Instead of his wife George had brought with him to England two mistresses. One of these, the Duchess of Kendal, was a tall, thin, and hard-faced old woman; and the other, who was called the Countess of Platen in Germany, but the Countess of Darlington in England, was so enormously fat, and red, and fierce-looking, that a gentleman of the court compared her to a great greasy ogress. Several kings of England had lived a loose, adulterous life; but they had usually chosen beautiful women as their companions; and the mistresses of Charles II. had been famous for their graces and their generosity to the people. The lean German duchess and the fat German countess, however, besides being ugly and unpleasant sort of people, were also very poor, grasping, and stingy: they soon became much detested; and people began to think they had gained little by a transfer from a Stuart to a Guelph.

On the 21st of January, 1715, a new parliament was elected, and the king opened it in person. But this German monarch of the British people could not utter a word of English; and his speech, which had been written for him by one minister, was read for him by another. It was an honest, straightforward address; in which he thanked his subjects for the firmness they had shown for the Protestant succession; desired that no unhappy divisions of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interests of their country; declared that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government; and that the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people should be the care of his life.

The new Whig ministers resolved to punish the late Tory ones for their treachery to George, and their efforts to place the Pretender upon the throne. Lord Bolingbroke, the Earl of Oxford, and the Duke of Ormond were all impeached of high treason. Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond saved themselves by a flight to France, where they carried on their plots for the restoration of the exiled Stuart. Lord Oxford, however, was committed a prisoner to the Tower, where he remained for some years; after which he was tried and acquitted. Notwithstanding this, great discontent prevailed in the nation, and there were many Jacobite and Tory plots and riots. The people loved royalty, but they did not fancy an uncouth old German for a king. And as the social evils of the commonwealth, too recent to be forgotten, prevented them from trying the experiment of another republic, or electing a Protector like Oliver Cromwell, numbers of the people forgot the tyrannies of the family of Stuart, and longed to see James Francis, the papist, seated on the throne, instead of Protestant George.

Many Jacobites secretly sent word to the Pretender, that if he came to England there would be a general rising in his favour. The chevalier accordingly prepared to invade his native country, and Louis XIV. promised secretly to assist him. This scheme was disconcerted by the death of that ambitious monarch, who breathed his last on the 1st of September, 1715, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, after having kept Europe in a state of confusion for upwards of half a century. With Louis perished the hopes of the Pretender in France.

The Earl of Mar, however, got up an insurrection among the Scottish Highlanders, and erected the standard of the Pretender at Braemar, on the 6th of September; and the Catholics and Jacobites of the north of England rose in arms, under the command of the Earl of Derwentwater and a Mr. Foster. But King George and his ministers were on their guard: many suspected Scottish and English nobles were arrested, and placed in confinement; troops were sent into Scotland; the loyal Duke of Argyll was made commander of them; and an engagement took place at Sheriffmuir, near the village of Dunblane, on the 13th of November. This battle of Dunblane was very indecisive; 700 of the rebels were slain, and 400 of the king's troops: both parties claimed the victory; but the Duke of Argyll kept the field, and the banner of the Stuart, called the Restoration, was taken.

In the meantime the English rebels proclaimed the Pretender in several places, and marched as far as Preston. They were soon overtaken by George's troops, and, after a paltry skirmish on the same day that the battle of Dunblane was fought, lost heart, and surrendered. Only seventeen of them had been killed; but more than 1,400 were taken prisoners. Several of the captains were executed at once by martial law; the common men were crowded into the neighbouring gaols, and the noblemen and leading gentry sent to London.

The Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Lords Widdrington and Nairn, and Viscount Kenworth, were all impeached as traitors. Of these, the young and accomplished Earl of Derwentwater, and the Scottish peer Kenmure, were condemned, and sentenced to be beheaded. They suffered on the 24th of February, 1716. Lord Nithsdale escaped from the Tower the night before the day appointed for his execution, by exchanging clothes with his devoted wife, who heroically remained in his place. The other noblemen, though condemned, were respited. Shortly afterwards, six-and-twenty of the common rebels were hanged, and about 1,000 transported to the colonies in America. Thus ended this rash attempt to restore the exiled family.

Lord Bolingbroke had entered the service of the Pretender as his secretary; and that profligate statesman told James Francis Stuart, that nothing would be so likely to lead to the recovery of his down-trodden fortunes as at once boldly going to England. To avoid the suspicion of cowardice, the Pretender adopted this desperate resolve. He landed at Peterhead, in Scotland, on the 22nd of December, 1715, and went in disguise to the house of a friendly noble, where he was joined by about thirty Jacobite gentlemen. These desperate men proclaimed him as King James III.; and soon after he made a public entrance into Dundee on horseback, followed by about 300 Jacobites, who had gradually joined him. Taking up his residence in the ancient royal palace of Scone, he assumed the state of a sovereign, fearing all the time lest he should be surrounded and captured by George's troops. He had been led to expect that more than half the people of England and Scotland would have flocked to his standard; but he was terribly disappointed. Though joined by the Earl of Mar and the remnant of his forces, and though every effort was made by the nobles who had espoused his desperate cause, not above 5,000 or 6,000 men could be collected around the drooping Stuart banner. The parliament, also, had offered a reward of £100,000 to any one who should seize him, dead or alive; which caused the Pretender to become gloomy, sullen, and irresolute. Such a dejected creature did he seem, that his own soldiers began to despise him, and some of them inquired contemptuously whether he could speak?

Though it was mid winter, and the ground was clothed with snow, the Duke of Argyll and the royal troops marched in pursuit of the Pretender. Calling a council of his officers at Scone, on the 16th of January, 1716, the desponding prince addressed them in a melancholy way, saying—"For me will it be no new thing to be unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has been a constant series of misfortunes; and I am prepared, if so it please God, to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours." He reminded them that it was no time to dispute, but to act; but he did not act with energy himself. After burning many towns and villages between Perth and Stirling, to prevent the advance of the Duke of Argyll, and causing many helpless women and children to perish of destitution in the snow, the Pretender deserted his poor, deluded troops, and escaping, on the 3rd of February, to a ship, fled in disguise to France. The Highlanders returned to their homes; most of the chiefs escaped in a vessel, and rejoined their master on the continent; though forty-seven of them, who had embarked in small, worthless boats, were upset and drowned. Of the prisoners who were taken, some were shot, and others left to rot and die in various prisons.

George was now firmly seated on the throne, and the Whig minister adopted a strange plan to keep him so. By the Triennial Act, a new parliament was to be elected every three years; but there were so many Jacobites and Tories in the nation, that the Whigs resolved not to run the chance of a new general election, for fear their enemies should get the upper hand. To avoid that, the Septennial Act, by which parliament was to last for seven years, instead of for three, was introduced by the ministers and passed into law. This act (which still remains in force) secured a Whig parliament for four years longer. It was a clever Whig trick, and the Tories denounced it loudly; but it was received very quietly by the public.

In the summer King George visited Hanover, and busied himself with the politics of the continent. On his return, a friendly treaty was entered into between France, Holland, and England, which was not, however, ratified till January, 1717. George was anxious, by this means, to protect himself against that famous soldier and hero, Charles XII. of Sweden, whose hatred to George was so great, that he talked of making war against England, for the sake of restoring the Pretender. The Swedish ambassador was arrested for conspiracy against the British government, and there was a talk of war with Sweden, which would probably have taken place, but for the death of the Swedish hero, who was killed at the siege of Fredrickshall, in 1718. A quarrel had also arisen between England and Spain, which led to a war so tedious and intricate, that it would be impossible to give any just idea of it in the limits to which this work must be confined. During the course of it, Admiral Byng performed some gallant actions.—King George was not only engaged in wars abroad, but was unhappy in his family. He was jealous of his own son, the Prince of Wales; and the prince was very undutiful to his father. Frequent disputes took place between them; and about this time (1718) the king first placed his son under arrest, and afterwards

ordered him to quit St. James's. The prince then resided at Leicester House, which became a meeting-place for all who hated and opposed the king.—Such are the unnatural dissensions of princes.

The events of 1719 were but of slight historical importance. In the following year, the wonderful bubble, the famous South Sea scheme, was brought forward. As a recompense to certain merchants and others, to whom the government owed a large sum of money, it allowed them to form themselves into an association, under the name of the "South Sea Company," with the sole right of trading to those seas. An act of parliament for this purpose was passed in April, 1720; and such wild expectations were formed of the success of the undertaking, that people rushed in crowds to invest their money in shares. The directors promised to pay 50 per cent. interest; and such an excitement prevailed, that many men of property sold their estates, that they might obtain this extravagant interest for their money. Within four months, the shares of the company that had been bought for £100, could be sold for £1,000. Every other kind of business was suspended; a spirit of gambling seized the whole nation; and statesmen, nobles, prelates, physicians, lawyers, and tradesmen, spent their time in trafficking for shares.

Other companies were soon started, anxious to share the immense fortunes which the directors of the South Sea scheme were reaping. Many of them were mere impudent frauds; and all of them soon came to be known by the appropriate name of "bubbles." Still people were found ready to invest their money, and joint-stock companies sprung up like mushrooms, by the score. The following are examples of some of the wild schemes projected: converting salt water into fresh; extracting silver out of lead; trading in human hair; importing large donkeys from Spain; a new mode of fattening pigs; and a wheel for perpetual motion. An audacious swindler even issued proposals for a subscription, the particulars of which he said he would disclose in a month's time, but promising that every person who paid two guineas should be entitled to a £100 share, which would produce that amount of profit yearly. In one morning this daring rogue actually received 2,000 guineas, with which he fled, that very evening, to a foreign land.

In about six months this gambling madness began to abate; the little companies died out, or were put down by the law; and the shares of the great South Sea bubble fell from £1,000 to less than £300. Several great bankers, merchants, and goldsmiths were ruined, and compelled to abscond; and thousands of tradesmen and others were reduced to beggary. An excitement of another kind now prevailed—alarm was in every face, and few felt themselves safe from impending ruin. A furious outcry arose; commerce was palsied, credit struck dead, and society was shaken to its foundation. The people bitterly cursed the South Sea Company, and the directors dared not appear abroad.

So great was the panic, that the king was sent for from Hanover, where he usually went in the summer, and the parliament assembled, to see what could be done to allay the popular excitement. The directors of the company were commanded to lay their books before parliament, and were punished by the confiscation of all their property. By the sagacity of that rising statesman, Mr. Robert Walpole, the people were at length pacified, and business returned to its ordinary healthy channel. As the prime minister had been accused of accepting bribes from the company, he was compelled to resign, and Walpole was appointed to take his place: his predecessor was expelled the House, and sent to the Tower.—This year (1721) peace was made with Spain, and a defensive alliance entered into with that country. On the 16th of June in the following year, that great warrior, the Duke of Marlborough, died in his seventy-second year. A gorgeous public funeral was bestowed upon his remains, which were deposited in Westminster Abbey. The king, the Prince of Wales, a vast procession of nobles, military officers, and troops followed him to the grave; but very few persons regretted him.

James Francis Stuart, the Pretender, had married the Princess Clementina, grand-daughter of the famous John Sobieski, King of Poland. In the year 1720 that lady had presented her husband with a son, upon whom was bestowed the sounding names of Charles Edward Louis Cassimir Stuart. When this little prince grew up, he came to be known as the Young Pretender; while his father, James Francis, was called the Old Pretender. The birth of a Stuart gave fresh hopes to the Jacobites of England, and set the Pretender again at work to see if he could obtain the English crown. A formidable conspiracy was entered into in his favour. Many noblemen were connected with it; but the real leader was the talented, restless Jacobite, Atterbury, the Bishop of Rochester. It was proposed to seize the Tower, the Bank, and the Exchequer; to proclaim the Pretender as King James III. in many parts of the country, and to trust to a general rising in his favour.

This mad scheme was discovered by Mr. Robert Walpole, the prime minister, and means were instantly taken to frustrate it. The attempt was to have been made when the king went to Hanover, in the summer of 1722. He was advised to put off his visit; a camp was formed in Hyde Park; troops were brought over from Ireland; suspected persons were seized, and all the principal conspirators arrested. They were a

strange mixture—Catholic priests and Protestant non-juring clergymen, haughty nobles and swindling vagabond adventurers. Many fled; but Lord Orrery, Lords North and Grey, and Bishop Atterbury were committed to the Tower. So disaffected and factious were many of the clergy, that they offered up public prayers for the preservation and welfare of the traitorous prelate.

The parliament had been dissolved in March, 1722; and the new one (the first House of Commons elected under the Septennial Act) assembled in October. In his speech on the 11th, the king alluded to this conspiracy—that is, the minister who read the speech did so for him; but the sentiments were, no doubt, those of George himself. "I should less wonder at it," said he, "had I, in any one instance since my accession to the throne, invaded the liberty or property of my subjects." Referring to the Jacobite plotters, he said, very truly, "By forming plots, they depreciate all property that is invested in the public funds, and then complain of the low state of credit; they make an increase of the national expenses necessary, and then clamour at the burden of taxes, and endeavour to impute to my government, as grievances, the mischiefs and calamities which they alone occasion."

The Pretender chose this very time to issue a declaration to the king and people of Great Britain. In it he proposed that George should resign the English throne to him, and retire to Hanover with the title of king instead of elector; and that, in return for this concession, he should wear the British crown after the death of the Pretender, in case he should outlive him. The only notice the parliament condescended to give to this absurd declaration was, to order it to be burnt by the common hangman. George behaved with clemency to the actors in the late conspiracy; only one of them being put to death. Bishop Atterbury was tried for treason before the House of Lords, and sentenced to deprivation of his clerical dignity, and banishment. On arriving on the continent in June, 1723, he immediately entered the service of the Pretender. He died at Paris, in 1732. At the same time, Lord Bolingbroke, who had quarrelled with the Stuart prince, was pardoned, and returned to England.

In the year 1724, the tranquillity of George's government was disturbed by alarming riots both in Ireland and Scotland. The cause of the Irish riots was a singular one. On account of there being a deficiency of copper coin in that country, a patent was granted to Mr. William Wood, for coining farthings and halfpence. The Irish people took a whimsical dislike to this new money, and swore they would have nothing to do with it. The discontent of that excitable people was raised, by the writings of Dean Swift, into a storm of popular fury. Scurrilous ballads were sung about the streets, riotous processions were formed, and an effigy of Mr. Wood publicly burnt. The common people of Dublin neglected their business, and did nothing, from morning till night, but howl and rave against the new farthings. Nor was tranquillity restored until the new coinage was withdrawn.—The disturbances in Scotland had a more reasonable foundation; for the people of that country are generally too sagacious and industrious to spend their time in rioting without a cause. A malt-tax had been imposed upon the Scottish people, who resolved that they would not pay it. Immense mobs assembled; and at Glasgow the military was obliged to be drawn out. The mob pelted the soldiers with stones; then the soldiers fired upon the mob; and nine persons were killed, and many others wounded.

During the spring of 1726, George sent Admiral Hosier with a fleet to the West Indies, with orders to seize such Spanish vessels as he might meet with. This expedition was fatally unfortunate, and is considered the most inglorious event of the reign. Instead of attacking the Spaniards, the admiral and a great part of his crew were attacked by the yellow fever, and perished miserably.

In the month of November, 1726, the Princess Sophia Dorothea of Zell, wife of King George I., breathed her last in the castle of Ahlen, after nearly thirty-two years of captivity. At the time of her marriage (in 1682) she was much admired for her beauty and the vivacity of her spirits. That vivacity, added to an imprudent thoughtlessness, was her ruin; for she does not appear to have been guilty of any crime; though her conduct was certainly indiscreet. George neglected his graceful, cheerful wife; and a young Swedish noble, the Count Philip Christopher Königsmark, paid her a great deal of attention. The princess received his civilities with more freedom than the etiquette of court allowed, and a kind of flirtation was carried on between them. The jealousy of the prince was aroused; and his father, the old elector, commanded Count Königsmark to leave his dominions. He prepared to obey, but secretly solicited the princess to permit him to take his farewell. Dorothea was persuaded, by some treacherous woman about her, to consent, and the count was introduced, the next morning, into her bedroom, that he might kiss her hand before his departure. The story is hidden in mystery; but it is supposed that the malicious attendants of the princess informed Prince George and his father, and that an ambush was laid for the imprudent noble. After leaving the chamber of the princess, he was never seen alive again. Suspicions were entertained that he had been murdered; but it was not known what had become of him until after the death of George I.

Then his dead body was discovered under the floor of the dressing-room of the princess. He was, no doubt, seized and strangled the moment he left her bedroom, on the morning of their farewell, and instantly buried on the spot where the murder took place. On account of the rank of the actors in this dark crime, the particulars of it were carefully hushed up.

After the murder, the Princess Dorothea was arrested, and placed in confinement, where she remained till the hour of her death, always strongly protesting her innocence. Perhaps George did not believe her guilty of anything more than imprudent levity; for it was reported that he once made proposals for a reconciliation. The princess is said to have declined it proudly, replying, "If what I am accused of be true, I am unworthy of him; and if the accusation is false, he is unworthy of me."

Seven months after the death of Sophia Dorothea, King George followed her to the grave. Having set out on a journey to Hanover in his usual state of health, he was smitten with apoplexy shortly after his arrival in Holland. The fit seized him while sitting in his carriage; and in a short time he became apathetic, his eyes being fixed, and his tongue hanging from his mouth. His attendants proposed to stop at Ippenburen, and send for medical aid, but he was just able to articulate, "Osnabruck! Osnabruck!" His command was obeyed—the carriage was driven forward; but before it reached that place the king was dead. He expired on Sunday, the 11th of June, 1727, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. He was buried at Hanover, amongst the remains of his ancestors.

George I. was plain in his appearance and manners, and slovenly in his dress. He had not the outward dignity of a sovereign, but he knew how to command. His deportment was usually a grave one, but he sometimes became very cheerful, and even facetious, in private society over his bottle. His character had many moral blemishes, but he was a just king, who studied the good of his people. He did not neglect his own interests, nor those of his subjects in Hanover; but that was to be expected. He never stretched his prerogative to unjust uses—never trampled on the liberty of his people; and was content to govern according to the laws of England. That he did not possess the affection of his subjects arose chiefly from the fact that he was a foreigner, who had set aside the hereditary heir to the throne.

CHAPTER XCI.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE SECOND.—A.D. 1727—1737.

NEWS of the old king's death was despatched to England, and on the 15th of June, 1727, his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, was proclaimed, without opposition, as George the Second. The new sovereign was in his forty-fourth year, and in person and manners just as plain as his father. Though a German, he could speak English very well, but with a foreign accent. He had been married many years to a lady of his own age—Carolina Wilhelmina of Brandenburg, the daughter of the Margrave of Anspach. She had been beautiful, and was a woman of remarkable talents, and of the most amiable disposition. Her husband sought her advice upon all subjects, though he was very anxious to avoid the appearance of being in any way ruled by her. She loved him devotedly, and obeyed him implicitly; yet it is said that, in consequence of her fine intellect, during the remaining ten years of her life she was more king than her husband. Her influence over him, however, did not prevent him from following the immoral example of his father, and keeping two or three mistresses.

George II. entertained the same liberal principles to which his father had been attached, and Mr. (now Sir Robert) Walpole remained chief minister. The parliament of the late king having voted more than usually liberal supplies to the new one, it was dissolved, and another summoned.* The Jacobites made some secret attempts to place the Pretender upon the throne, but the feeling in favour of George was too strong for them to stem; and sensible men in England felt that they had endured enough for the Stuarts.

This was a long reign of thirty-four years; and it is quite impossible, in a history of this kind, to give a narrative that would embrace all the events; we can only select the most prominent, instructive, and interesting to lay before the reader.

George II.'s eldest son, Frederick, had been left at Hanover; but early in 1729 he came to England, and was created Prince of Wales. He was in his twenty-

first year, but a weak-minded and selfish young man. He was an ungracious son, devoid of natural affection, and gave his father as much trouble as that father had given to his parent. He was, however, received with joy by the nation, who supposed that, in time, he would wear the English crown. Great court was therefore paid to him by all the discontented statesmen who had not good places in the government.—During that year the king visited Hanover, leaving his queen regent during his absence. Like his father, he always showed a great partiality for the interests of his native country, and promoted them at the expense of England—a matter which occasioned a great deal of jealousy.

Sir Robert Walpole was an excellent financier; that is, he was very expert at figures, and understood the art of imposing taxes in such a manner as to make them fall as lightly as possible on the people. In 1733, he brought forward a plan for increasing the duty upon wines and tobacco—things on which a considerable duty is comparatively unobjectionable, because they are not absolute necessities. The poor do not drink wine, and are not obliged to smoke tobacco. This plan was called Walpole's Excise Scheme, and a violent feeling was entertained against it. The Tory statesmen in the House of Commons, and the people out of it, alike assailed the originator. It was declared that the liberties of the nation were gone for ever, if tobacco was to be subject to the excise. The feeling grew so high, that alarming riots were anticipated, and the minister, who went in fear of his life, prudently withdrew the bill. This was followed by public rejoicings; the Monument was illuminated, bonfires blazed in the streets of London, and figures of Walpole were consumed in them. Most of the intended regulations of this bill have been since adopted.

After a session which was chiefly spent by the Tories who were out of office in saying cutting things against the Whigs who were in, and by the Whigs in saying cutting things to the Tories in reply, the parliament was dissolved on the 18th of April, 1734. In the new parliament, which opened on the 13th of June, Walpole and the Whigs found themselves still in the ascendant.

Many quarrels and wars were going on in Europe at this time; and England narrowly escaped being involved in them: but Walpole loved peace; he knew that it was necessary for the nation's prosperity; and by his exertions this country remained quiescent. In 1736, fresh riots were caused by a new duty. This was a tax on gin, imposed for the purpose of putting a check upon drunkenness. The lower orders in England are by no means a peculiarly sober people now, but they gave way to the most disgusting excesses then. As no licence was required for selling gin, it was retailed in almost every direction; and people were invited, by written boards, to walk into houses where they might get drunk for one penny, gloriously drunk for twopence, and have clean straw to lie upon for nothing. This Gin Act (which was to come into operation on the 29th of September) only increased the evil; for many riotous people got drunk every day, to show their opposition to it; and it was afterwards repealed. It was also proposed, in this year, to relieve the dissenters by repealing the Test Act; but Walpole, who remembered the Sacheverel high-church riots of the time of Queen Anne, voted against it. He has been much blamed for this act; but, as we have before remarked, few persons at that time understood the real principles of true liberty.

During this year (1736), there was a remarkable riot in Edinburgh. On the 16th of April, a smuggler, named Wilson, was condemned to death for robbing an exciseman; but on account of a noble action he had performed, public sympathy was enlisted in his favour, and it was expected that he would be reprieved. No respite, however, came. Preparations were made for the execution; and rumours were spread about that the man would be rescued and set at liberty by the mob. To prevent this, the city guard was drawn up around the scaffold. When the man was hanged, and about to be cut down, the mob cursed the executioner, and pelted him with stones. John Porteous, the captain of the city guard, seized a musket, and fired among the crowd. His example was followed by some of his men, and several persons were killed. As generally happens in cases of this kind, they were some of the most passive among the spectators. A general indignation followed this violence. On the 19th of July, Porteous was tried for murder, and condemned to death. As the attack had first been made by the mob, the queen thought proper to grant a respite until the matter was further inquired into. The common people of Edinburgh were in a fury in consequence of this lenity, and they resolved that Porteous should not escape. His execution had been fixed for the 8th of September: in the night of the 7th, an armed mob burst the prison doors, seized the unhappy captain, dragged him to the place of execution, and hanged him on a dyer's pole. Having thus satisfied their thirst for vengeance, they quietly dispersed. The English queen and parliament were extremely incensed at this strange riot; a severe inquiry was made, and large rewards offered for the apprehension of the ringleaders. But no information was obtained; for in Edinburgh, those who were not implicated in the outrage, approved of it, and thought it merely a wild act of national justice.

George's eldest son, Prince Frederick, married, on the 25th of April, 1736, the Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha. In consequence of this, he complained of his poverty, and said that, although £50,000 a year was

enough to keep a prince while he was single, he could not possibly be expected to do without £100,000 a year when he was married. The prudent king thought the prince's income was quite sufficient; on which the prince, in a very ill-temper, got one of his friends in the House of Commons to move for an address to the king, that he would be pleased to settle £100,000 a year upon the Prince of Wales. Walpole opposed this motion, saying that he thought £50,000 a year, added to the revenues enjoyed by the prince as Duke of Cornwall, which amounted to about £10,000 a year more, was income enough even for the heir-apparent, and quite as much as his father could afford out of the civil list.

The motion was lost in the Commons, and Prince Frederick got another friend to bring it forward in the House of Lords. It was lost there also: and from that moment the irritated prince acted in such an insulting manner to his father, that the king thought fit to command him and his family to quit St. James's. "The whole tenor of your conduct," said the king, in a message to his son, "for a considerable time, has been so entirely void of all real duty to me, that I have long had reason to be highly offended with you; and until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to the queen, and until your return to duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of those who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the divisions which you have made in my family, and thereby weaken the common interest of the whole. In this situation I will receive no reply; but when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, that may induce me to pardon what at present I most justly resent." On receiving this message, the prince sulkily retired to Leicester House, which immediately became the haunt of all those nobles who did their utmost to vex and thwart their sovereign.

On the 20th of November, 1737, George lost his accomplished and amiable queen. Her disorder was a mortification of the stomach, arising from an internal injury, which an excess of delicacy had induced her to conceal and neglect. The day before her death, when the king and the prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole, were standing by her bedside, she said to the latter, "I hope you will never desert the king, but continue to serve him with your usual fidelity: I recommend his majesty to you." Such was the high opinion which that dying woman entertained of the talents of the great Whig statesman. She did not see her undutiful son but sent him her forgiveness and her blessing, together with a message that she would gladly have admitted him to her presence, but that she feared to irritate his father. Her majesty was deeply regretted by the king, and lamented by the nation, as a woman of great abilities, noble principles, and a pattern of domestic virtue.

George's grief for her was both sincere and deep. Some time afterwards he sent for the Baron Brinkman, one of his German attendants, to his bedside, and said, "I hear you have a picture of my wife—a better likeness than any in my possession: bring it to me." The portrait was brought, and the king gazed upon it with deep emotion. After a pause, he exclaimed, "It is very like; put it upon the chair at the foot of my bed, and leave it till I ring the bell." Two hours passed away while the lonely old monarch was gazing at the resemblance of his dead queen: at length he rang the bell, and when the baron re-entered, exclaimed, "Take the picture away: I never yet saw the woman worthy to buckle her shoe."

With the death of his good queen ended the first ten years of George's reign—years of prosperity and of almost uninterrupted peace. But a change was at hand; and before another ten years had passed, there was war at home and abroad: rebellion, with its hundred heads, stalked over the land; and the power of the House of Hanover was shaken to its foundation.

CHAPTER XCII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE SECOND.—A.D. 1737—1746.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, the prime minister, had many enemies, both among the Tories and among such of the Whigs as happened to be out of place. The latter party obtained the noble name of "the patriots;" but it was one they did not deserve, as they loved themselves and their own interests very much better than they loved their country; as, indeed, did most of the public men of that day. Now, as Sir Robert was much attached to peace, the opposition called for war; and they soon induced the unthinking nation to join in the cry. When people have made up their minds for war, it is not very difficult to find out a grievance. By a treaty made in 1670, Spain had recognised the right of the English to found colonies in North America, and England had agreed that her ships should not approach the Spanish colonies in South America. This was demanded by Spain to prevent the English from supplying her colonists with manufactured goods, and thus destroying her own trade. Guard-ships were kept on the coast of the Spanish possessions in America, and the crews insisted on searching all vessels that put into the harbours, to see that they had not come laden with merchandise. This right of search had been tacitly recognised by our government; but the English sailors (who constantly found means of landing their goods in the Spanish colonies) resented it very resolutely, and disputes were constantly taking place. Angry passions were aroused, and the Spanish officers sometimes acted with great severity in the exercise of their duty.

Seven years before the time of which we are writing, an English captain, named Robert Jenkyns, had been ill-treated by the Spanish coast-guards. He said that, on the 20th of April, 1731, they had tortured him and some of his crew, had cut off one of his ears, and told him to carry it to his king, and inform his majesty that they should like to serve him in the same manner. The opposition hearing of this man, caused him to attend at the bar of the House of Commons, on Tuesday, the 21st of March, 1738, and relate at full the circumstance of the outrage he had undergone. It has been said that the captain's story, if not a forgery, was at least a gross exaggeration; and some writers have asserted, that his ear was not cut off by the Spaniards abroad, but by the hangman at home, and nailed to the pillory—of course for no commendable conduct. How that was, it is now impossible to say; but Jenkyns was certainly engaged by the opposition to make the best of his case, and tutored as to what he should say. At the bar, he produced his ear wrapped up in cotton; and when asked what he, a free-born Briton, felt when subjected to such treatment at the hands of foreigners? he replied, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country."

This reply produced the effect the opposition desired: the people were violently excited, and there was a demand for an instant war with Spain, to avenge the outrage committed on an English subject, to compel the Spaniards to abandon the right they claimed to search English vessels, and to acknowledge the privilege of the British to cut logwood on the shores of the Bay of Campeachy, and gather salt on the island of Tortuga. Walpole admitted that the Spaniards had acted arbitrarily; but he urged that all differences could be settled by a treaty, and thus save the amount of life and treasure that is always destroyed by a war.

But the people still shouted for war; and, thus urged, Walpole sent a fleet into the Mediterranean, and took some other hostile proceedings. This made the King of Spain adopt a mild tone, and a convention was entered into between him and George, by which the former agreed to make reparation to all British merchants for any losses they might have sustained through the misconduct of his officers, and for settling all matters of dispute in such a manner as would prevent any complaints in future. But the nation wanted war; the convention was considered very unsatisfactory; and, in the parliament which assembled in February, 1739, the opposition attacked it with great bitterness. It was on the 8th of March, when this question was before the House, that William Pitt (afterwards the great Earl of Chatham, and the most brilliant orator that England has produced) first distinguished himself in parliament. He was the resolute opponent of Walpole, and denounced the Spanish convention with the most withering indignation.

Still Walpole carried his point about the Spanish convention, and a treaty was commenced between England and that country. But though the Spaniards by no means desired war, they were not very compliant; and when Sir Robert demanded that they should renounce for ever the right to search British vessels, they resolutely refused to do so. Only one course was then left, and the English minister reluctantly consented to

a declaration of war. War was accordingly proclaimed against Spain on the 19th of October, 1739, to the great joy of the English people. All the church bells of London rang out merry peals, as if for some great festival; but Walpole, who truly regarded war as a great national calamity, exclaimed, "They may ring the bells now, but they will soon be wringing their hands."

The war against Spain, though tedious and inglorious in its course, and scarcely honourable in its close, commenced with a triumph. The parliament met on the 13th of November. It voted four millions of money, and increased the army and navy, for the purpose of carrying on the war. After these arrangements had been made, the nation was gratified by learning that Admiral Vernon, with only six ships of war, had, on the 22nd of November, taken Porto Bello from the Spaniards. The English were much elated; but this success was soon to be clouded by disappointment and reverse. Sir John Norris sailed with a fleet to intercept and make prizes of the Spanish ships about to sail for the West Indies. This expedition totally failed.—A great fleet, with a fine army on board, was next sent to harass and take the Spanish settlements in South America. Such an English fleet had never before been seen in those seas, and lofty hopes were entertained of the triumphs it would effect. Instead of that, it met with nothing but misfortunes: the climate induced disease among the men; Lord Cathcart, who commanded the land forces, died of fever; the new general quarrelled with the admiral, and neither seemed to know what course to take. At length they laid siege to Carthagena, but blundered in such a manner, that they were compelled to retreat in disgrace, and leave 600 Englishmen lying dead upon the earth. They next attacked Cuba; but the men were disheartened, and rapidly dying from the effects of the climate; and they failed there also. A reinforcement of four ships and 3,000 men was sent out, but they shared the fate of the rest. Another expedition was sent to the west in September, 1740, under Commodore Anson, who then made that remarkable voyage, of which we possess so interesting a narrative, and in which he met with many difficulties and dangers, but did little harm to the Spaniards.—When all these failures and misfortunes were known in England, there was a general outcry of sorrow and indignation.

In the meantime Sir Robert Walpole had become very unpopular in England, and the opposition was bent on driving him from his post as prime minister. On the 13th of February, 1741, Mr. Sandys proposed that an address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole from his presence and councils for ever. All the distinguished leaders of the opposition spoke in favour of the proposed address, and charged the minister with having been guilty of many errors and crimes. Sir Robert replied in a speech of great force and eloquence. He was particularly severe upon the disappointed Whigs, who assumed the name of patriots, and had turned against him because they had no share in the profitable places the minister had to give away. "Gentlemen," said he, "have talked a great deal of patriotism—a venerable word when duly practised. But I am sorry to say, that of late it has been so much hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the name has been used for the worst of purposes. A patriot, sir! why, patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise fifty of them within four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making such patriots; and I disclaim and despise all their efforts. This pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice and from disappointed ambition; and there is not a man amongst them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive he entered the lists of opposition." When the debate closed, the enemies of the minister were defeated, and the motion for desiring the king to dismiss him was lost by 290 votes against 106.

When the news reached England of the miserable failure of our great expedition against Spain, the outcry against Walpole was redoubled. Men forgot that he had opposed the war, and they denounced him as the cause of every national grievance or misfortune. The parliament had been dissolved on the 28th of April, 1741. A new one was elected, which, after a short session in June, reassembled on the 4th of December; and the attacks on Walpole and the government were renewed. In three divisions on questions affecting his position, the premier had majorities, first of 7; next of 3; and then, on the 28th of January, 1742, of 1. On the 1st of February, he resigned his distinguished office of prime minister, and retired, a private man, to spend the remainder of his life at his splendid mansion at Houghton. Walpole had laboured faithfully and laboriously for the Protestant cause and the interests of the House of Hanover. He had supported himself in power by bribery: he had bought the votes of his opponents over and over again; but this was his only vice. In other respects he was a good, as well as a wise, statesman. George was so sensible of this, that he actually shed tears on parting with him, and shortly afterwards created him Earl of Orford. The enemies of the fallen minister talked of an impeachment, carried a resolution for a secret inquiry into his administration, and seemed actually to thirst for his blood; but the favour of the

king was his protection: the inquiry revealed such trifling acts of corruption, that it rather whitened than blackened his character, and the storm blew over. He did not long survive his loss of power, but died three years afterwards, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

The year after the resignation of Walpole (1743), King George and his second son, the Duke of Cumberland, went to Germany. A doubtful peace had lasted for some time between England and France; but political jealousies existed between them, the chief of which was, the assistance given by France to the cause of the exiled Stuarts. The dispute was complicated by the attempt of the French to strip Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary, of her dominions. George had declared in her favour, and an English army was sent to the continent to aid in the defence of her rights. On the 27th of June, 1743, the English king and his son Cumberland were engaged with the French in the battle of Dettingen—an event it is only necessary to refer to, as it had very little connection with the affairs of England. The king and the prince behaved with great bravery, and the latter was wounded in the leg. The English and Hanoverians gained the victory; but their own loss was so considerable, that they were obliged to leave the field and abandon the wounded.

Early in 1744, a report reached the king and British parliament, that Charles Edward, the young Pretender, was about to invade England with a French army, to assist him in regaining the crown for his family. The report was a true one; the parliamentary disputes in England, and the discontent of the people, made the French ministry believe the nation was ripe for a revolt. This idea was encouraged by the Scottish Jacobites, who had written to the old Pretender, that if he or his son, Prince Charles Edward, would land in England or Scotland at the head of a French army, there would be a revolution in his favour. Seven Scottish nobles and gentlemen (if it is right to call traitors by that name) formed themselves into an association for conducting the conspiracy in favour of the exiled Stuarts. The old Pretender, who, as we have seen, had little personal courage, declined going to England himself; but he consented that his son should go in his stead. He therefore drew up and signed a proclamation to be published in England on the prince's landing, and appointed him regent.

In the month of January, 1744, the young Pretender embarked, and with a small French fleet sailed up the English Channel; but he and his ships were driven back in a shattered and miserable condition by a storm.

The battle of Dettingen had taken place while England and France were professedly at peace; but now war was openly declared between them. The result of this declaration was the battle of Fontenoy, fought on the 11th of May, 1745, between the French on one side, and the allied English and Hanoverians on the other. It was contested with great fury, and the Duke of Cumberland, who commanded, behaved with much bravery; but the French were the victors. The slaughter on both sides was terrible, and the defeat of the allies was attributed to the cowardly conduct of the Dutch troops, who held aloof from the conflict. The result of this battle was, that Tournay fell into the hands of the French, and that they preserved an ascendancy in Flanders during the rest of the war.

The young Pretender was not seriously discouraged by the failure of his intended invasion in 1744, and the following year (the memorable 1745) he renewed his attempt. The opportunity seemed favourable: for King George was absent in Germany; his warlike son, the Duke of Cumberland, was in Flanders; and the Scottish Jacobites assured the young Stuart prince that the nation hated the reigning family, could no longer bear the heavy taxes laid upon it, and that if he landed at the head of an army, the whole people would soon join him. Besides this, the Stuart family was greatly encouraged by the defeat of the allies at Fontenoy, and the discontent it had caused in England.

The French were no longer inclined to throw away their ships and men for the sake of the Stuarts; and the young Pretender, with two vessels only, some arms, a little money, and a few desperate friends, sailed from the continent in disguise in June, 1745, and landed to the west of Scotland, on a little island named Erisca, Between Barra and South Uist—two of the Hebrides. As they approached the wild, rocky shore, an eagle hovered over their ship. "Here," exclaimed one of the prince's mad friends, "is the king of birds come to welcome your royal highness to old Scotland." At first the Scottish chiefs represented to the Pretender, that his landing without an army was both imprudent and useless; but he soon received some encouraging messages; and on the 25th of July he set his foot on the main-land of Scotland, landing at Boradale, in Lochaber, accompanied by only seven persons, who afterwards obtained the romantic name of "the seven men of Moidart."

The Scottish Jacobites, disappointed that Prince Charles came without an army, at first held aloof from joining him; and had the English government acted with any decision, the insurrection would have been crushed at once, and the young Pretender scared back to France, or taken prisoner. The ministers, however, rested in careless supineness, doubted that Charles had landed, and contented themselves with offering a reward for his arrest. In the meantime the young Pretender was joined by several of the Highland clans, amounting to about 1,200 men; and, on the 19th of

August, the standard of the Stuarts was erected in Glenfinnin, about fifteen miles from Fort William and by this act civil war was declared.

The government now thought it time to do something; and Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief for Scotland, put himself at the head of a small body of royal troops, and marched after the rebels. The Pretender's power was increasing every day; and two companies of the regular troops were taken by a body of the Highlanders, even before they joined the main army of the rebels. Charles Edward and his Highlanders marched first to Blair Castle; then they proceeded to Perth, where the prince made his public entry on the 3rd of September, and, being a far better dancer than a warrior, gave a grand ball to the Jacobite ladies. At Perth he was joined by many new adherents, amongst whom was MacGregor, of Glenguile, with 250 MacGregors, every one of whom had red hair. From Perth the Pretender marched to Linlithgow, and from thence to Edinburgh, which he summoned to surrender. The inhabitants were distracted by fear, and unable to provide effectually for their defence. One of the city gates having been accidentally opened, Cameron, of Lochiel, together with 800 Highlanders, rushed in, and secured it without opposition; and, on the 18th of September, Charles Edward, whose troops now amounted to about 2,000 men, entered Edinburgh in triumph, and took up his residence at Holyrood House.

A spectator has thus described this adventurous heir of a royal but evil and ruined race:—"He was in the prime of youth, tall and handsome, and of a fair complexion. He had on a light-coloured periwig, with his own hair combed over the front; and he wore the Highland dress; that is, a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the Order of St. Andrew. Charles stood some time in the park, to show himself to the people; and then, though he was very near the palace, mounted his horse, either to render himself more conspicuous, or because he rode well, and looked graceful on horseback. The Jacobites were charmed with his appearance, and compared him to Robert Bruce, whom they said he resembled both in his figure and in his fortunes."

The same day the old Pretender was proclaimed in Edinburgh as King James VIII., and the young Pretender was declared his regent. Some of the people shouted, and a number of silly women waved their handkerchiefs; but a part of the crowd remained quiet and apathetic. In the evening Charles Edward gave a ball at Holyrood, and the Jacobite ladies were delighted with his dancing. This young prince could dance, and ride, and shoot extremely well; but there his accomplishments ended: in other respects he was so extremely ignorant, that he could neither write nor spell correctly.

The English people were now aroused from their torpor, and alarm took the place of indifference. The king was sent for from Hanover, and preparations made for the defence of the country. But they were paltry and insufficient preparations; and there is no doubt that many English statesmen and nobles wished, in their hearts, that the Pretender might succeed in his daring project. As to Sir John Cope, he had been marching about with his troops in almost every direction except in the one he was wanted. At length he went towards Edinburgh, to give the rebels battle. The young Pretender did not keep Cope waiting. He and his Highland army marched forth to meet him, and, on the 20th of September, they encamped near Prestonpans. The next morning the Highlanders began the battle with such impetuosity, that, in less than ten minutes, the royal troops were broken and thrown into confusion. Cope's cannons were taken at once; his dragoons turned and fled; the infantry followed their example; and, in an incredibly short time, the disgraceful battle of Prestonpans ended in favour of the rebels. The light-footed Highlanders pursued the flying dastards on foot, and slew some of them with their sharp broadswords; but the majority surrendered in flocks. The young Pretender had kept out of the battle, but he showed some prudence and humanity when it was over. The next day he returned to Edinburgh, and re-entered Holyrood House in joyful procession, the bagpipes playing, "The king shall have his ain again."

George and his government acted with singular irresolution; and had the young Pretender been joined at this time by a French army, the Stuarts might have again worn the crown of England. Charles Edward lived like a sovereign in Edinburgh—seized the public money, imposed taxes, and compelled the inhabitants of Glasgow to lend him a large sum of money, which, of course, he never repaid. Many Jacobite noblemen joined him, and every day the rebellion became more formidable. Being so successful in Scotland, Charles Edward resolved on entering England, and, on the 8th of November, he crossed the river Esk, followed by 5,000 men. His first exploit was to lay siege to Carlisle; and that city surrendered to him on the 15th of November. On receiving the keys, he caused his father to be proclaimed King of Great Britain, and himself regent. Leaving a small garrison in Carlisle Castle, he pressed forward, through Lancaster and Preston, to Manchester, where he established his head-quarters on the 28th. His followers had hitherto consisted entirely of Highlanders; but

now some Englishmen entered his service, and were formed into what was called the "Manchester regiment." All the gentry of England, and the mass of the people, stood aloof, or were opposed to the rebellion.

The Duke of Cumberland had assumed the command of the royal troops, and was approaching; the country was arming; and the Highlanders began to have a fear that they should be surrounded. Their chiefs advised a retreat; but Charles Edward, who still hoped a French army would be landed in England for his assistance, urged them to continue their march as far as Derby; and on the 4th of December, the Pretender and his troops entered that town. Here, as elsewhere, he caused his father to be proclaimed king, and seized all the public money. Cumberland had been deluded with the idea that the rebels intended to march towards Wales, and he had gone in that direction; so that if the Pretender and his followers had pushed forward with vigour, they might have reached London. Great fears were entertained in the metropolis, and all the affairs of the nation were paralysed. Orders were given for forming a camp on Finchley Common; and the king, now roused to a sense of danger, resolved to take the field himself.

If the Pretender had remained at Derby, he would soon have been surrounded by three armies. No insurrection was made in his favour: the English Jacobites seemed to have vanished; no French army appeared on the coast to support him; his advisers were distracted by jealousies and opposing opinions. The Highland chiefs also began to murmur, and their clans to show signs of mutiny. Nothing was left but to retreat; and, on the 6th of December, the rebels shook off the dust of their shoes against Derby, and began to march back to Scotland. In their advance, the Highlanders were kept in order by the exertions of their chiefs; but during the retreat, they stole everything they could lay their hands on, and committed many excesses. They were closely followed by the Duke of Cumberland and his army; and a skirmish took place near Clifton Moor. But the star of the young Stuart was still in the ascendant, and the English dragoons were driven back, with considerable loss, by the fierce Highlanders.

The Pretender succeeded in crossing the river Esk on the 20th of December, and re-entering Scotland. He left a garrison in Carlisle Castle, but it was compelled to surrender, on the 30th, by the Duke of Cumberland, who then gave the command of the army to General Hawley, and returned to London. The rebels taken prisoners at Carlisle, amounting to 400 men, were crowded into the neighbouring gaols, and eleven, who had deserted from the royal army at the rout at Prestonpans, were hanged.

On their return to Scotland, the rebels laid siege to Stirling Castle, which offered a resolute resistance. General Hawley marched towards Stirling to relieve it. The young Pretender, who had now about 9,000 followers, advanced to meet him; and on the 17th of January, 1746, the disgraceful battle of Falkirk took place. In consequence of the neglect of General Hawley, and the cowardice of his troops, the Highlanders were again the victors. Such was the shameful behaviour of the British troops in this civil war, that the names of Prestonpans and Falkirk will ever remain as memorials of our military dishonour. The battle did not last above half-an-hour; not more than 300 of the royal troops perished; and then this heroic English army broke and fled in confusion, leaving their tents, artillery, ammunition, and provisions to the hungry and delighted Highlanders.

Had George II. been driven from his throne by the young Pretender, he would almost have deserved his fate, on account of the miserably incompetent way in which he defended it. A soldier like Marlborough, or the late Duke of Wellington, would have struck such a blow at once as to have annihilated the rebellion in its outbreak, and driven the Highlanders in terror back to their glens and mountains. George and his ministers acted in a petty, peddling way: his generals were distinguished for want of ability, and his soldiers for want of that courage, hardihood, and discipline which have usually distinguished British troops. These series of disgraces were, however, coming to a close: the Duke of Cumberland, stung into activity, posted down from London, and resumed the command of the army. Encouraging his beaten troops, he led them again in pursuit of the Pretender, who was then compelled to abandon the siege of Stirling Castle. Although the Highlanders retreated before the duke, yet they were strong and bold enough to besiege and take Fort George and Fort Augustus. This was the last of their successes, and the tide of fortune then turned against them.

On the 17th of April, 1746, the armies of the Duke of Cumberland and the young Pretender met at Culloden, or Drummossie Moor. The rebels, who had failed in an attempt to surprise the English army the preceding night, were worn out with fatigue, and almost exhausted for want of food. Their condition was indeed pitiable; for when, in consequence of Cumberland's approach, they were summoned to form in order of battle, numbers of these strong, hardy men were lying in an almost fainting state upon the earth. Many had strayed away in search of something to eat; and the whole army did not amount to 4,000 men. The Duke of Cumberland had 7,000 or 8,000, all fresh, and in fighting condition. About one o'clock the battle began;

the Highlanders fought with great bravery, firing their muskets; and then rushing impetuously on to the attack with their broadswords. Their fury was useless; the English had recovered their spirit, and received them with such murderous fires, that they reeled back, and fell dead in heaps. In a very short time the jaded Highlanders fled from the field, pursued by the English cavalry. More were killed during the flight than in the battle, and the slaughter was very great. This has been called the famous battle of Culloden; but surely there was nothing very famous in a fresh English army beating half the number of exhausted and fainting Highlanders! The victory of the English, however was a complete one, and the cause of the Pretender was crushed, utterly and for ever.

Immediately after the battle, the Duke of Cumberland —a man of very stern temper—caused thirty-six deserters to be shot. As for the prisoners, the gaols of all the surrounding towns were crowded with them, and some of rank were sent up to London. Amongst these were the Earls of Kilmarnock, Cromartie, and Lords Balmerino and Macleod. The Duke of Cumberland then marched his victorious troops into the centre of the Jacobite districts, and gave them up to military execution. Such was the bitterness of his vengeance, that it earned for him, even in England, the offensive title of "the butcher!" The castles of Glengarry and Lochiel were burnt to ashes, and every house and cottage near them left mere blackened ruins. The fugitive Highlanders were hunted down like wild beasts, shot or sabred without mercy, and sometimes burnt or suffocated in dens and caves into which they had crept for concealment. Women saw their infants brained against the rocks—their husbands or fathers murdered before their eyes; and were then subjected to the brutal violence of the worst rabble of the army—stripped naked, and driven out, with their children, to perish from cold and hunger. So awful and so complete was the work of vengeance, that, in a few days, neither house nor cottage, man nor beast was to be seen for fifty miles round.

The young Pretender—the selfish cause of all this horror—fled headlong from the battle-field at Culloden. At first he rode in hot haste to the house of Lord Lovat, where he assumed a disguise, and, deserting his companions, stole away by night, in the hope of being able to embark in some friendly vessel, and return to France. This was no easy matter: a reward of £30,000 was set upon his head, the royal troops were hunting for him, and the sea was guarded by British men-of-war. For five dreary months he wandered about in a miserable condition, living sometimes on nothing but oatmeal and water. He was hunted from island to island; and on one occasion saved his life by disguising himself as a lady's maid, and following a Jacobite lady—a Miss Flora Macdonald—as her servant. This adventurous damsel was arrested as a traitoress for concealing him, and suffered twelve months' imprisonment. Having, by means of this artifice, escaped from South Uist (where the soldiers were searching for him) to the Isle of Skye, the Pretender disguised himself as a mountaineer, and lodged for a time in a cow-shed.

He could not remain long in safety at Skye, and some Jacobite gentlemen conveyed him to Ross-shire. At first he ran a risk of perishing from hunger, but a Highlander led him to a cave in the mountain of Corado, where for more than five weeks he dwelt with some freebooters or robbers. These men behaved towards him with the utmost fidelity, and supplied his wants by hunting and by theft. They contrived to steal some clean linen for him; for he was almost in rags, and his apparel unwholesome from want of change. Indeed, his whole appearance was extremely miserable; his hair and beard were matted, his face was sallow and haggard, his figure meagre, and he was a prey to that offensive disorder, the scurvy. Weary of his companions, he contrived to join Lochiel and some other chiefs, who were hiding from the English troops, and lived with them in a wild romantic retreat called "the Cage," situated in the mountain of Benalder. Here he remained till the 13th of September, when a trusty messenger arrived with the welcome intelligence, that two French vessels were waiting at Lochnanuagh, to carry him and his friends to France. Away went the fugitive, and succeeded in embarking with safety, accompanied by other Jacobite gentlemen. Passing, during a thick fog, through the British squadron, the vessels reached the French coast, and the young Pretender rejoined his father at Paris.

As this was Charles Edward's last exploit, and as he never appeared again upon the stage of history, we will briefly sketch his subsequent career. Two years after the events just described, the French king, in a treaty with George II., consented that the young Pretender should be banished from his dominions. The Stuart prince refused to go; so one evening, as he was on his way to the opera, he was dragged from his coach, bound hand and foot, conveyed to the frontiers, and then set at liberty. He joined his father, who went to live at Rome, where he treated his wife (the Princess of Stahlberg, whom he married in 1772, when he was fifty-two years old, and she a girl of twenty) with so much brutality, that she was compelled to leave him and seek for protection within the walls of a convent. For some time Charles Edward was lost sight of, and wandered about, under various disguises and different names. The latter part of his life he spent at Florence, in drunkenness and coarse pleasures. During his wander-

ings he visited England several times. He was in London in the year 1754, when a nobleman, hearing of it, asked the king what should be done with him. "Nothing," wisely but contemptuously replied George; "when he is tired of staying here, let him go away." It is asserted that he came to London again in 1760, and witnessed the coronation of George III. He died in obscurity in 1788, not leaving any legitimate children. His father went to the grave before him; his brother Henry became a cardinal; and the Stuart race became extinct in 1807.

CHAPTER XCIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE SECOND.—A.D. 1746—1760.



THOUGH the young Pretender got safe to Paris, for most of his followers there was no escape; and hundreds of bereaved or ruined Scottish families cursed the hour in which he placed his foot on their distracted country. Better, indeed, would it have been had a plague or famine visited their country, than thus to have sold themselves into the hands of the hangman, in a criminal attempt to restore to regal power the descendants of a banished tyrant.

While the Stuart prince was showing himself to admiring crowds at the French opera, hundreds of his wretched followers were pining to death in over-crowded and pestilential prisons. Numbers died of the gaol fever, and from the want of fresh air and wholesome food. George was severe, and did not check the avenging arm of the law. Executions for treason, accompanied with all the horrors of embowelling and quartering, took place in great numbers; and about eighty ghastly heads were set up in different places in the north, as a warning against rebellion. Colonel Townley, and sixteen other English Jacobites, were hanged and quartered upon Kennington Common, and in other places round London. The Earl of Kilmarnock, together with Lords Balmerino and Lovat of Fraser, were beheaded. The latter was an old man, more than eighty years of age, who had spent a long life in sin. He behaved with a strange indifference to his fate; jested and hummed songs during his trial, and died with a joke on his lips. The Earl of Cromartie, who made a very pathetic appeal to his judges, was condemned, but afterwards pardoned. "My own fate," said this unhappy criminal, "is the least part of my suffering; but, my lords, I have involved an affectionate wife with an unborn infant as parties of my guilt to share its penalties. I have involved my eldest son, whose youth and regard for his parent hurried him down the stream of rebellion. I have involved eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears supply my want of persuasion."

When the rebellion was over, and the work of retribution past, statesmen began to see that it was necessary to civilise and educate the Highlanders. The ignorance of these wretched men was both their curse and the curse of England. They did not know that, in fighting for the Pretender, they were taking the side of tyranny and popery, against that of liberty and Protestantism. Several bills were passed respecting them, and they were encouraged to emigrate to America, and to enlist in the British army. A few years afterwards, a bill was passed expressly to better their condition. And, asked one of its supporters, "What is loyalty or disloyalty here? Is there food or starving? Feed the clans, and they will obey; starve them, and they must rebel. The means of eradicating this spirit in the common people are obvious. Civilise them! Introduce the arts of peace among them!"

The Duke of Cumberland was a brave soldier, but by no means a very skilful or fortunate general. During the outbreak of the Highlanders, England was at war with France; and now that the rebellion was over, the English and their continental allies—the Dutch, Flemish, Bavarians, and Austrians—brought an immense army into the field against the French. A great battle was fought at Lanffeld, near Maestricht, which ended in the defeat of the English and their allies. The French, however, purchased their victory with the loss of a great number of men. They followed up this battle by taking many fortresses in the Low Countries, and went into winter quarters in great triumph. As if to heal their wounded pride for this disgrace on land, the English were gratified by some successes over the French at sea. Admiral Anson defeated the French fleet in a battle off Cape Finisterre. Admiral Hawke, in another encounter, took six French ships; and Commodore Fox captured no less than forty French mer-

chant vessels, laden with rich cargoes from the West Indies. The result of these actions was, that, in spite of all their triumphs, the French were very anxious for peace. The causes of dispute were referred to a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle; and in the following year (1748) a long and expensive war, by which no one got any advantage, was concluded by a peace which was not considered very honourable. England restored all her conquests, and submitted to the indignity of sending two noblemen as hostages to France, until she had given up possession of Cape Breton, which she had recently acquired. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (signed on the 7th of October), peace was also made with Spain. The cry for war against that country had been got up by the enemies of Sir Robert Walpole, for the unworthy purpose of driving him from his post as minister. The reason given for it, as before stated, was, that the English would not submit to the right claimed by Spanish officers of searching British vessels in their colonial ports; and now peace was concluded without a word being said about the right of search, and the matter was left just as it was when the war began.

Parliament was opened on the 17th of January, 1751. Soon afterwards an immense sensation was created by great numbers of a political pamphlet or paper, called *Constitutional Queries*, being dropped down the areas of houses, and dispersed throughout London by the post. They reflected severely on the conduct and character of the Duke of Cumberland, whose cruelties in Scotland, and defeat in Flanders, had made him very unpopular. Now-a-days Englishmen speak their minds very freely about the most distinguished persons in the land—princes not excepted. They publish what they please, provided that the press is not used for any immoral or evidently improper purpose. A free press is the safeguard of our liberty; the right to express our opinions is the bulwark of freedom, and has helped to raise the country to its present exalted position. Freemen are active and intelligent, and consequently prosperous; while a nation of slaves generally sinks into poverty and contempt. The English government understands this now, and generally acts upon it; but, 100 years ago, the ideas of our ancestors were by no means clear upon this subject. They were slowly groping their way from the darkness of ignorance, through the twilight of doubt, to the radiant brightness of truth. These *Constitutional Queries* gave rise to a great sensation; and the Duke of Marlborough moved, in the House of Lords, that they should be burnt by the common hangman, as a mark of disgrace. The papers were burnt accordingly, though not without considerable opposition to the motion in the Commons; for several members said that the assertions contained in them were not devoid of truth. Civilisation has made great strides in the 100 years and upwards that have rolled away since then; for now the free expression of public opinion is very properly considered as the bridle and corrector of public men; and no Duke of Cumberland, or any other prince, can defy it with impunity.

Soon after this affair of the *Queries*, the House of Commons attracted considerable notice by a vehement assertion of its privileges. Mr. Crowle, a lawyer and high bailiff of Westminster, and Mr. Murray, a Scotch gentleman of Tory principles, were summoned to attend at the bar of the House, in connection with some alleged improper proceedings in the election of Lord Trentham for Westminster; against whose return a petition was presented. Mr. Crowle, being commanded to kneel while he was reprimanded by the Speaker, escaped further punishment by doing as he was bid; but, as he arose, he dusted his knees with his handkerchief, and said satirically, "This is the dirtiest house I ever was in." Mr. Murray, instead of kneeling, stood proudly erect. On being told by the Speaker that he must kneel, he replied, "Sir, I beg to be excused; I never kneel but to God." The command was angrily repeated, but Mr. Murray returned his former answer. "Sir," said he, "when I have committed a crime, I kneel to God for pardon; but I know my own innocence, and cannot kneel to any one else." In consequence of this bold conduct, Mr. Murray was committed a prisoner to Newgate, where he caught the gaol fever; but he was obliged to be liberated when the House adjourned, and he escaped further punishment by going abroad.

During this contest about the privileges of parliament, the king's eldest son, Frederick, Prince of Wales, expired on the 20th of March, 1751. His death caused considerable excitement, because, as his father was already advanced in years, it was reasonably expected that he would soon have worn the English crown. The nation had no particular reason to regret him; for, besides being an ungrateful son, he was a prince of narrow intellect, and possessed of no redeeming virtues. The great point of his character was love of money: he borrowed from every one who would lend to him; and is said to have been mean enough to cheat at cards. For some time he had been suffering from a pulmonary disorder; and while in a very delicate state, he caught a severe cold, which proved fatal. His factious behaviour had long estranged him from his father, but the old king was shocked at his death. The prince left a widow and a large family of young children. His eldest son, George, was created Prince of Wales, and afterwards became King George III.

At this time the prince was a dull, bashful, indolent, and timid lad, in his thirteenth year. He was extremely backward; and his education had been so neglected, that, notwithstanding all the pains bestowed

upon persons of his rank, at eleven years of age he was scarcely able to read. His mother, the princess-dowager, was an indulgent parent, but extremely weak-minded. Strange as it may seem, she actually confided his education to two men of *Jacobite* principles—men who believed that the royal family were usurpers, and who instilled the dangerous precepts of despotism into the dull mind of their young charge. Public attention was afterwards called to this circumstance, and Lord Waldegrave, a nobleman of correct principles, appointed as governor of the prince. That noble spoke of his pupil in very unpromising terms. "I found his royal highness," said he, "uncommonly full of princely prejudice—contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bedchamber women, and pages of the back-stairs. As a right system of education seemed quite impracticable, the best which could be hoped for was to give him true notions of common things. To instruct him by conversation rather than by books; and sometimes, under the disguise of amusement, to entice him to the pursuit of more serious studies." The education of the prince was now more carefully attended to; and he attracted considerable notice, as it was the general opinion that he would soon be called to the throne. Such was the dislike the nation bore to the Duke of Cumberland, that a bill was passed to exclude him from becoming regent, in case the king should die before the young prince came of age.

In the year 1753, an event occurred which deserves to be recorded to the honour of the British parliament. That body passed an act giving power to the king to raise money, by lottery, to purchase the Sloane library and museum, the Harleian manuscripts, together with Montague House to keep them in—as the common property, and for the general good of the whole nation. Such was the origin of that magnificent structure and great fountain of practical instruction—the BRITISH MUSEUM!

A quarrel broke out with the French, in 1755, about the boundaries of the respective colonies of the two nations in Canada. The French encroached on the British dominions; and the English sent a fleet to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to intercept a French fleet which was carrying reinforcements to their colonists. The result of this was an engagement in time of a professed peace, and two French vessels were captured by the British. The French court expostulated; the English court defended its conduct; ambassadors on each side were recalled; and both countries prepared again for war. The following year the war broke out, and the French sent a great fleet to take possession of Minorca, an island in the Mediterranean, belonging to the English, and considered of great importance. This fleet, of twelve ships of the line, and a number of transports, with 16,000 troops on board, appeared off Minorca on the 18th of April, 1756. After some delay, the English government sent Admiral John Byng with a small fleet to protect the island. The father of this officer was a famous naval commander, who had won great distinction during the last reign, and acquired the name of "Mediterranean Byng." The son, though a brave man, did not possess the talents of his father. The whole affair was miserably conducted; and Byng acted with such obstinate caution, that he was suspected of cowardice. The French had landed troops upon the island, and had obtained possession of it, with the exception of the fortress of St. Philip. That fortress was defended by the brave old General Blakeney, whom it was Byng's duty to have relieved by causing the French to abandon the siege they had laid to it. His squadron came in sight of St. Philip on the 19th of May; but, after an action between a part of the two fleets, in which the French were dispersed, he determined to retreat, as his force was very inferior to that of the enemy; and, sailing away to the Rock of Gibraltar, he left the fortress to its fate. On the 27th of June it was surrendered to the French; and thus Minorca was lost. When the British ministry heard of this conduct, they sent out Admiral Hawke to take the command, and gave him directions to place Byng under arrest, and send him a prisoner to England.

The disgraced admiral charged his failure upon the ministry, and declared that his fleet was too small for the purpose for which it was designed, and that his instructions were improper and insufficient. The ministry, who felt that they were not exempt from blame, resolved to save themselves from public censure by exaggerating the misconduct of the admiral. They succeeded so well in this, that when Byng landed at Portsmouth, he was with difficulty prevented from being torn to pieces by the mob. So great was the popular fury against him, that sixty dragoons were required to bring him in safety to London.

The following December Admiral Byng was placed upon his trial before a court-martial. The affair occupied a month; and the court then came to the conclusion that the admiral had not done his utmost to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged; and to assist such of his majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of Fort St. Philip. Having come to this conclusion, the articles of war allowed the court no choice as to the sentence, and the unfortunate admiral was condemned to be shot: at the same time the court recommended him to the mercy of the king, because it did not believe that his misconduct arose

from either cowardice or treachery. It is supposed that this recommendation was not permitted to reach George; and although the officers who formed the court-martial deplored the sentence they had been compelled to pass as unjustly severe, it was carried into effect.

The admiral had fully expected to be acquitted, but he bore his sentence with manly resignation. A day or two before his execution, one of his friends, standing upright by his side, inquired, "Which of us is the tallest?" "Why this ceremony?" replied the fallen commander; "I know what it means: let the man come in and measure me for my coffin." He was shot on board the *Monarque*, a ship of war lying in Portsmouth harbour, on the 14th of March, 1757. He walked with great calmness and dignity from the cabin to the quarter-deck, where he was to suffer. Having unwillingly submitted to tie a white handkerchief over his eyes, he knelt upon a cushion, and gave the signal by throwing his hat upon the deck. So effective was the fire of the marines, that five bullets passed through his body, and he fell dead in an instant. The execution was conducted so rapidly, that the time from his leaving the cabin to being laid in his coffin, did not exceed three minutes. It is now generally admitted, that though his conduct was far from blameless, yet that he was put to death to divert popular indignation from the ministers. They did not, however, altogether escape: the Duke of Newcastle was obliged to resign; and Mr. Pitt and his friends came into power.

It was at this period (1757) that General Clive (afterwards so famous as Lord Clive) laid the foundations of our Indian empire. In the preceding year had occurred that awful act of Indian barbarity known as the tragedy of the Black Hole of Calcutta. Surajah Dowlah, the sovereign of Bengal, had, from a brutal whim, attacked the British settlers—destroyed their factories, taken Calcutta, and thrust 146 Englishmen into a miserable dungeon only twenty feet square. The wretched prisoners, in spite of their expostulations and entreaties, were driven in at the point of the sword. It is difficult to describe that night of horror. They were perishing in that loathsome den from suffocation; in vain they shrieked aloud for air, for water; and at length, in agony, implored their guards to fire upon them, and put an end to their torture. The wretches laughed at their misery; and, at length, the despairing ravings of the captives died away into low gaspings and moanings. The next morning, when the door of the dungeon was thrown open, only twenty-three staggered forth alive; all the rest—123 in number—had died of suffocation. General Clive was the avenger of this awful act of tyranny: with a mere handful of Englishmen he defeated the vast native army of Surajah Dowlah in the great battle of Plassey, on the 27th of June, 1757; drove him from his throne; and, finally, established the power of the English in India.

The war between the English and French was carried on in each of the four quarters of the world. At first, the fortune of war was with the French. Sir Edward Hawke was sent, with a fleet and a powerful land army, to take Rochefort; but he failed, and returned home without doing anything. The Duke of Cumberland, with an army of Hanoverian and other troops, amounting to 50,000 men, had been defeated by the French, and compelled to sign a disgraceful treaty to save his troops from being cut to pieces. Other reverses were experienced: and, indeed, that Seven Years' War (as it is called), which was afterwards carried on so brilliantly through the great talents of Mr. Pitt, was at first the cause of national discontent and humiliation.

The wounded pride of the nation was soon healed, and victories were obtained in various parts of the globe. The power of the French was destroyed in the West Indies; and in the East Indies Clive proceeded from triumph to triumph. Admiral Boscawen obtained a victory over the French fleet off Cape Lagos, in Portugal, on the 18th of August, 1759; and Sir Edward Hawke, on the 20th of November, gained another in Quiberon Bay. The famous general, Wolfe, also gained great military glory against the French in America. To the astonishment of the enemy, he and his troops, during the darkness of night, scaled the steep heights of Abraham—a feat which was deemed impossible—and formed in order upon the summit. The battle of Quebec followed (fought on the 13th of September), in which Wolfe won the victory, but lost his own life. A musket-ball struck him on the wrist, but he wrapped his handkerchief round the wound, and continued giving his orders, unmoved: a second bullet struck him in the upper part of the stomach, but he still continued at his post, and performed his duty: a third ball pierced his bosom, and felled him to the earth. He was then carried to the rear, and told, as his glazed eyes were closing, that the French were flying from the field. "Then," said he, "I die content!" and soon expired. Five days afterwards the city of Quebec surrendered to the English, and the remains of the French army retired to Montreal.—An attempt was made to recover Quebec, but was defeated; and, from that time, all Canada has been an English colony.

In Europe the French had been more successful; but they were defeated, on the 1st of August, at the battle of Minden, by an army of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians. The battle revived the sullied military glory of the English on the continent. For a time, six regiments of English infantry sustained the attacks

of the whole French army, which exceeded 60,000 men.

The expenses of this war were enormous. In the session of 1759, £15,000,000 and upwards were voted to carry it on; and what with the militia, the regular army, and the foreign troops in British service, England had 175,000 soldiers in her pay.

The late despondency of the people was turned into rejoicing by the victories obtained on sea and land; but this joy was checked by the sudden death of the king, who, in his old age, had become extremely popular. On the 25th of October, 1760, George rose, as usual, at six o'clock in the morning in apparent health. Having drank his chocolate, and inquired about the arrival of the foreign mails, he opened the window, and, as the air seemed pleasant, expressed his intention of walking in the garden. A few minutes afterwards, while alone in his chamber, he fell suddenly. The noise alarmed his attendants, who entered the room, and raising the dying monarch, laid him upon the bed. In a faint voice he desired that the Princess Amelia might be summoned; but before she arrived he was no more.

George II. died at the advanced age of seventy-seven, after a long reign of thirty-four years. His death was caused by a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart. He was a little man, with very prominent eyes, and a fair complexion; and his features, though not ill-formed, were pinched and hard. He was possessed of more than average understanding, but was by no means a great or brilliant character. He was extremely avaricious, and hasty in his temper, particularly during his youth. On the other hand, he possessed a love of justice and honour, governed according to the laws, and respected the liberties of his people. He was temperate in his habits, and extremely methodical; brave in the field of battle; and so fond of war, that the Jacobites gave him the name of "The Little Captain." He used to read history, and had a good memory, but was quite insensible to poetry or elegant literature. He was rather too much attached to the interests of his native country, and inclined to view those of England as a secondary matter; but that was natural, and to be expected. If the people could not find an Englishman great and wise enough to be their ruler, and were obliged to call a foreigner to wear the crown, they had no right to expect that he should entirely forget the land of his birth, and dedicate himself, without reserve, to the prosperity of theirs. George II. died in a happy time: the nation was thriving; its military exploits were crowned with success; he had lived to see his own family firmly seated upon the throne, and his rivals, the Stuarts, fallen never to rise again. Full of years he sank into the grave when the advance of age threatened to take from him his sight and hearing, and thus deprive him of the enjoyments of existence.

Many famous writers, philosophers, and men of science lived during the reigns of the two first Georges. That period, however, is not so brilliant in these respects as the one that preceded it. No Shakspeare, Bacon, Milton, or Newton adorns the eighteenth century. Among the poets, however, Dr. Edward Young, the author of *Night Thoughts*, and James Thompson, who wrote *The Seasons*—a delightful poem, which abounds in truthful descriptions of the varied aspects of nature—deserve honourable mention. With them must be associated the names of Mark Akenside, chiefly known by his poem *On the Pleasures of the Imagination;* and Thomas Gray, author of *The Progress of Poetry*, *The Bard*, and an *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*. The latter was so attractive that, though published anonymously, it ran immediately through eleven editions. Horne, Garrick, Foote, and Goldsmith wrote for the stage. The latter was a very pleasing writer in other walks, and his *Vicar of Wakefield* will long be favourably remembered. The most distinguished writers in history were Robertson, Hume, and Guthrie. Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, and Smollett were famous as novelists. Adam Smith, the originator of the science of political economy, and Dr. Samuel Johnson, so famous as a moral and philological writer, also adorned this period. A national school of painting arose in England at this time—a school of which the humorous Hogarth was esteemed the most original, and Sir Joshua Reynolds the most elegant, artist. The arts appear to have received a liberal encouragement. Handel, the great German composer, adopted England as his country; as also did Roubilliac, a famous sculptor, born at Lyons. Lord Chesterfield said of him, that he was our only statuary, and that all other would-be sculptors were mere stone-cutters.

CHAPTER XCIV.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.—A.D. 1760—1764.



EORGE THE SECOND was succeeded by his grandson, the eldest son of the late Frederick, Prince of Wales. The new sovereign, who was born on the 4th of June, 1738, and was, consequently, in his twenty-third year, was proclaimed, the day after the old king's death, as GEORGE THE THIRD, amidst the approving shouts of the nation. A few days after that event, he issued a proclamation, "For the encouragement of piety and virtue; and for preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality." Though George had some faults, he set an example to his people of domestic virtues; and immorality was banished from his refined court.

The two first Georges had been only tolerated by the great mass of the English people. They were foreigners, and their rule was welcome to the nation simply because it excluded a popish prince. The new king had been born in England; his person and address were rather pleasing, though he was considered deficient in frankness and openness of behaviour; and the feelings of loyalty began to revive in the nation. The speech which the young king made on the 18th of November, when he first met parliament, also tended to endear him to the hearts of his people. "Born and educated in this country," said he, "I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state, and to maintain toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown; and as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the Divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue." He then alluded to the war in which the nation was engaged, and trusted that the Commons would make such provision for carrying it on, as would force their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

Notwithstanding the young king's assurances, and the affection generally borne towards him, there were some things that gave uneasiness to a great number of people. He was supposed to be too much under the influence of his mother, Augusta, the Princess-Dowager of Wales, a woman who was far from being respected by the nation. She, in her turn, was said to be greatly under the influence of a handsome Scotch nobleman, whom scandal represented as her lover. This Scotch peer (Lord Bute) was a decided Tory, and much disliked by the people. Such was the suspicion entertained of him, that a paper was set up in the Royal Exchange, with the words, "No petticoat government! —no Scotch minister!" Although the Earl of Bute had been introduced into the cabinet, among the king's councillors, no change was as yet made in the ministry. Mr. Pitt, as principal Secretary of State, remained at the head of affairs, and the other members of the cabinet were Mr. Henry Fox (afterwards Lord Holland), Mr. Legge, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Holderness, and Lord Anson.

The year following that in which young George ascended the throne, the courts of France and Spain entered into a close alliance, which was known as the "Family Compact." It was signed on the 15th of August. By its provisions, the kings of those countries (who were relations) agreed to consider every power as their common enemy which might become the enemy of either, and to afford assistance to each other by land and sea. It was further agreed, that no proposal of peace to their common enemies was to be made, except by common consent; and that the two monarchies of France and Spain were to act as if they were but one nation.

As England, though at peace with Spain, was at war with France, this family compact caused considerable alarm, especially as the Spaniards were busily engaged in building a new fleet. It was naturally supposed that the intention of Spain was to turn its arms against us, and to assist the French in their hostility to England. Pitt boldly argued, that the best plan was to anticipate Spain by instantly declaring war, and thus punish her treachery by seizing upon her fleet of treasure-ships, then on their passage from the Western World. This policy startled his fellow-ministers: it was thought too bold and precipitate; they resolutely opposed it, and the young king expressed his decided disapprobation of it. Pitt, whose commanding nature could brook no contradiction, immediately resigned his office, declaring that he would not remain in a situation which made

him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide. George was sorry to lose his great minister, whom he feared might go into opposition and obstruct his government. In parting with Mr. Pitt, the young king behaved with so much kindness, that that strange, haughty man even shed tears. He was offered the governorship of Canada, or the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a salary of £5,000: he refused both; but accepted a pension of £3,000 a year, and the title of Baroness of Chatham for his wife, Lady Hester Pitt. After Pitt's retirement, the Earl of Bute became one of the principal Secretaries of State; and, soon after, the Duke of Newcastle also left the cabinet; and then the earl took his office of First Lord of the Treasury, and became prime minister; George Grenville was appointed Secretary of State, and Sir Francis Dashwood Chancellor of the Exchequer.

On the 8th of September, 1761, George III. married the Princess Charlotte Sophia, of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, second daughter of the late duke. It is said he was attracted to this lady in consequence of seeing a very sensible letter she had written to Frederick the Great of Prussia. At any rate, he demanded her hand in marriage; the princess and her friends willingly complied, and she soon afterwards arrived in England. The royal union took place at the palace of St. James's. The character of the lady rather resembled that of her husband: she was very rigid in the observance of moral and religious duties, stubborn in temper, and deficient in that open frankness and condescension which wins the love of a people. The coronation of the royal couple was celebrated the same month; for, as yet, George had only been proclaimed King of England. It was conducted with great magnificence; and Charles Edward Stuart was present in disguise. No doubt he felt, from the affection shown to the young king by the nobles and people, that all chance of the deposed Stuart family regaining the throne had vanished for ever—gone like frost-flowers beneath a winter's sun, or like the half-remembered shadows of a summer's dream.

It was soon found that the late minister was right; as, early in 1762, it was found necessary to declare war against Spain. Ministers had lowered their dignity by a vain attempt to accommodate the dispute; but they were compelled at last to adopt the policy which, from the first, had been inevitable. A British fleet and army, under the command of Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pococke, sailed to the Havannah, and laid siege to the fort and city. The Spaniards defended them bravely; but both were compelled to yield. Nine Spanish ships of the line and four frigates were captured, three were sunk, and two that were then being built destroyed. The value of the prizes thus obtained by the British amounted to £3,000,000. The possession of the Havannahs gave England the command of the passage pursued by the treasure-fleets of Spain, and seemed to open unbounded opportunities for plunder. This triumph was followed by the capitulation of Manilla, a possession of scarcely less importance than the Havannahs; and by other successes.

These results did not lessen the inclination of Bute for peace; and towards the close of 1762, negotiations were opened with France. The French were also anxious to terminate a war in which they had experienced so many reverses; and preliminaries of peace were signed at Fontainebleau. The treaty founded upon them, known as the "Treaty of Paris," was concluded on the 10th of February, 1763. By this treaty the original cause of quarrel was removed, France giving up all claim to Canada and its dependencies, together with Cape Breton and all other islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Minorca—the island in the Mediterranean which had been lost by the misconduct of Admiral Byng—was also restored in consideration of the English surrendering Belleisle. Spain, too, was sick of the war, and ready to make a reasonable peace preliminaries, therefore, were entered into with that power also. The British parliament approved them, and peace was concluded—a peace both honourable and advantageous; but scarcely so much as it was considered the nation had a right to expect from a succession of victories. By one article Havannah was restored to Spain, which excited great dissatisfaction. This peace put an end to that contest on the continent known as the Seven Years' War. England, at the same time, withdrew from that connection with Germany which she had been led into by her Hanoverian sovereigns.

The young king was of a rather despotic nature, and his attachments were entirely to the Tory party, except with respect to tolerating the Roman Catholics: on that point his majesty had formed his opinion, and it never could be shaken. He connected himself with the Tories because he had discovered that the object of the Whigs was, to retain the power of the state in the hands of the heads of those families who had mainly contributed, first, to counteract the despotism of James II., and then to secure the Protestant succession—most praiseworthy objects, but the attainment of which, George thought, did not entitle the Whigs to the power they had exercised over the first and second Georges. Those sovereigns were mere puppets in the hands of the Whigs; and thus, in fact, an oligarchy was established, and the monarchy rendered only a name. Unfortunately, the king, at the commencement of his reign, put himself into the hands of Lord Bute more completely than his two immediate predecessors had been in the hands of the Whigs; and while avowing his determination to be "his own minister," he was, for

a time, enabling Bute and another statesman—Bubb Doddington, afterwards Lord Melcombe Regis—to intrigue against Pitt, who was as deservedly popular as Bute was the reverse. In 1762, a paper, called *The North Briton*, was established by John Wilkes, M.P. for Aylesbury, and lieutenant-colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia; who was assisted by Churchill, the poet. In this paper the king and his favourite were grossly assailed; the latter not merely for his political conduct, but on account of his nationality as a Scotchman. His intimacy at Leicester House was also a constant topic; he and the king's mother being compared to Isabella, the queen of Edward II., and her paramour, Mortimer. In the streets, a jack-boot and petticoat were frequently displayed, as emblems of the princess and the earl; and they were sometimes first suspended from a gallows, and then burned.

Led to believe that the king was aiming at despotism, neither the Whigs nor the people were disposed to submit in silence. Passive obedience had become a worn-out doctrine; and a storm of ill-feeling was excited throughout the nation, which, although the king did not escape its effects, was directed chiefly against his minister. In this state of the public mind, a tax that was imposed on cider created a perfect tempest of opposition. Pitt denounced it in one of his tremendous orations; the country gentlemen of all parties were violently against it, and declared that they would let the apples fall from the trees, and rot where they fell, sooner than make them into cider, if they were to be annoyed by such an irritating tax. Scared by the outcry he had created, Lord Bute shrank from the anger of the nation, and, on the 8th of April, 1763, resigned his office as prime minister.

Mr. George Grenville succeeded him. A more unfortunate choice could scarcely have been made. Grenville was a cold, proud, imperious man, of whom an eloquent writer has said, that "his public acts may be classed under two heads—outrages on the liberty of the people, and outrages on the dignity of the crown." It is therefore no surprise that he soon became detested both by king and people; and, in after-times, the king said that he would as soon see the devil enter his apartment as Mr. Grenville.

John Wilkes was a man of considerable talent, and particularly famous for the airy lightness of his wit, and the gay brilliancy of his conversation. His moral character, however, was far from estimable; his language was sometimes profane; and he was considered as one of the most dissipated, though agreeable, rakes about town. As a writer he was extremely bitter; but it is said that his political satires were more conspicuous for their courage and scurrility, than for the higher talent of wit or genius. He was not content with abusing Lord Bute with a rancour perhaps never before exercised against a prime minister, but he heaped the bitterest and most unfair sarcasms and denunciations upon Bute's countrymen, the Scotch. Every Scot he described as a mean, time-serving traitor, and hungry beggar.

The *North Briton* attracted a great deal of notice; and, in the forty-fifth number of that paper, published on the 23rd of April, 1763, Mr. Wilkes accused the king of uttering a direct falsehood in a speech he made to the parliament. In consequence of this, Grenville issued a general warrant, and directed the messengers to seize the author, printer, and publisher of the offensive paper. A general warrant is one in which no person is named, but by the authority of which the messengers might seize any one whom they suspected. When they arrested Wilkes, he declared the warrant illegal, and refused to go with them. At first they retired, but returned the next morning, and the satirist was carried to the Tower, and placed in strict confinement. His papers, also, were seized, and his friends refused admission to him.—On the 3rd of May, he was brought before the Court of Common Pleas, upon a writ of *habeas corpus*. On the 6th, his arrest was declared unlawful by Chief Justice Sir Charles Pratt, and, to the great joy of the people, he was set at liberty. Wilkes behaved with remarkable spirit, and wrote to the Secretaries of State, saying that his house had been robbed of his papers, and that, as he was informed the stolen goods were in their lordships' possession, he insisted on their being instantly returned to him. Not satisfied with sending this letter, Mr. Wilkes published it: the government replied; angry pamphlets appeared daily; the excitement agitated the whole nation, and scarcely anything was talked of but the tyranny of the government, and the heroic patriotism of Mr. Wilkes.

When the parliament met, on the 15th of November, the king brought the subject before it. He sent a message to the Commons by the Chancellor, the meaning of which was, that as Wilkes was a member of their House, he expected them to punish him. The members examined the libel contained in the celebrated No. 45 of the *North Briton*, and, after a warm debate, passed a resolution declaring it to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel; and as such they condemned it to be burnt by the common hangman. Mr. Wilkes declared this decision to be a violation of the privileges of parliament, and the House was adjourned to consider that point. On that occasion Mr. Pitt made one of his eloquent speeches, in which, though he condemned the conduct of Wilkes, he opposed the sentence of parliament on one of its own members as a surrender of its own rights. "To talk," said he, "against an abuse of privilege, was to talk against the constitution—against the very being

and life of parliament. It was an arraignment of the justice and honour of parliament to suppose they would protect any criminal whatever. Whenever a complaint was made against any member, the House could give him up. This privilege has never been abused; it has been reposed in parliament for ages. But take away this privilege, and the whole parliament is laid at the mercy of the crown. Why is a privilege, which has never been abused, to be voted away? Parliament has no right to vote away its privileges. They are the inherent right of the succeeding members of this House, as well as of the present members; and I very much doubt whether a sacrifice made by this House is valid and conclusive against the claim of a future parliament."

As Mr. Grenville, the minister, had a majority in the House, the debate on privilege ended in nothing. In pursuance of the resolution previously passed, No. 45 of the *North Briton* was attempted to be burned by the common hangman; but a riot took place, the paper was rescued by the mob, and a jack-boot and a petticoat committed to the fire instead. A flaming piece of wood was even hurled at one of the sheriffs, which broke the glass of his carriage, and wounded him on the forehead. In consequence of this, the sheriff beat a hasty retreat: the hangman followed his example; the mob remained victors; and the intended disgrace ended in a sort of triumph. The victory of Wilkes over the minister (for so it was regarded) was made more evident by his obtaining a verdict, and £1,000 damages, against the Under-Secretary of State, for false imprisonment: Lord Chief Justice Pratt, on that occasion, honourably declaring that general warrants were unconstitutional, illegal, and void.

Before this affair was over, another event occurred which made Mr. Wilkes the talk of the town. Lord Sandwich—a dissolute nobleman, who had long been his companion—charged him, in the House of Lords, with being the author of an obscene poem, called *An Essay on Woman*, with notes, to which the impudent wit had appended the name of Dr. Warburton, the learned Bishop of Gloucester, as the author. This production was a disgusting affair; but it had never been published, and only fourteen copies printed at a private press in Mr. Wilkes' house. Lord Sandwich's conduct excited general indignation: he was then regarded as the betrayer of his friend; and it is now known that his lordship employed spies to watch Wilkes's movements, and report all his actions. But for him the vulgar poem of Mr. Wilkes would never have been heard of out of the circle of his private friends. When it became publicly known, no wonder that Dr. Warburton was furious at the use that had been made of his name; or that the peers generally were shocked at the indecent book produced, and voted that the author was guilty both of blasphemy and libel. Mr. Wilkes was accordingly summoned to appear before the bar of their lordships' house.

This he was unable to do, having been seriously wounded in a duel with a Mr. Martin, who had challenged him on account of having been abused in the *North Briton*. Though supported by the attachment of the people, Mr. Wilkes was alarmed at the indignation he had aroused, and, as soon as his health permitted, he fled to Paris. As he would not return when summoned by the House of Commons, on the 20th of January, 1764, he was expelled that House, outlawed, and found guilty of libel both on account of the *North Briton* and the *Essay on Woman*. The people at large, who are usually actuated by generous sentiments, still advocated his cause. They thought that so unrelenting a prosecution of Mr. Wilkes, for the bold expression of his opinion, and for the writing of a vulgar and foolish poem, was unjust and arbitrary. This sentiment they xpressed on every occasion; nor could even the king avoid hearing it. Having gone, one evening, to Drury ane Theatre, the play announced for the next night was *All in the Wrong*. The people in the galleries applauded vociferously, and then shouted—"Let *us* be ll in the right. Wilkes and liberty!"

CHAPTER XCV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.—A.D. 1764—1784.



MR. GRENVILLE, the prime minister, having thrown England into excitement by his attacks on the liberty of the press, through Mr. Wilkes, turned his attention to the English colonies in America. He thought he could raise a large revenue by taxing the king's subjects in America, for the benefit of his subjects in England. In consequence of this, the memorable Stamp Act—by which stamp duties were to be levied upon the Americans—was passed into a law with very little opposition; for no one seems to have suspected the result it would lead to. An illness of the king at that time, of which no one could learn the exact nature, attracted much more attention. He was kept in deep seclusion, and many stories were told as to the cause of his malady; but the truth was carefully hidden. That truth was a startling one—his mind was affected; and the king was labouring under the first of those attacks of madness or idiocy by which he was several times afterwards afflicted, and which, in his old age, converted the sovereign of a great empire into a hopeless lunatic.

Before the king's illness, he gladly gave his assent to the American Stamp Act, and that impolitic measure became law on the 22nd of March, 1765. Mr. Grenville had, in the session of 1764, proposed and carried some small duties on various articles of American produce; and when news of the Stamp Act arrived in that continent, the excitement of the colonists rose to an absolute fury. The ships in the harbours hung their colours half-mast high, in token of deep mourning; the church bells were muffled, and tolled dismally; the offensive act was printed with a skull and cross-bones upon it, instead of the royal arms; it was cried about the streets with the title of "The folly of England and ruin of America:" and the people seemed resolved to run any risks rather than submit. In the House of Assembly at Virginia, Patrick Henry, a famous American patriot and orator, denounced the measure in the most vehement language. In one debate, he exclaimed —"Cæsar had his Brutus; Charles I. his Oliver Cromwell; and George III. ——;" at this critical moment he was interrupted by a cry of "Treason!" The orator paused a moment for reflection, and then added—"And George III. may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it." Excited by the brilliant speeches of Henry, the assembly of Virginia declared that the first settlers in that country had brought with them all the privileges enjoyed by the people of England; that they had never forfeited or relinquished the right of being taxed by their own House of Assembly; and that every attempt to deprive them of that right was illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and had a tendency to destroy the independence of both Britain and America. Nor was the opposition of the Americans confined to mere words: formidable riots took place, and the Stamp Act was burnt in the streets, amidst the bitterest expressions of anger and contempt. When the stamps arrived in America, it was found impossible either to enforce their use or to save them from being destroyed.

On the reassembling of the English parliament, the king drew attention to the subject of the alarming outbreak in America. Mr. Grenville was no longer minister; and the Marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman of more liberal principles, supplied his place. Pitt advocated the cause of the Americans in a speech of great power: he denied the right of the British parliament to tax the colonies. In answer to Grenville, he exclaimed—"The gentleman tells us that America is obstinate—that America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest." In conclusion, he proposed moderation towards America, and that the Stamp Act should be totally and immediately repealed. Several of the most enlightened and distinguished English statesmen spoke to the same effect: petitions also poured in from the mercantile classes, imploring the government to repeal the Stamp Act. The bill, therefore, in the session of 1766, was repealed; and the king, who had recovered from his mental malady, gave an unwilling assent to the withdrawal of this injustice.

The Rockingham ministry, though a good, was a very feeble one. Lord Rockinghan was dismissed, and the king, on the 7th of July, 1766, sent for Mr. Pitt, then the idol of the people, to form a new cabinet. The reat orator himself was raised to the House of Lords, as Earl of Chatham. He was declared prime minister, but refused to take any laborious office, and the privy seal was delivered to him. In this ministry many of the king's friends were provided for; and the other

members of it were men altogether unacquainted with each other. By the acceptance of a peerage, Pitt had lost much of his popularity, and his ministry was scarcely stronger than the one which had preceded it.

The Earl of Chatham was very popular in America, for the people there learnt that he had been the advocate of their cause. Tranquillity was accordingly restored; but the Americans considered the repeal of the offensive Stamp Act rather as a confession of weakness on the part of the English government, than as a deed dictated by justice and gentleness. The assemblies of the various colonies sent thanks and addresses to the king; but a new feeling had arisen in the minds of the Americans—a feeling of alarm and jealousy, and perhaps a remote desire to emancipate themselves from a nation whose ruler seemed disposed to use his power for their oppression.

Unfortunately the dispute with America was soon to be renewed. Mr. Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed, in the session of 1767, to extract a revenue from the Americans by imposing a duty on tea, paper, glass, colours, and other articles imported there. In spite of the late warning, the measure passed into a law. Lord Chatham, lately so eloquent in the cause of the American colonists, had retired into the country, and gave no opposition. He was suffering severely from gout, and from some affection of the nerves, which rendered him weak, hysterical, and unfit for business. For two years and a-half, although still nominally prime minister, he retired from public duties, lived in close seclusion, and was forgotten.

In the spring of 1768, the parliament which had sat for seven years was dissolved, and writs issued for the election of a new one, which met on the 10th of May in that year. In the meantime, Mr. Wilkes had ventured to return to England. He first wrote a humble letter to the king, supplicating his pardon; but George took no notice of the communication. Then, in spite of his outlawry, Mr. Wilkes offered himself as a candidate for the city. The people received him with tremendous enthusiasm, and the air rang with shouts of "Wilkes and liberty!" But the great majority of the people are not voters: the franchise, or right to vote for representatives in parliament, was a privilege then enjoyed chiefly by wealthy men; and Wilkes was rejected. Not discouraged, he offered himself for the county of Middlesex, and was elected by a great majority. A few days afterwards he entered the Court of King's Bench, and declared himself ready to submit to the laws of his country. He was committed to the King's Bench prison, to await his trial. Such was the sympathy expressed by the people for him, and so great were the crowds assembled round the prison on the day parliament assembled, that it was thought proper to station a body of soldiers near the building. This led to a riot; the military, in a very hasty manner, fired upon the people, and six unhappy persons were killed, and fourteen severely wounded. The Surrey magistrate and two of the soldiers were placed on their trial for murder, but acquitted. The people gave the name of "The Massacre of St. George's Fields" to this affray; but the king (at least the ministers in his name) expressed his approval of the conduct of the magistrate and soldiery, and bestowed a reward on the two acquitted soldiers who had run from their ranks, pursued, and shot an unfortunate young man who, it is said, was merely a quiet spectator. Riots broke out in various parts of London; general discontent prevailed; and crowds of sailors, watermen, coal-heavers, and mechanics, constantly assembled to complain of want and low wages.

Mr. Wilkes' outlawry was reversed because he had surrendered himself; but when his trial came on, in June, he was sentenced to pay a fine of £500, and to be imprisoned a year, for publishing No. 45 of the *North Briton;* and to pay another fine of £500, and be imprisoned another year, for writing the *Essay on Woman.* In addition to this, he was to find heavy security for his good behaviour for seven years.

The mass of the nation was still with Wilkes, and thought his sentence not only severe, but dictated more by private animosity than by public justice; and they honoured him as a patriotic defender of the public liberty. His moral character, of course, must be condemned; but his licentious gaiety was not the offence for which he was tried and punished. He had spoken his mind with blunt plainness about the king; he had ridiculed a learned but pompous and erratic bishop; and both king and bishop hated him bitterly in consequence. The gratification of private enemies by means of the public laws, ought to have been opposed, and Mr. Wilkes did oppose it bravely. Those who have condemned his licentious conduct the most bitterly, and sneered at his patriotism as a pretence, have still admitted that he did acceptable service in the cause of English freedom.

He was not quiet in his prison: he petitioned the House of Commons; and he published in the newspapers a bitter comment upon a letter of Lord Weymouth, one of the Secretaries of State, charging him and the other ministers with being the cause of the bloodshed that took place in St. George's Fields, and of nourishing a dark project, deliberately planned, against the lives and liberties of the people. This exaggerated language—not unnatural in an injured and angry man—was regarded as another libel, and, through the influence of ministers, he was expelled from the House of Commons.

On the 2nd of January, 1769, Wilkes was elected an alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without, in the city of London; and, though still a prisoner, he was re-elected by his late constituents. The Commons passed an arbitrary vote, to the effect—"That John Wilkes, Esq., having been, in this session of parliament, expelled this House, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present parliament." In consequence of this decision, Colonel Luttrel, who had only 296 votes, was declared elected instead of Mr. Wilkes, who had 1,143. This decision excited general condemnation and disgust, as an arbitrary violation of the rights of election. The following year (1770) he was released from prison, on giving bond for his good behaviour for seven years. On his reappearance there was a very general illumination throughout the kingdom. His bond, however, did not prevent him from displaying his usual spirit against illegal oppressions.

The arbitrary disposition of the ministry again exhibited itself by prosecuting Mr. Woodfall, the publisher of the *Morning Advertiser*, for printing some brilliant political letters bearing the signature of JUNIUS. These letters had appeared, occasionally, for some years, and caused great excitement by the force and elegance of their style, as well as by the violence of their attacks on individuals. The most famous of them was one which appeared on the 19th of December, 1769, addressed to the king himself. In it Junius spoke with great freedom of all the errors of the king's reign; treated his ministers with contempt and abhorrence; alluded to the fate of Charles I.; the expulsion of the Stuarts; and then concluded with these words—"The prince who imitates their conduct, should be warned by their example; and, while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the crown, should remember that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another." As the author of the letters was unknown—for the name of Junius was an assumed one—the attorney-general had instructions to proceed against the publisher for libel. The trial took place in June, 1770; and the jury returned a verdict of "guilty of printing and publishing only," which was considered the same as an acquittal. The whole kingdom was in an alarming condition; George and his ministers (Lord North was then the head of the government) were equally disliked; and signs were to be discerned that resembled those of impending revolution. The king was said to be inveterately opposed to the principles of liberty which had raised his family to the English throne, and inclined to follow the example of the despotic House of Stuart; and certainly those on whom he principally conferred his regard were chiefly Jacobites and Tories.

The nation had for some time taken a greater interest in the proceedings of parliament than it used to do. Several newspapers, therefore, ventured to give reports of the debates of parliament—a circumstance which was then considered a breach of privilege. In the session of 1771, Colonel Onslow brought this matter before the notice of the House, and complained that the papers had given him the name of "Little Cocking George!" Two printers—Messrs. Thompson and Wheble—were accordingly summoned to the bar of the House for infringing its orders. As they took no notice of the summons, the sergeant-at-arms was directed to take them into custody. The printers kept out of the way; and the Commons then offered a reward of £50 for the apprehension of either of them. In consequence of this, Mr. Wheble was seized by another printer named Carpenter, and carried before Alderman Wilkes. That magistrate considered the arrest illegal, discharged Wheble, and bound him over to prosecute Carpenter for false imprisonment. Mr. Thompson, the other printer, was also carried before Alderman Oliver, who imitated the example of Alderman Wilkes, and discharged him. A messenger of the House of Commons, who entered the city to arrest another printer for having reported the debates of the House, was himself arrested for an assault, and sent by the Lord Mayor a prisoner to the Compter. Crosby, the Mayor, together with Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver, justified their bold conduct by stating, that no capture could be made in the city without the authority of its chief magistrate.

The Commons, in consequence of these proceedings, summoned the Lord Mayor before them. That functionary went to the House followed by an immense mob, cheering him all the way. Alderman Oliver rose in his place when called upon, defended his conduct, set the ministry at defiance, and denounced the mother of the king as the real sovereign of the country and the dishonour of England. Intense excitement took place; the House was surrounded by mobs; the ministers were hooted and threatened; and, in the end, the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver were committed to the Tower. Alderman Wilkes was also summoned to the House, but he treated the order with contempt: the ministers were afraid to proceed against him; and even the obstinate king exclaimed—"I will have nothing more to do with that devil Wilkes."

Many members of the House violently opposed sending the Lord Mayor and Alderman Oliver to the Tower; and those gentlemen were visited in their confinement by the most illustrious of the Whig nobility, and by many celebrated men. Amongst them was the famous Edmund Burke, the brilliant orator, who afterwards almost rivalled the fame of Lord Chatham,

and was then rising rapidly into distinction. The captives remained in the Tower until the parliament was prorogued; but they were entertained there at the cost of the city. Amidst all this tumult, the printers who gave occasion to it were forgotten or taken no notice of. The affair was really a popular triumph; and from that time to the present, the debates of parliament have been regularly published in the newspapers.

The affairs of America must now be reverted to. The tea and import duties revived all the animosities of the colonists to the British government. Serious riots took place at Boston and Virginia; the military were called out; and the custom-house officers appointed to collect the tea duty were seized by the people, tarred, and feathered. Once roused, the Americans boldly denied the right of the English parliament to legislate for them in any matter whatever. Suspicions were entertained that the English king and government wished to rule them with a rod of iron, and to this they resolved not to submit. The first English ship with tea arrived in Boston harbour on the 28th of November, 1773. Others followed; but the landing of their cargoes was prohibited, and the captains were directed to take them back again to England. In consequence of their refusal, in the night of the 16th of December, an armed mob of American sailors and others, many of whom were disguised as wild Indians, boarded the ships, and threw all the chests of the taxed tea overboard. The property thus destroyed was of several thousands of pounds value; but what was of far more importance, that act of violent resistance to the English government was the actual beginning of the revolution—a revolution that severed England and her American colonies for ever, and rendered the latter a great and free republic.

The parliament assembled in the month of January, 1774. On the 27th, news of the destruction of the tea in Boston harbour reached England, and caused great excitement. The king was indignant at the conduct of the colonists; and, by the advice of Colonel Gage, just arrived from Boston, he resolved upon extreme measures. The colonel said to his majesty, "They will be lions while we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part, they will prove very meek."—The ministry sided with the king; and, to punish the Americans, three severe measures were passed. By the first the port of Boston was closed, and the trade of that city entirely stopped. By the second, part of the charter of the province of Massachusetts Bay was annulled; the power of self-government taken away from the people, and placed in the hands of the crown. By the third, it was enacted, that any person who committed murder in enforcing the laws and putting down riots, might, if a fair trial could not be had in the province, be sent to any other colony, or to Great Britain, to take his trial. These measures were not passed without a great deal of opposition; several distinguished English statesmen condemned them as unjust and tyrannical. One member of parliament said—"I sincerely hope the Americans will not admit of the execution of any of these destructive bills, but nobly refuse them all. If they do not, they are the most abject slaves upon earth, and nothing the minister can do is base enough for them." As it was expected the Americans would not pay any very ready submission, four regiments of soldiers were ordered to Boston, under General Gage, who was appointed commander-in-chief and governor of the province.

He arrived at Boston on the 13th of May, 1774. His arrival caused a great meeting to be held in the town, to take the act for closing the port and destroying the trade into consideration, when the following resolution was passed:—"That it is the opinion of this town, that if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from, and exportation to, Great Britain, till the act be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties; and that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act exceed all our powers of expression: we therefore leave it to the just censure of others, and appeal to God and the world."

The port of Boston being closed, and the assembly of Massachusetts dissolved by General Gage, a number of patriotic American gentlemen met to oppose what they regarded as a deliberate plan for reducing the British colonies in North America to slavery. An attack on one colony, they said, was an attack on all, and would ruin them all, unless it was resisted by their united councils. They therefore formed a general congress, consisting of delegates from all the different provinces. Accordingly, on the 5th of September, 1774, the first American congress, composed of fifty-one gentlemen, representing the thirteen old provinces, met at Carpenter's Hall, in Philadelphia. This congress, which was a great means of effecting the revolution, resolved that the people of America should have no further commercial intercourse with Great Britain until the Boston Port Bill was repealed, and the charter of Massachusetts restored. In fact, a covenant was entered into by the colonists, not to import or consume any British goods, and to have no dealings with those who did import or consume them, until the English government removed the heavy restraints laid upon them. The congress also proposed several addresses: one to King George, stating their grievances, and blending professions of loyalty with a firm demand for the abolition of the obnoxious statutes, as the only means of preserving harmony between Great Britain and the colonies. Another was to

the English people, apologising for the suspension of commerce, and assuring them that the attempt to enslave the Americans was only a prelude to the introduction of despotism at home. A third address was sent to the inhabitants of the colonies, explaining how they were all interested in the struggle carried on by the people of Boston. After these public acts, the congress adjourned until the following May.

The result of these resolutions was to spread throughout the American colonies a determination to resist the injustice of the English government. At Massachusetts Bay, which was considered the centre of American patriotism, a provincial congress was held, which took upon itself the duties of government, and resolved that a body of 12,000 men should be got under arms for the defence of the province. Fresh provocations followed, both on the side of the English and the Americans; and each prepared for an appeal to arms.

To show that the people of England were distinct from the government, and not opposed to the Americans, the city of London presented an address to the king, which expressed the strongest abhorrence of the measures adopted towards the Americans, justified their resistance, and desired his majesty to dismiss his ministers from his councils. George expressed great astonishment on receiving this petition, and replied, that he had perfect confidence in the wisdom of his ministers, and should steadily pursue the measures they had recommended.

Open hostilities between the English and the Americans began on the 19th of April, 1775, at Lexington. For some time the colonists had been collecting stores of arms, ammunition, and provisions, particularly at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. To prevent an insurrection, General Gage sent a body of 800 troops, with directions to seize or destroy these stores. That the work might be done without resistance, the soldiers marched during the night. The Americans, however, were not to be taken by surprise; and between four and five in the morning, the troops met 150 of the Lexington militia, assembled near that town. A slight skirmish took place, in which a few men were killed; but the Americans, being greatly over-matched, thought it prudent to retire. The troops then proceeded to Concord, destroyed the stores they found there, and then began their return to Boston. During their retreat, the American militiamen, who were considerably reinforced, fired at them from the houses, from behind walls and trees, and harassed them in a fearful manner. The Americans were, most of them, expert marksmen with the rifle, and many of the English soldiers were shot without even seeing their enemies. There is reason to believe that this detachment of troops would have been entirely destroyed, had they not been succoured by a body of 900 men sent forward to support them. When they reached Boston, they had about 240 men killed or wounded. In this encounter, which has received the name of the battle of Lexington, the loss of the Americans was trifling. They had been shooting from behind trees, walls, and hedges, and the English had scarcely any chance of returning their fire.

The spirits of the Americans were wonderfully raised by this event; and those who, from doubt or timidity, had held back, now joined in the insurrection. The provincial congress of Massachusetts resolved that an army of 30,000 men should be instantly raised. The business of recruiting was accordingly begun; and, in a short time, an army of Americans, which far outnumbered the royal troops, assembled in the neighbourhood of Boston.

General Gage, having received reinforcements of troops from England, issued a proclamation, offering pardon to all (except two) who should lay down their arms; but declaring that any who did not accept the proffered mercy, or protected, assisted, supplied, concealed, or corresponded with such, were to be treated as rebels and traitors. This proclamation was met with defiance, and preparations for hostilities were continued on both sides. Near Boston is a considerable eminence, named Bunker's Hill, the possession of which was considered of immense advantage to either army. After some delay, General Gage talked of fortifying this hill; but while he was deliberating, the Americans put it out of his power by taking possession of it themselves. On the night of the 16th of June, a detachment of the American army ascended the hill in silence, and, before the morning, they had covered the top of it with military works. The astonished English general ordered his troops to advance and dislodge the Americans. The attempt was made; and the British soldiers, to the number of 3,000, advanced up the hill. With a coolness and resolution worthy of veterans, rather than of raw recruits, the Americans reserved their fire until the British were within a short distance of the muzzles of their guns. Then they opened such a terrific and incessant fire as mowed their enemies down like ripe wheat beneath the sickle of a sturdy husbandman. When the men in front had discharged their muskets, they were supplied with others, ready loaded by those behind them, and a deadly rain of bullets was thus kept up. The British line reeled back and gave way in several places; the men dropped dead in heaps, while others turned and fled. Rallied by the courage of some of their officers, they were again led to the attack; but a second time were they driven back by the deadly fire from the Americans. A third effort was more successful; and a charge was made on the Americans and their works with fixed bayonets. The powder of the latter

began to fail, and some cannon had been brought to bear upon them from various points. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once, and the Americans thought it wise to retreat. But they only retired to another spot, where they threw up fresh works to defend themselves. As the English gained Bunker's Hill, the victory was theirs, though the honour is claimed for the Americans, who had only about 1,500 men engaged whilst their opponents had 3,000. But it should be recollected that their defences placed the smaller number on more than equal terms with their assailants till the latter procured their cannon. From behind those defences the Americans were enabled to shoot down the English as they advanced, without any danger to themselves. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 1,050.

The second American congress met a little before the battle of Bunker's Hill; and, as a last attempt to avoid further bloodshed, sent a petition to England to the king. It received no reply; and the colonists were thus driven forward on their career of resistance. As they now resolved to oppose force by force, it was requisite to proceed upon some definite plan. By common consent, they made the illustrious George Washington the general of their army, which then amounted to about 14,500 men. The choice was a singularly fortunate one: to remarkable abilities as a warrior, Washington added a character for integrity and patriotism, which the breath of slander has never dared to sully.

To avoid confusion in a period of history crowded with events both at home and abroad, we will briefly—and very briefly—follow out the course of the struggle between America and England down to its conclusion in the year 1783. A full account of this great revolution is rather the history of America than that of England.

A few months after the battle of Bunker's Hill, Montreal, in Canada, was taken by the Americans. The few British forces there, unable to stand their ground, embarked on board the shipping, in hopes of making their escape; but they were stopped by a superior force, and surrendered as prisoners of war. Eleven vessels, with their cargoes, consisting of ammunition, provisions, and military stores, also became the prize of the victors. The Americans then made an attack on Quebec, but there they were defeated on the 31st of December, 1775; about 100 being slain, and 300 taken prisoners. In this action the famous General Montgomery perished: he was esteemed on both sides;—by the Americans as a martyr to the cause of liberty; and by the English who approved of the military coercion of the colonists, as a misguided, good man, who fell a victim to what he believed to be the rights of his country.

The main British army was blockaded for some months in Boston by the Americans, under General Washington. General Howe had succeeded General Gage in the command; and his troops were not only rendered useless, but in danger of perishing from want. They were therefore compelled, in April, 1776, to evacuate Boston, and abandon that town to the triumphant Americans. The English army left behind it 250 pieces of cannon, four large mortars, 150 horses, 25,000 bushels of wheat, and other provisions, which fell into the hands of Washington. But the English took away with them about 2,000 Americans, who still remained loyal to King George—American Tories (as they were called), who no longer felt themselves safe from the anger of their revolutionary countrymen. Several vessels with military stores, which arrived from England and put into Boston harbour without knowing that it was abandoned by the British troops, were also taken by the Americans. The thanks of congress were given to General Washington for this triumph, and a gold medal was cast to commemorate it.

Thus encouraged, the American congress proceeded, on the 4th of July, 1776 (the anniversary of which day is always celebrated by the American people with public rejoicings, as the birthday of their national freedom), to issue their famous DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. The minds of the people had been for some time prepared for this natural result of the conflict, by pamphlets published for that purpose. One of these works, entitled *Common Sense*, produced an almost incredible effect: it was written by Thomas Paine, author of *The Rights of Man*, who afterwards acquired an unhappy notoriety by his attack on the Christian religion. *Common Sense* acquired Paine the admiration and gratitude of all the republican party in America; in other words, of the great majority of the people. Honours were heaped upon him, and the legislature of Pennsylvania voted him £500 as a reward.

The Declaration of Independence asserted that all men were made equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. That amongst them was the right of the people to alter or abolish any form of government when it no longer tended to secure the life, liberty, and happiness of the people. That the history of the King of Great Britain was a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over the colonial states. To prove this, it added a long list of the acts of tyranny and cruelty which the American patriots laid to the charge of King George; and then concluded with these words:—"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the

name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

After this famous Declaration, by which the Americans had risen from the rank of colonists to that of a great and independent people, General Howe attempted to settle the dispute by negotiation. He would not, however, recognise the military rank of the American leader, but addressed his letter to "George Washington, Esq." In consequence of which, that officer, as might have been expected, declined to receive it, saying—"I would not, on any occasion, sacrifice essentials to punctilio; but, in this instance, I deem it a duty to my country and appointment to insist on that respect which, in any other than a public view, I would willingly have waived." The bearer of the letter to General Washington having observed, that the commissioners appointed to treat with the Americans were entrusted with great powers, and would be very happy to effect an accommodation, received for reply—"That from what appeared, their powers were only to grant pardon; and that they who had committed no fault, wanted no pardon."

As no arrangements could possibly be made while the English persisted in treating the Americans as rebels, the work of war was again resumed. In an engagement which took place at Flatbush, Long Island, the British troops were victorious. Upwards of 1,200 Americans were killed or wounded, and nearly 1,100 taken prisoners. Washington only saved his army from destruction by a well-conducted retreat. This misfortune was followed by others: the Americans experienced another defeat at the White Plains; Fort Washington, with a garrison of 3,000 men, surrendered; New York fell into the hands of the British; and the Americans seemed almost in despair. So dispirited were they, that Washington even courted an honourable death on the field; for that brave man would rather have perished than see his beloved country desolated by the vengeance of a mistaken, narrow-minded king. Flushed with success, the British general issued a proclamation, commanding "all persons assembled in arms against his majesty's government to disband, and all general or provincial congresses to desist from their treasonable actions, and to relinquish their usurped power." It also promised pardon to all who should submit, and sign a declaration, testifying their obedience to the king. Many accepted these terms, and gave up the struggle for independence; but a great body of the middle ranks of the American people still remained in arms, and would not resign their hopes of national freedom.

The British pursued their successes with remarkable vigour, and Washington and his army were compelled to retreat successively to Newark, to Brunswick, to Princetown, to Trenton, and to the Pennsylvanian side of the Delaware. So rapid was the pursuit, that the rear of one army, while breaking down bridges, was often within sight and shot of the van of the other building them up. To make the cause of the Americans still more desperate, those who had engaged as soldiers could claim their discharge, as a matter of right, in less than a week, and none were bold enough to come forward as recruits to supply their places. In this condition, Washington adopted the desperate resolve of recrossing the Delaware, and, by making a sudden attack upon the British, compel them to retire and abandon the pursuit. He timed this movement so well, that a body of 1,000 Hessians was surprised at Trenton, their leader and about thirty of them shot, and the rest taken prisoners. Their success raised the dejected spirits of the Americans; their old courage revived; and the army of patriots, which had dwindled to a very low ebb, began instantly to increase in numbers. The scale of fortune seemed to have turned; and, after the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, Washington nearly succeeded in an attempt to surprise the English camp at Princetown during the dead of night. Though he failed in entirely surprising the British, he took them unprepared, and defeated them in a fierce skirmish. The consternation into which the British were thrown, induced them to evacuate both Trenton and Princetown, and to retreat to New Brunswick.

When hostilities were recommenced, the Americans, on the 13th of September, 1777, experienced a defeat at Brandywine, a small stream which flows into Christmas Creek, near its conflux with the river Delaware. In this engagement 300 of them were killed, about 600 wounded, and 400 taken prisoners. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, amounted to about 500. Amongst the wounded, on the side of the Americans, was a celebrated young French noble, the Marquis de la Fayette. Animated by a generous love of liberty, he had left his native country, and offered his sword to the cause of American freedom. He eventually distinguished himself in the great revolution which convulsed his own country. After the battle of Brandywine, the American congress was compelled to fly from Philadelphia, and the British troops entered it in triumph.

The American forts on the river Delaware, at Mud Island, and Red Bank, were also taken.

We pass over the many unimportant actions which led to no result, to record the surrender, in October, 1777, of General Burgoyne at Saratoga, with an English army amounting to 5,790 men, as prisoners to General Gates, an American officer. The humbled British were treated with great consideration, and allowed, after surrendering their arms, to embark and return to England, on condition of never again serving against the Americans. Amongst the military stores taken on this occasion, were thirty-five brass field-pieces. This disgrace was a great mortification to the English Tories; and on hearing it, Lord North, the minister, actually shed tears. For some time congress had issued letters of marque—that is, given permission to privateers to attack and capture British vessels laden with stores or reinforcements. This permission was soon extended to include all vessels bearing the English flag; and the American privateers committed numerous and startling depredations. So far did they extend their operations, and so bold had they become, that they insulted and plundered the coast of England and Ireland in a manner that had not been attempted for centuries. Amongst them was the famous Captain Paul Jones, who sailed across the Atlantic, made a descent upon Whitehaven, spiked the guns in the fort, and destroyed all the shipping in the harbour. He afterwards landed in Scotland, attacked the mansion of Lord Selkirk, and carried off his plate and furniture. Paul Jones was the hero of other daring adventures, an account of which forms a romantic episode to the history of the American war. The English vessels captured by the Transatlantic privateers, were allowed to be openly sold in the French and Dutch ports.

But France had long secretly encouraged the Americans to continue their struggle against England; and, after the surrender of General Burgoyne, when there seemed a chance of doing so with ultimate success, the French king publicly acknowledged the independence of America, entered into an alliance with the states, and received ambassadors from them.

In the following year (1778), Spain also joined the Americans against England; and before yet another year had expired, Holland also espoused the cause of the colonists; and it was found that the obstinacy of George and his ministers had exposed England to the hostilities of a powerful confederacy.

The support which the French king gave to the Americans, led to the declaration, on the part of England, of a war against France. The English government would then have given up the obnoxious tea duty, and repealed the other measures they had passed against the Americans. But the time for concession of that kind was gone for ever: the minds of the majority of the Americans were alienated from the government of the mother country; and their congress declined to treat with the English commissioners, unless the independence of the colonies was first acknowledged. The British commissioners, incensed at the rejection of their plan of conciliation, threatened to devastate and ruin the country; and the British army seconded these threats by many outrages. During the winter of 1777, parties of soldiers issued from Philadelphia, where they were quartered, and committed many acts of destruction.

The revolutionary war went wearily on; but, in despite of the assistance of a French fleet, the British now seemed to be in the ascendant. In the year 1778, the beautiful and prosperous settlement of Wyoming, consisting of eight townships, situated on the river Susquehannah, was destroyed, under circumstances of great barbarity, by a party of Americans who remained loyal to George III. They allied themselves to a tribe of ferocious Indians, and fell upon the unhappy district; 400 persons were massacred, numbers of them scalped, all valuable movables were carried off as plunder, and every house and cottage burnt to ashes. This year the French and the Americans were repulsed in an attempt to drive a British army from Rhole Island. In the south, also, the Americans experienced a defeat, and Savannah, the capital of Georgia, fell into the hands of the British.

In the year 1779, the misfortunes of the Americans still continued. Having fortified Charlestown, and sustained a siege in it, they were compelled to surrender it to the British, and about 5,000 Americans gave themselves up as prisoners of war. General Gates, also, was defeated at Camden by Lord Cornwallis, the victory being followed by some shameful severities. That nobleman obtained another victory over the Americans in 1781, at Guildford; but the British suffered so severely, that, though the honour of the contest remained with them, the advantage was chiefly on the other side. About 400 of the Americans perished; but the British loss was not only much greater, but included several of their distinguished officers. Though the Americans retreated, and Lord Cornwallis kept the field, the British interest in North Carolina was ruined.

After the battle of Guildford, Lord Cornwallis, not being in a condition to follow up his victory, retired with his troops to Virginia. The British had enjoyed their last triumph, and were soon surrounded and blockaded in York Town by the united arms of the French and Americans. After bravely protracting a hopeless struggle to the last, Lord Cornwallis and his troops, amounting to upwards of 7,000 men, surrendered to General Washington on the 16th of October, 1781. This loss on the part of the British was the closing scene of the war—a war as disastrous as any in which this country has ever been engaged.

The reverses which had been experienced during the American conflict, and the opinion which many Englishmen entertained, that it was an unjust war, had made it very unpopular. The House of Commons, therefore, went in a body to St. James's, and presented an address to the king, desiring that peace should be concluded. George, not willing to acknowledge that he was in the wrong—as he firmly believed he was only asserting his own rights and those of his people—gave a very evasive answer. The Commons then passed a resolution, that the House would consider as enemies to his majesty and the country, all who should advise or attempt the prosecution of offensive hostilities in North America. Shortly afterwards, Lord North resigned, and the administration which had plunged England into the war was at an end. The struggle not only deprived England of her colonies, but added upwards of £100,000,000 of money to her national debt, and wasted the lives of about 50,000 of her subjects. France and Spain were also tired of the war; for, though the French had rendered great service to America, they had reaped nothing but loss themselves; while the Spaniards had experienced a total defeat in a vain attempt to recover Gibraltar. All parties were therefore desirous of peace, which was concluded in 1783: and, after a struggle *of eight years' duration*, the United States of America were acknowledged to be FREE and INDEPENDENT.—Although the English government had learnt, by a painful experience, that the conquest of America was impossible, yet it was with extreme reluctance that the obstinate king was prevailed upon to consent to recognise its national freedom. He would sooner have gone on impoverishing England, for the purpose of desolating America, than frankly acknowledge that his measures were unjust.

After the British forces had abandoned New York, General Washington resigned his command into the hands of congress, and took an affecting leave of his officers. He was afterwards elected the first president of America, which dignified position he filled with wisdom and moderation for a period of eight years. His death took place on the 14th of December, 1799; and it is generally admitted, that though there have been far greater soldiers and greater statesmen than George Washington, yet that the whole range of history does not present a character on which posterity can dwell with such entire and unmixed admiration. Shortly after the peace, Mr. John Adams arrived at St. James's, as ambassador from the United States. The king received him with affability, though not without agitation; and, in the course of his remarks, observed—"I was the last man in the kingdom, Sir, to consent to the independence of America; but now it is granted, I shall be the last man in the world to sanction a violation of it."

During the eight years occupied by the American war of independence, the attention of England was chiefly engaged by that subject. King, parliament, and people—all seem to have been engrossed by the great struggle on the other side of the broad Atlantic, and few events of much historical interest took place at home.

Late in the year 1776, great excitement prevailed on account of the discovery of a supposed conspiracy to set fire to Portsmouth dockyard, and to burn the warehouses and shipping at Bristol. On the 7th of December, a fire broke out in the rope-house of the dockyard at Portsmouth, which was, however, soon extinguished, and it was believed to be the result of accident. Soon afterwards, a machine and some combustible materials were discovered beneath the hemp, and a suspicion arose that the fire had been the work of an incendiary. This suspicion was increased by fires breaking out at other places, particularly at Bristol, where six or seven houses on the quay were consumed, and the neighbouring shipping had a narrow escape. It was instantly rumoured that the Americans had hired incendiaries to spread fire and devastation throughout the country; and a sullen, wandering man, called John the Painter, was arrested on suspicion. On his examination, nothing appeared to criminate him; but still the charge was so serious a one, that he was committed to prison. An unworthy stratagem was then employed to entrap him into a confession of guilt. Another travelling painter, named Baldwin, who, like the prisoner, had been in America, was placed in the same ward with him—pretended a sympathy for him, wormed himself into his confidence, and in a short time extorted such particulars as were supposed would lead to his conviction. According to this Baldwin, the real name of John the Painter was James Aitkin. He was a native of Edinburgh, and had led a wild, wandering life—sometimes working at his trade, and at others living by theft. Either to gratify a roving disposition, or to escape the penalty of his crimes, he had gone to America, where he formed the idea of serving the cause of independence by returning to England and burning its shipping and principal trading towns and cities. He added, that he had been encouraged to this wicked work by Silas Deane, one of the American agents at Paris.

On the evidence of the spy Baldwin, who had procured these confessions in so treacherous a way, John the Painter was placed on his trial, and condemned to death. He defended himself with considerable ability, and contended that no reliance could be placed on the

testimony of such a man as Baldwin. His judges, however, expressed their conviction of his guilt, and he was hanged at Portsmouth dock-gate, on a gallows sixty feet high, and then suspended in chains.—Shortly after this event (on the 27th of June, 1777), that accomplished but dissipated clergyman, the Rev. Dr. William Dodd, was hanged for the forgery of Lord Chesterfield's name to a bond. Dr. Dodd's fate excited a great sensation, and the most strenuous efforts were made to procure a mitigation of his sentence. He was a man of great ability; and, amongst other works, had published a *Commentary on the Bible*, and a book entitled *The Frequency of Capital Punishments inconsistent with Justice, Sound Policy, and Religion.* He died very penitently, much regretting the scandal his sad example had brought upon his sacred profession.

In the spring of 1778, England experienced the loss of her greatest orator. Lord Chatham died almost in the performance of his senatorial duties. On the 8th of April, the Duke of Richmond moved for an address to the king on the state of the nation. In his speech on this occasion, the duke expressed his strong conviction of the necessity of an immediate recognition of American independence. Lord Chatham, who had bitterly condemned the proceedings against America, and had eloquently applauded that country for its resistance to England, was yet averse to its separation from the mother country. He wished to see it ruled justly and wisely, but did not desire it to be independent of Great Britain. Though he had long been suffering severe illness, yet he entered the House of Lords that night to oppose the motion of the Duke of Richmond. His appearance was that of a dying man; and he was so emaciated, that little of his face but his aquiline nose, and the still fiery glance of his eyes, was to be seen between the curls of his great wig. Wrapped in flannels, and supported on his crutches, he was led to his seat by two friends. In this state he rose to make his last speech. The lords listened with the most profound attention; but the oratorical triumphs of Chatham had passed for ever. For some time he was scarcely audible, then he hesitated, and occasionally lost the thread of his discourse. Having protested against the Duke of Richmond's motion, he sat down, and that nobleman replied. On the conclusion of the duke's speech, Chatham rose again in a fit of impatient irritability: he seemed as if labouring to utter some great thought; but his emotions were too powerful for his weakened frame: he pressed his hand to his bosom, and sank down in a convulsive fit.

Several noblemen caught him in their arms; the debate broke up, and the dying orator was carried into an adjoining apartment. The following day he was conveyed to his mansion at Hayes, where he lingered for more than a month, and expired on the 11th of May, 1778, in the seventieth year of his age. This distinguished statesman and orator—always regarded as the Demosthenes of England—professed himself a Whig in principle, and was called "the man of the people;" but his political conduct was, in reality, independent of any party. In public his manners were cold, haughty, and irritable, and he was extremely impatient of contradiction; but in his own family he was gentle and kindly. His actions were marked by promptitude, sagacity, and an overpowering energy; and it has been truly observed, that he was neither stained by any vice nor sullied by any meanness. Parliament voted him a public funeral, and erected a statue over his grave in Westminster Abbey. His debts, also, were paid by the nation; and an annuity of £4,000 a year settled upon those of his heirs on whom the earldom of Chatham should descend.

Before this distinguished man had departed from the political arena, the famous Edmund Burke was rising into distinction as an orator and advocate of liberty. Early in 1780, he brought forward in parliament a plan of economical reform. This scheme was comprehended in five different bills, all of which had for their object the doing away with unnecessary offices, the limitation of pensions, and the reduction of public expenses. Mr. Burke's eloquence, in advocating these reforms, was much admired; but the Tory influence of the ministry was so powerful as to cause them to be rejected.

Though the ministry was strong enough to crush any project of reform, it could not silence the complaints of a justly discontented people. Forty petitions, signed by an immense number of persons, were placed upon the table of the House of Commons; and, on the 9th of April, 1780, Mr. Dunning, a member of that assembly, brought forward a bold and startling resolution, which, he said, embodied the sense of them. It was, "*That the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished.*" This resolution, though almost revolutionary in its character, was felt to be so deserved and so necessary, that, in spite of the entreaties of the minister, it was carried by 233 votes against 215. Other resolutions were passed, of a nature calculated to startle the king and introduce a reform in the government. For a time, the principles of liberty seemed to possess new life; but the success of the opposition received a serious check through the illness of the Speaker, who was esteemed one of its most powerful advocates.

A wild outbreak of fanatical ignorance, which occurred soon afterwards, caused the subject of reform to be for a time forgotten. In 1778, a bill was passed to relieve Roman Catholics from the severe penal laws which had been enacted against them. This was ex-

tremely just; because the papists were no longer politically formidable, and no rational fears could be entertained that this form of religion would ever again have the mastery in Great Britain. The following year it was determined to extend the benefits of this law to the Catholics of Scotland. So fierce an outbreak of Protestant violence was the result in that country, that the measure was obliged to be abandoned, in order to provide for the safety of the Catholics.

This illiberal feeling soon extended to England. A violent society for the destruction of popery had been established in Edinburgh, and eighty-five corresponding Christian societies (as they were called) were started in England. The president of them was Lord George Gordon, a young nobleman, whose strange eccentricities bordered upon insanity. He was a member of the House of Commons, where he had attracted notice by his slovenly dress, his strangeness of behaviour, and the talent displayed in his occasional attacks on the ministry. Lord George issued an address to the people of London, urging them to demand the repeal of the law in favour of the Catholics; and by his exertions, and those of the Protestant Association, a violent excitement was produced amongst the lowest of the people, and a petition to parliament got up, with no less than 120,000 signatures or marks; for an immense number of those intolerant men and women could not sign their names.

Lord George Gordon, who was constantly making inflammatory addresses to the people, told them that he would not present the petition to parliament unless as many as 20,000 men would meet in St. George's Fields, and follow him with it to the House of Commons. On the appointed day—the 2nd of June, 1780—upwards of 60,000 persons assembled; and, after listening to an exciting speech from his lordship, whose zeal for the Protestant religion was nearly allied to insanity, they formed themselves into four divisions, and marched, with him at their head, through the city to the Houses of Parliament; all the streets and avenues leading to which were blocked up by them. As the Lords and members of the House of Commons presented themselves, the mob compelled them to put on blue cockades, and join in their uproarious shouts of "No popery!" Some of the bishops and nobles were treated in an insulting and violent manner; one bishop having his gown torn from his back, and others being severely hustled.

Entering the House of Commons, Lord George moved that the petition should be brought in and immediately considered. As the building was then surrounded by an immense mob of rioters, shouting, "Repeal the bill! no popery! Lord George Gordon!" to have considered the petition at once, would have been to yield to vulgar intimidation. The members, therefore, very properly resolved to put off the consideration of it for four days. During the debate which preceded this determination, Lord George frequently went into the lobby and addressed the mob. He encouraged them to persevere, as terror would force the king and his ministers to grant their petition; and told them that the people of Scotland had no redress until they had pulled down the popish chapels.

This wicked hint was not lost upon that brawling, ignorant multitude; and as they returned to their homes, they demolished and set fire to the chapels of the Bavarian and Sardinian ambassadors. The military were ordered out; but they came too late; the mischief was done, and the rabble dispersed. The following day (Saturday) passed quietly; but the excitement was only lulled, not subdued; and, on Sunday, the rioters assembled in vast numbers in Moorfields, where they destroyed a chapel and several houses belonging to the Catholics. On Monday they continued their violence, and, amongst other outrages, demolished the house and costly furniture of Sir George Saville, because that liberal-minded gentleman had moved the repeal of the penal laws against the Catholics.

As Tuesday was the day appointed by the Commons for taking the petition into consideration, the House was again surrounded by an enormous yelling and dirty mob, which insulted and severely injured several members. To give their attention to business under such circumstances was impossible; and after passing some resolutions expressive of their determination not to be driven to any decision by brute force, the members adjourned. By this time the mob had been joined by all the highwaymen, thieves, and ruffians of the metropolis. With a natural sympathy for their imprisoned companions, these wretches attacked Newgate. After many ineffectual attempts to force the iron-bound gates, they succeeded in setting the building on fire. The cries of the prisoners within, at the prospect of being suffocated or burnt to death in their cells, were fearful. Some of the mob, however, rushed in, armed with sledge-hammers and pickaxes, and, by a wonderful activity, succeeded in saving them all. More than 300 felons were let loose upon society, four of whom were under sentence of death, and would have been executed on the following Thursday. In a few hours nothing was left of Newgate except some bare, blackened stone walls, which were too strong to yield to the effects of fire. The new prison at Clerkenwell shared the same fate: many private houses, also, were given to the flames; and at midnight, the house and noble library of Lord Mansfield, the eloquent and venerable Lord Chief Justice, were destroyed. The books, pictures, and costly furniture were burnt by the barbarians; and they drank his

wines until many of them, from drunkenness and excitement, became like raving madmen. The authorities had been slow to interfere; but the military were now brought into action, the mob fired upon, and many drunken ruffians were sent to their graves amid the din of musketry, the screams of the wounded, and the wild, hoarse roar of vengeance from the thousands of voices. Few eyes were closed in London that night; and people sat up in terror, wondering how this strange outbreak of bigotry would end.

All these scenes were outdone on the day and night of Wednesday. Business was at an end; the shops remained closed; and people chalked the words "No popery" on their doors, to save themselves from the fury of the rioters. Some poor foreign Jews in Houndsditch chalked up the ludicrous announcement—"This *house* is a true Protestant;" while an Italian clown, living in London, wrote on his door, "No religion." Men, armed with iron railings, paraded the streets, shouting, "No popery!" and robbing every decent passenger. One gigantic fellow, on horseback, refused to accept anything but gold. All the prisons in London were burnt, except the Compter in the Poultry, which seemed to have been forgotten. The Bank was attacked, but the mob was twice repulsed by the military; and written papers were circulated, naming the Mansion-house, the Tower, the Exchange, and the British Museum, as places to be destroyed. As night drew on, the premises of Mr. Langdale, a Catholic distiller in Holborn, were broken open and everything destroyed, except the enormous stock of spirits, which was brought out in pailfuls, and drank by the lowest of the rioters until many of them dropped dead from intoxication. The building was afterwards set on fire; the flames from the ignited spirits rose up into the air like the eruption of a volcano; and numbers of human brutes, too drunk to move, were burnt or crushed to death beneath the smouldering ruins. At one period during this night of terror, no less than six-and-thirty fires were blazing in different parts of London at once; and had it not been for the great serenity of the air, the whole metropolis might have been destroyed and left a ruined monument of this diabolical instance of fanaticism.

As no magistrates were to be found bold enough to read the Riot Act, the king had issued a proclamation authorising the military to disperse the mob without that formality. An immense body of military and militia was called into action, and the sound of musketry was heard in several directions. Some of the rabble had obtained arms, and returned the fire of the troops; but the sight of their dead or dying companions cooled their courage. The mob, however, did not disperse until noon on the following day. Two hundred and ten rioters had been killed by the military, and 248 wounded. Besides this, a large number died afterwards in the hospitals, and many were doubtless carried away, dead or wounded, by their friends. A young chimney-sweep, who was shot, had as many as forty guineas in his pockets.—But this was not the only retribution which descended on these ignorant fanatics. Many of the rioters had been arrested, and, soon afterwards, the law began its work of vengeance. Fifty-nine were sentenced to death; and of these unhappy wretches twenty were hanged, and the rest transported for life. When the terrible events which extended from the 2nd to the 9th of June are considered, these sentences cannot, in reason, be considered too severe; yet the ultra-Protestants raised an outcry against them, and compared Wedderburn, the Chief Justice, to Jeffreys. Lord George Gordon, the chief cause of all these sad events, was arrested, and placed on his trial for high treason. As his offence did not seem to answer that description, he was acquitted. He ought to have been confined as a dangerous madman; and he afterwards gave proof of the unsoundness of his mind, by renouncing the Christian religion and turning Jew. He passed the last year of his life in Newgate, where he had been committed for a series of libels.—As this frightful riot began without any just cause, so it failed in its avowed object; for the Commons very justly decided, that the act in favour of the Roman Catholics should not be repealed, because the grievances said to arise from it were purely imaginary.

The year 1783 was distinguished by a complicated political transaction. The famous Charles James Fox (son of that Henry Fox who had been created Lord Holland), after having been for many years in bitter opposition to the Tory Lord North, entered into an unexpected coalition with that statesman; and they succeeded in displacing the ministry, and forcing themselves upon the king as his advisers. They received the seals of office on the 2nd of April; but their triumph had but a short duration. A bill which Mr. Fox brought forward, for regulating the affairs of the East India Company, was so obnoxious to the king, that he sent a message to Earl Temple, desiring him to inform the House of Lords, that whoever voted for the India Bill, was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy. The bill was therefore rejected by the Lords; and a strange contest began between the king and the House of Commons, in which, as usual, the majority acted according to the direction of the ministers.

A war between the prerogatives of the king and the privileges of parliament had led Charles I. to the scaffold, and driven James II. into banishment. On those occasions, however, the parliament was backed by

the people; but now the people, considering Mr. Fox had abandoned his principles, held the ministry in contempt, and sided with the king. George's mind, though almost imbecile in youth, had been strengthened in manhood by his constant attention to the business of the state; and he acted on this occasion with a resolution which won for him a popularity that never afterwards altogether left him. He sent a message to the Secretaries of State, demanding the seals of their several departments, and directing that they should be delivered to him by the under-secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable. A few days afterwards, on the 19th of December, the famous William Pitt, the second son of the Earl of Chatham, although only in his twenty-fourth year, assumed the elevated station of prime minister—a position he retained for the protracted period of seventeen years.

CHAPTER XCVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.—A.D. 1784—1795.



R. PITT was supported by the favour of the king; but the majority of the House of Commons was decidedly against him. Under such circumstances it was impossible to carry on the business of the state; and either a new parliament or a new ministry was indispensable. The king chose the former course; and, in the new parliament, the young premier had such a number of supporters as enabled him to carry out his measures. The early part of his ministerial career was tolerably tranquil, and he was disposed to pursue such a line of policy as would, no doubt, have met the approbation of his illustrious father. One of his first measures was intended to effect a reform in the mode of electing parliaments; which, however, he abandoned, in consequence of the opposition it met with from his great rival, Mr. Fox and his party. Another liberal measure that Mr. Pitt brought forward was more fortunate, and passed into a law: it was an act for restoring the estates of such Scottish nobles and gentlemen as had been forfeited in consequence of the part they had taken in the rebellion in favour of the young Pretender, in 1745. Though Mr. Pitt had advocated reform in the English parliament, yet, when the people of Ireland demanded a reform in their parliamentary representation, he not only set his face against it, but ordered a state prosecution of the sheriff who had presided at one of the meetings held to forward that object. Mr. Pitt, who was very expert at figures, also brought forward a plan which, he said, would have the effect of magic in reducing the national debt. This was his famous sinking-fund—a complicated scheme for discharging the debt by means of compound interest. It excited great admiration at the time; but its claim to extraordinary merit or usefulness is now altogether disproved. This scheme was not Pitt's own invention, but resulted from the calculations of Dr. Price, a famous mathematician and dissenting minister.

On the 2nd of August, 1786, an event occurred which exhibited the king in an amiable character. While alighting from his carriage at the entrance of St. James's Palace, a petition was presented to him by a decently-dressed woman. As George extended his hand to receive it, she aimed a blow at his breast with a knife she had concealed about her. The blade, being thin in the middle, bent, and the king stepped back without receiving any injury. The woman was about to repeat the blow, when one of the yeomen caught her arm, and the weapon was wrenched from her grasp. Not discomposed by this sudden attack, George exclaimed, "I am not hurt; take care of the poor woman—do not hurt her!" On being examined before the privy council, it appeared that she was a common needlewoman; that her name was Margaret Nicholson; and that she was insane. On being asked where she lived, she replied, "That she had been all abroad since that matter of the crown broke out." Being questioned as to what she meant, the poor creature answered, "That the crown was her's, and that if she had not her right, England would be deluged in blood for a thousand generations." When interrogated as to the nature of her right, she rejoined, "That her rights were a mystery." The idea of any legal proceedings against her were very properly abandoned, and she was sent to Bedlam, where she passed the remainder of her life.

That year (1786) was also made memorable by Mr. Burke's impeachment, in the House of Commons, of the celebrated Warren Hastings, governor-general of India, of high crimes and misdemeanors; for misconduct in his government; and especially for his treatment of the native princes and population of Hindostan. Mr. Hastings appeared before the bar of the House, and

delivered a defence of himself against Mr. Burke's charges; but the vote for the impeachment was carried by a considerable majority. The trial did not take place until the year 1788: it will be as well here to mention the result. It was opened on the 13th of February in that year, in Westminster Hall, which was fitted up for the occasion with great magnificence, and crowded with the chief genius, beauty, and fashion of the age.

Mr. Burke was the first of the public prosecutors who addressed that august assembly, and his preliminary speech occupied their attention for four days—the court sitting about four hours each day. Burke's oration was filled with invective and exaggeration, and contained much brilliant description that had little or nothing to do with the case. His friends considered it a specimen of eloquence worthy of the illustrious Roman orator Cicero; but a great part of the public condemned it as injudicious, extravagant, and bombastic. The first charge was opened by Mr. Fox, and lasted for several days. A second charge was opened by Mr. Sheridan, whose speech extended over two days, and who, at its conclusion, fell exhausted into the arms of Burke. Sheridan's speech was considered one of the most brilliant and powerful oratorical efforts ever delivered by English lips. Such was the excitement to listen to him, that it is said as much as fifty guineas was paid for a sitting. Only two charges had been heard, and there were twenty to be gone into, when the trial was interrupted by the prorogation of parliament. When it was resumed, all this ardour had cooled, and it dragged its slow length along during a period of nearly eight years, when it ended with the acquittal of Mr. Hastings. It is difficult to pronounce an opinion upon the conduct of this gentleman: that he fulfilled his duties as governor with great decision and severity, there is no doubt; but he was placed in circumstances singularly trying—circumstances which, perhaps, could not be treated according to the ordinary rules of mercy and morality. As governor-general of India he displayed immense talent; but he was indifferent as to the means by which he accomplished any highly desirable object. There is no doubt, however, that, but for him, India would have been lost to England. Though acquitted, he was sentenced to pay the costs of his prosecution, which amounted to £71,080. The East India Company settled upon him a pension of £4,000 per annum for his life; which he spent in the pursuit of elegant literature, at his estate in Worcestershire; and died tranquilly in the year 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

To return to the year 1787. The king's eldest son George, Prince of Wales, was a young man of extravagant habits and dissipated character. A coldness existed between him and the king; because, as the father gave his favour almost entirely to the Tories, the great Whig statesmen rallied round the son. Fox and Sheridan were his companions, and from them he doubtless acquired much of that gentlemanly vivacity that afterwards distinguished him; but he also imbibed, from the same source, that love of licentiousness and dissipation which led him into his greatest faults. The yearly income settled upon the prince, since his majority, was £50,000; but still he had contrived to get enormously in debt. The king refused to increase his allowance, and the Whigs took up his case. Alderman Newnham gave notice that he would bring forward a motion for an address to the king, praying him to take the situation of the prince into consideration, and to grant him such relief as he in his wisdom should think fit, and pledging the House to make good the same.

In answer to this, Mr. Pitt said, that if the motion were persevered in, he should be driven to the disclosure of circumstances which he should otherwise have thought it his duty to conceal. Mr. Rolle, a member of the House, also declared, "That the investigation of the question involved in it circumstances which tended immediately to affect the constitution in church and state." These allusions referred to a reported marriage between the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert, a very attractive lady, but a member of the Roman Catholic church. The prince, though a general admirer, loved this lady passionately: it was then universally believed that he had privately married her; and it is now known that he had; although, under the circumstances, the union was not binding in law. Yet, when the matter was brought before parliament, Mr. Fox was directed by the prince most solemnly to declare that no marriage had taken place. The rumour had filled the king and queen with alarm, and contributed to the refusal of the former to augment the income of his son. The king was deceived by this direct falsehood, and, at his desire, an interview took place between the prince and Mr. Pitt, in which it was arranged that the former was to have £10,000 a year added to his income; £20,000 to complete the repairs at Carlton House; and £181,000 for the payment of his debts!

The king had been for some time unwell; and in the autumn of 1788, he was afflicted by another attack of mental derangement. Great pains were taken to conceal his malady; and, to deceive the public, he was permitted to go to Windsor without restraint. While there, he mounted his horse and rode wildly about the forest and surrounding country, until, meeting with his second son, the Duke of York, he burst into tears, and said, "He hoped he should die, for he was going to be mad!" By night he was in a state of raving insanity, and suffering also from a severe attack of bilious fever.

Great excitement prevailed, and many debates took place in parliament about the appointment of a regent until the recovery or death of the sovereign. The affliction of George gained him the pity of the people: they contrasted his quiet, sober life with the wildness and excesses of his eldest son; his popularity rose greatly, and he was commonly spoken of as "the good old king." When his recovery was announced, there was great rejoicing, and a day of public thanksgiving was appointed. George went in solemn procession to St. Paul's, to offer to the Almighty his grateful devotions. He was much affected by the enthusiasm of the people and grandeur of the scene; and, as the peal of organs and the voices of choristers died into silence, he exclaimed, "I now feel that I have been ill!"

The remainder of the year 1789 passed away in England without producing any remarkable transaction; but it was memorable on the continent by the outbreak of that terrific convulsion, the great FRENCH REVOLUTION. A long course of tyranny and evil government had brought France to a condition of despairing wretchedness, difficult to be described, and impossible to be exaggerated. Government after the old evil fashion had become an impossibility, and the crimes of generations of bad kings and ministers had to be remedied. Louis XVI., the monarch then upon the throne, was a simple, amiable man; but extremely weak-minded, and utterly unfit for the tumultuous era in which he was placed. Had he been a man of decision, and possessed of a genius for ruling, that dark revolution would have ended very differently: as it was, his vacillation turned a necessary purification of the land into the most hideous convulsions that ever racked a nation and appalled the world. Still, with its fearful catalogue of horrors—with its tempests of popular fury, its reign of terror, its revolting massacres, its almost endless executions—it was, in spite of what timid or ill-informed people may think to the contrary, a blessing to the civilised world;—an example of the result of despotism so awful, that tyrants will ever turn pale at the bare remembrance of it.

An assembly of the States-General having been summoned in France, it assumed, on the 17th of June, 1789, the name of the National Assembly. The undecided king (leaning sometimes to the cause of his people, but far more often to the abuses of royalty) surrounded Paris with troops, and dismissed his only minister who possessed the confidence of the people. This led to violent commotions: the soldiers refused to act against their fellow-countrymen; the Bastille—a hideous state prison, whose mysterious dungeons had been a terror for ages—was, on the 14th of July, attacked and taken, the governor put to death by the mob, and the revolution was baptised in blood.

These events, as may naturally be supposed, excited great attention in England; the king and his political friends throughout the country, viewed them with alarm and indignation; but liberal politicians regarded them with feelings of pleasurable hope. In the House of Commons, Mr. Burke pronounced a bitter and intemperate condemnation of the revolution, and the principles that led to it. He was answered by Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan. The latter gentleman said that he was as ready as Mr. Burke to detest the cruelties that had been committed: but he inquired, "What was the striking lesson, the awful moral, that these outrages taught? A deeper abhorrence of that system of despotic government which had so deformed and corrupted human nature; of a species of government that trampled upon the property, the liberty, and lives of its subjects—that dealt in extortions, dungeons, and torture; and that prepared beforehand a day of sanguinary vengeance, when the irritated populace should possess themselves of power. The people, unhappily misguided, as they doubtless were, in particular instances, had, however, acted rightly in their great object. They had placed the supreme authority of the community in those hands by which alone it could be justly exercised, and had reduced their sovereign to the rank which properly belonged to kings—that of administrator of the laws established by the free consent of the community."

On the 4th of November, 1789, an association in London, known by the name of the Revolution Society (the members of which met once a year to celebrate the landing of William III.), gave a public dinner in honour of the old revolution in England and the new revolution in France. About 800 gentlemen, many of them of the highest rank, sat down to dinner, which was preceded by a sermon, delivered at a chapel in the Old Jewry, on "The Love of our Country." Dr. Price, the venerable preacher, who was an aged enthusiast in the cause of liberty and the brotherhood of man, concluded his discourse in the following eloquent strain:—"What an eventful period is this! I am thankful that I have lived to see it; and I could almost say, 'Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.' I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge which has undermined superstition and error. I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever, and nations panting for liberty which seemed to have lost the idea of it. I have lived to see 30,000,000 of people indignantly and resolutely spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects. After sharing in the benefits of one revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two revolu-

tions, both glorious; and now methinks I see the ardour for liberty catching and spreading, and a general amendment beginning in human affairs;—the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience. Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence! The times are auspicious. Your labours have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms—admonished by you—starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors! Behold the light you have struck out—after setting America free—reflected to France, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates Europe!"

Inspired by this discourse—well calculated to aid the cause of revolution, which it is now known the French rebels were endeavouring, by their agents, to excite in every other European kingdom, England included—the Revolution Society presented an address to the National Assembly of France, congratulating that body on the revolution that was then in progress there. The assembly returned a grateful reply; but Mr. Burke, in the House of Commons, denounced the revolution; and described the actors in it as "an irrational, unprincipled, proscribing, confiscating, plundering, ferocious, bloody, tyrannical democracy." Shortly afterwards, he published his celebrated book, *Reflections on the French Revolution*, a work to which he was excited by the sermon of Dr. Price. In this book Whig principles were asserted, in opposition to the demoralising doctrines of the day; and it had a great effect in producing that division of the Whig party into Old and New Whigs, which took place about this time. The former followed in the course pointed out by Burke; the latter, headed by Fox, were disposed to support everything in the way of change, and everybody who was inclined to substitute new forms of government for the old ones which had so long prevailed.

Though Burke's book delighted the Tories and Old Whigs, it produced a feeling of alarm among the new section of the latter; and also amongst those who are always to be found, in every age and nation, opposed to all good government. Many replies were written to it. The most notorious of these was *The Rights of Man*, by Thomas Paine, a work penned in a bold and attractive style; and 50,000 copies of it were sold in a very short time. As Paine bitterly attacked the principles of the British constitution, the government instituted legal proceedings against him, which made his book sell faster than ever, and his principles become more widely known. Mr. Paine, however, contrived to escape to France, where he was elected a member of the National Convention.

In 1790, that celebrated assembly passed a resolution, that the French nation renounced for ever all idea of conquest, and confined itself entirely to defensive war. It also passed a decree abolishing all hereditary titles, orders, armorial bearings, and other marks of the distinction of ranks in society. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille was celebrated on the Champ de Mars. It was called a general confederation, and was held for the purpose of a national administration of an oath of fidelity to the new constitution. The king attended, and took the oath amidst the applauses of his people; about 600,000 of whom are said to have been present.

The second anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, on the 14th of June, 1791, was celebrated, by the so-called "friends of liberty" in England, by public dinners, and other rejoicings, which were opposed by Mr. Pitt and the increasing Tory party, who got up counter-manifestations; represented even the name of reform as detestable; and shouted, from one end of the land to the other, for "Church and King!" This opposition of feeling led to a disgraceful riot at Birmingham. A tavern, where a number of gentlemen dined in honour of the anniversary, was attacked by a mob, which, after shouting "Church and King!" broke the windows, rushed into the house, and compelled the reformers to seek for safety in flight. They then destroyed and set fire to two dissenting chapels in the town; broke into the house of Dr. Priestley, the famous chemist and Unitarian minister, destroyed his philosophical apparatus, books, and manuscripts, and left his house in flames. Not satisfied with these proceedings, as disgraceful as those of the French revolutionists, the rioters continued, for four successive days, to burn the houses of other reformers who resided in and near the town; nor was order restored until the military were called out, and several lives lost. The end was, that seventeen of the parties who thus outraged law, and injured the cause they professed to support, were arrested, and four of them hanged.

This cry in favour of Toryism did not damp the efforts of the New Whigs. A demand was made for parliamentary reform, and a society, called "The Friends of the People," which included thirty members of parliament, and many other eminent characters, was instituted for obtaining it. Other societies were established, of which the most famous was the "London Corresponding Society," which recommended reformation through the means of universal suffrage and annual parliaments.

When, on the 30th of April, 1792, a motion for parliamentary reform was brought forward in the Commons by Mr. Charles (afterwards Earl) Grey, it was opposed by Mr. Pitt, who expressed his belief, that

all moderate men would say it "was not a time to make hazardous experiments." A heated debate took place, Mr. Fox supporting Mr. Grey; but the great majority of both Houses was against them. On the 21st of May, a royal proclamation was issued against seditious writings. This drew down upon the minister severe reprehensions from the members of the "Revolution" and "Corresponding" Societies, who unjustly described him as one "who promised everything, but performed nothing; who never kept his word with the public; who studied all the arts of captivating popularity, without even intending to deserve it; and who, from the first step of his political life, was a complete public apostate."

In 1791, the French monarch excited suspicions of his sincerity towards his people, by attempting, together with his family, to fly from the kingdom—as many of his nobles and friends had done before him. The royal party left Paris on the 20th of June, and were stopped, the next day, on the frontiers, and brought back as prisoners. Louis defended himself on the ground of the danger and insults to which he and the queen were exposed from the mob; but as his flight was said to have been concerted with the enemies of France (who were preparing means to crush the revolution), he utterly lost the confidence of the people. Louis continued, by evasive conduct, to fall in their estimation; and the following year, Petion, the Mayor of Paris, appeared at the bar of the National Convention, and demanded that the king should be deposed. On the 10th of August, the royal palace was attacked, nearly the whole of the Swiss guards massacred, and Louis and his family fled for refuge to the National Assembly. They were sent to a prison called the Temple; and, under pretence of preventing the enemies of the country from taking advantage of the absence of the army, imprisonments and massacres of the most revolting description took place throughout Paris. During the 2nd and 3rd of September, upwards of 1,000 state prisoners were brutally murdered. Amongst them was the unhappy Princess De Lamballe, whose bleeding head was stuck upon a pike, paraded through the streets of Paris, and afterwards held up before the window of the queen, because she had been a great favourite of that unhappy lady.

It was then proclaimed that royalty was abolished, and France made a republic. Although the person of the king had been declared inviolable, yet, on the 11th of December, 1792, he was brought to the bar and placed on his trial, on the charge of tyranny and treason towards the nation. Such was the furious and frenzied state of the people, that he could scarcely have entertained any hope of escape. He defended himself with great calmness and judgment; but was found guilty by a small majority, and condemned to death!

The unhappy monarch, who had been subjected to many cruel insults during his confinement, was led to the guillotine on the morning of the 21st of January, 1793. He suffered with singular manliness and tranquillity. Having ascended the steps leading to the instrument of death with a firm tread, he began to address the vast crowd that had assembled to see him perish. "Frenchmen," he exclaimed, "I die innocent; it is from the scaffold, and when about to appear before my God, that I tell you so. I pardon my enemies; I pray that France——." Here he was interrupted by one of the officers, who cried, "Tambours! Executioners, do your duty!" Instantly the voice of the wretched king was drowned by the sound of drums, and six executioners dragged him towards the guillotine. "I die innocent," he repeated: "I ever desired the good of my people." Then submitting to the executioners, he placed his neck across the machine, the spring was touched, the heavy axe descended, and in one second Louis XVI. was a corpse. Sampson, the principal executioner, took up the bleeding head, and carrying it thrice round the scaffold, shouted, "*Vive la République!*" The dense crowd that swayed backwards and forwards like a vast sea of life, responded with hoarse cries of "*Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberté!*" This unhappy victim of the sins of his ancestors and of the frenzy of his people, was only in his thirty-ninth year. His body was placed in a deep grave, without shroud or coffin, and the pit was then partly filled up with quicklime. Such was the burial of the sixty-sixth sovereign of France.

His queen, Marie Antoinette, who was far more obnoxious to the people than poor Louis, soon shared his fate. She was charged with various offences;—with being guilty of many plots against the revolution; with entertaining an implacable and savage hatred to the French people; with corresponding with the enemies of France; and with a crime too shocking to mention, and which every one believes to have been an infamous calumny upon her. She was sentenced to the guillotine, and perished by that instrument on the 16th of October, 1793, in the thirty-eighth year of her age. She suffered with resignation, and almost with indifference. Indeed, so awful were the shocks to which she had been subjected, and so great the cruelty of her treatment, that death must have been welcome to her. She left two children; a daughter who survived the horrors that then afflicted France, and a son, a delicate boy, who, though by a mockery of etiquette regarded as Louis XVII., was apprenticed to a brutal shoemaker, and died two years afterwards of grief or ill-treatment.

To add to the distractions of France, the republican party was now divided against itself. The moderate reformers were called Girondists, while the most violent

obtained the name of Jacobins; and the place where they sat in the convention was called the Mountain. The Jacobins having succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of the people, twenty-two of the most distinguished and moderate members of the convention were arrested as enemies of the nation, and sent to the scaffold. Mr. Pitt, the English minister, who had done all he could to arrest the progress of the revolution, and to prevent the introduction of its destructive principles into England, was denounced as the enemy of the whole world, and one whom every man had a right to assassinate. Such was the strange excited state of the French people, that, in their hatred of the Catholic priests, who mostly took part with royalty, and were all suspected of being traitors to the republic, they absolutely proceeded to the mad extreme of solemnly suppressing the Christian religion in France. Death was declared to be annihilation; and over the graves were placed such inscriptions as, "Death is sleep," or "Death is an eternal sleep." A new calendar was also invented, which was to date from the "First year of Liberty, or first year of the Republic." By it the year was divided into four equal seasons, and twelve equal months of thirty days each. This arrangement left five odd days in the year, which were to be celebrated as festivals, under the name of *Sansculottides*. The first of these days was to be consecrated to Genius; the second to Industry; the third to Noble Actions; the fourth to Rewards; and the fifth to Free Opinion. The months were to be divided into three parts, consisting of ten days each, and called *décades*. The Christian Sunday was to be altogether abolished, and every tenth day was to be held as a day of rest instead. Such were the excesses of some of those who had risen to notoriety during this period of revolutionary ideas!

The execution of the French king startled George III., and spread alarm amongst all classes in England, except the New Whigs, and the followers of Paine, now called "Jacobins," from their prototypes in France.—In November, 1792, the National Convention, established at Paris in the previous September, had issued a decree, in which it offered "fraternity and assistance" to the disaffected under all monarchical governments. As no explanation or disavowal of this decree could be obtained, the English government thought it necessary to increase its army and navy; but any intention to interfere with the internal concerns of France was distinctly disclaimed.—After the execution of the king, of course the relations between the two governments were not improved; and, on the 31st of December, the French Minister of Marine addressed a letter "to the friends of liberty in the seaports," in which he accused the king and his parliament of intending to make war against France; and promised the English republicans to fly to their succour, to make a descent on the island, and plant there 50,000 caps of liberty. Hostile acts were also committed; and at length, on the 1st of February, 1793, the convention declared war. This was announced to the two Houses, by a message from the king, on the 11th of February: and it was soon followed by a declaration of war by this country.

The shocking outrages in France strengthened Mr. Pitt, who was able to carry triumphantly many measures for the prosecution of the war against the French republic, and for putting down any revolutionary feelings that were shown in England. Many booksellers were sentenced to imprisonment for selling copies of Paine's *Rights of Man;* the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; and prosecutions commenced against the most active members of the Corresponding Society, the Society for Constitutional Information, and other political clubs, who were charged with being guilty of treasonable and seditious practices. Amongst those who were punished, were Mr. Thomas Muir, a young Scotch advocate, who was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, chiefly for urging his acquaintances to read Paine's *Rights of Man!* Mr. Palmer was sentenced to seven years' transportation, for having written an intemperate *Address to the People, from the Society of Friends of Liberty at Dundee.* Mr. William Skirving (secretary of a Scotch political club called the Edinburgh Convention), and two other gentlemen, Maurice Margarot and Joseph Gerald, delegates to it from the London Corresponding Society, were each transported for fourteen years. Making every allowance for the natural alarm of both king and minister at what was passing in France, still these sentences must be regarded as excessively severe, and savoured strongly of a despotic government.

In the May of 1794, Mr. Hardy, secretary of the Corresponding Society, together with Horne Tooke, a distinguished writer, Mr. John Thelwall, a political lecturer, and other gentlemen, members of political societies, were arrested, and sent to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Mr. Hardy was first placed on his trial before a judge of an unusually severe temper. He was charged with nine overt acts of high treason; and the attorney-general (afterwards Lord Eldon) opened the proceedings in a speech which occupied nine hours. Mr. Hardy had published some imprudent and very inflammatory addresses, but no crime approaching to treason could be proved against him; and, after a trial of eight days, he was acquitted, to the great joy of a large portion of the people, who thought the government was acting in a tyrannical manner. Mr. Tooke's trial came next; and that gentleman summoned Pitt himself as a witness, subjected him to a severe questioning, and endeavoured to prove that the objects of the Corresponding Society were the same as

those of the meetings for reform which Pitt had himself promoted and attended in the year 1782, though pursued by different means. Mr. Tooke, together with Mr. Thelwall and the rest of the prisoners, were acquitted, and the other prosecutions were abandoned.—It is said that Mr. Thelwall, many years afterwards, did not hesitate to acknowledge that the designs of the disaffected, at the period in question, were dangerous to the peace and security of the state; and he regretted that he had been connected with them.

In 1794, Maximilian Robespierre, a man of singular talents, ambition, and ferocity, obtained such an influence over the people of France as to win from them the name of the "Incorruptible," and the position of dictator. The period during which he swayed the destinies of that distracted country, has very appropriately been called "The Reign of Terror." Fear or jealousy prompted him to send his political associates—men who, like himself, were violent republicans—to the scaffold in batches. Such was the extent of his crafty cruelty, that the guillotine was incessantly at work, the gutters of Paris flowed with blood, and that city became as one vast slaughter-house. Robespierre accused those whom he had destroyed of atheism, and then proceeded to establish a new form of religion. In pursuance of this idea, he celebrated, in person, a rite which he had the profanity to call "The Feast of the Supreme Being." But the rule of this bad man was of short duration; his cruel tyranny and mysterious denunciations alarmed many who were intimately connected with him: a conspiracy was formed against him; and, after a vain attempt at suicide, he was tried, condemned, and guillotined, amidst the execrations of the people, on the 28th of July, 1794. The wild excitement which prevailed in France seemed, however, to increase the military spirit of the nation. The French evinced almost irresistible energy against foreign foes; and in the Netherlands, in Spain, Germany, and Italy, they achieved wonderful victories.—On the 7th of September, in the previous year (1793), they had defeated the Duke of York while marching upon Dunkirk; but his royal highness defeated Pichegru on the 10th of May, 1794; and, on the 1st of June, the French fleet was defeated by the English, under Earl Howe, off Toulon. In this battle, while one French ship was sinking, the English sailors exerted themselves to save her crew; affording a great contrast to the conduct of the National Convention, which body, on the 26th of May, had, on the motion of Barère, decreed that "No Englishman or Hanoverian should be made prisoner." On the 17th of June, Corsica was captured by Commodore Nelson; and the people of that island acknowledged George III. as their king.

The spirit and successes of the French induced most of the European sovereigns to withdraw from the alliance they had entered into against that country, and to recognise the form of government which its people had chosen for themselves. But the English minister thought the resources of the enemy were rapidly decaying, and that no established government could derive benefit from negotiations; and when parliament met, on the 30th of December, 1794, he asked, and obtained, large supplies to carry on the war. To make up the amount, a long array of new taxes was laid on, and a general spirit of discontent prevailed. The London Corresponding Society held several public meetings to take advantage of this feeling; and one of them, in Copenhagen Fields, was attended by about 50,000 people. When the king went to open parliament, on the 29th of October, 1795, he was hooted and groaned at, and some missile (supposed to be a bullet from an air-gun) broke one of the windows of his carriage. The mob also rent the air with cries of "Peace! bread! no Pitt! no war!" On entering the House, George exclaimed, excitedly, to the Chancellor, "My lord, I have been shot at!" It was not without the assistance of a body of the life-guards that the king made his way back to the palace, through the dense mob which hooted him all the way, and damaged the royal carriage considerably by the stones they threw at it. Since the time of Charles I., no English sovereign had ever met with so violent an expression of the disapprobation of his people; but the lesson was lost upon King George.

A reward of £1,000 was offered for the conviction of any person concerned in this outrage upon his majesty, but without effect. Mr. Pitt also procured two bills to be passed, which were condemned as gross violations of English liberty. One professed to provide for the safety of the king's person and government against treasonable practices; and the other, to prevent seditious meetings. What they really did, was to bring many small offences under the head of treason, and to throw difficulties in the way of those Englishmen who wished to assemble to petition against any grievance. Fortunately, they were limited to three years' duration.

On the 8th of April, 1795, the Prince of Wales, though already privately married to Mrs. Fitzherbert, publicly married his cousin, the Princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick and the Duchess Augusta of England. This union led to sad results for the princess; and it was generally believed that the prince did not marry in consequence of any affection he felt for her, but because, by so doing, parliament again paid his immense debts, and raised his income to the sum of £125,000 a year.

CHAPTER XCVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.—A.D. 1795—1806.



IN France another new form of government had been established. The legislative power of the state was placed in the hands of the members of two councils, one called the Council of Five Hundred, and the other the Council of Elders. These deliberated as to what should be done; and five persons, called the "Directory," were appointed to execute their decrees. That wonderful soldier and statesman, NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, now began his extraordinary career. He was appointed to the command of the French army in Italy. In the course of five days he gained three great victories over the armies of Austria and Sardinia. Shortly afterwards he compelled the kings of Sardinia and Naples to sue for peace, overran Lombardy, drove the remains of the Austrian armies into the Venetian States, and laid siege to Mantua.

The cry throughout England for peace with France was increased, in 1796, by a failure of the wheat harvest; and Lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris to treat for a cessation of the war. He arrived on the 22nd of October, and left on the 21st of December, after a fruitless negotiation. His lordship was instructed to demand, as a *sine qua non*, that the independence of the Netherlands should be preserved; but the Directory maintained that the banks of the Rhine formed the natural limits of France. It was therefore resolved to continue the war, and enormous sums were added to the national debt for that purpose. But England was no longer the attacking party. The successes of the French had rendered them very formidable, and a general feeling of alarm prevailed that they intended to invade England. An attempt, also, was made to land troops in Ireland, to encourage that country to shake off the yoke of the English; but it was defeated by a storm. The general triumph of French arms induced the people of Corsica to rise in insurrection. The British, therefore, on the 22nd of October, retired from the island.

The policy of George and his favourite minister, opposed as it was by the Fox and Jacobin parties, threatened to produce national convulsions. Though they were averted, some alarming results took place. The enormous increase of the national debt, and the fear of a French invasion, produced a run upon the Bank of England. To prevent a national bankruptcy, on the 25th of February, 1797, the government issued an order to the Bank not to pay in cash until parliament had considered some means of supporting public credit. That establishment was released from its difficulties by a bill authorising it to issue *notes*, in payments, instead of gold. This panic was followed by alarming mutinies in the navy. No doubt they were induced partly by the general discontent; but the sailors, besides being ill-paid and badly fed, had, in many cases, been treated in an oppressive manner by their officers. The first mutiny, at Portsmouth, was put down by the government yielding to the demands of the sailors. The second mutiny, which took place at the Nore, was of a revolutionary character: captains of vessels were deprived of their command; and Richard Parker, a seaman of some education and talent, was elected as "President of the Floating Republic." Divisions, however, arose among the mutineers; most of the men returned to their duty; and Parker, with some other of the leaders, was hanged. Ireland, also, was on the verge of rebellion; and societies, under the name of the United Irishmen, for the sake of throwing off the English rule, were regularly organised throughout the country. Two events only occurred to raise the spirits of the country during this gloomy year; both of which were naval victories; one was gained over the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent, on the 14th of February, by Sir John Jervis; and the other over the Dutch by Admiral Duncan, on the 11th of October, off Camperdown. In the month of July, England lost one of her celebrated orators and statesmen—Edmund Burke, who expired in his sixty-eighth year.

In 1798, the expected rebellion broke out in Ireland, the details of which belong to the history of that country. Although, on the information of a spy, fourteen leaders in the intended revolution were arrested, yet the Irish resolved on an appeal to arms, and the 23rd of May was appointed for a universal rising of the people. This call was not generally obeyed; but encounters between the rebels and the military took place at Wicklow, Kildare, Connaught, and other places. Though they obtained some trifling successes, the Irish were generally defeated with frightful slaughter; and when, after a struggle of seven weeks, the rebellion was suppressed, it was calculated that during it no less than 30,000 Irish had perished. The French had landed 1,800 men to assist the insurgents, but they were compelled to surrender to Lord Cornwallis; and at length peace was, to some degree, restored.

On the 1st of August, that famous naval hero, Horatio Nelson, followed the French fleet that conveyed Bonaparte to Egypt, and the celebrated battle of the Nile took place, in which, out of thirteen French ships of war, only two escaped; of the others, nine surrendered and two were destroyed. Nelson had fourteen ships; but the French fleet was superior in point of power, and moored in such a situation as would, it was supposed, enable it to bid defiance to double its force. Nelson was severely wounded during the conflict; and the loss of the British, in killed and wounded, amounted to 895: of the French, besides a great number in wounded, 5,225 perished. "Victory," said Nelson, "is not a name strong enough for such a scene." In England it was celebrated by public rejoicings, and the naval hero was rewarded with a peerage and a pension. Bonaparte was placed in great peril by the destruction of his fleet; but his extraordinary genius triumphed over so great a misfortune. Although cut off from all communication with Europe, he contrived to provide for his army; took Alexandria and Cairo, and eventually got back to France. There, in 1799, the form of government was again altered; the Directory was deposed, and the executive power placed in the hands of Bonaparte, the Abbé Sieyès, and Roger Ducos, who received the title of consuls.

In 1799, Mr. Pitt brought forward, and carried, a bill imposing a new tax upon all persons who had an income of £60 a year and upwards. If a man's income exceeded £200 a year, he was to pay a tenth part of it; if it was between £100 and £200, he was to pay a smaller sum; and if his income was only between £60 and £100, the tax was to be further reduced. This oppressive measure was called the Income-Tax, and it has, unfortunately, been revived in the present day.

Abroad a new confederacy, consisting of Austria, Russia, Naples, and Turkey, was formed against France. The English minister attempted a diversion in favour of those allies, by sending an army, under the command of the Duke of York, to attack the French in Holland. After several unsuccessful engagements, the English were compelled to purchase permission to retreat unmolested, by a promise that 6,000 French prisoners in England should be set at liberty. Mr. Pitt also commenced a war in the East Indies against Tippoo Saib, in consequence of his connection with that nation. Tippoo, after being twice defeated, fell back upon his capital, Seringapatam, which, being carried by storm, on the 4th of May, 1799, he perished; and his vast treasures, together with the chief part of his territories, fell into the hands of the victors. At the fall of Seringapatam, the late Duke of Wellington, then but a colonel in the army, won his first military laurels.

Napoleon Bonaparte, now first consul of France, and possessing almost absolute power in that country, on the 25th of December, 1799, wrote the following letter to the king:—"Called, by the wishes of the French nation, to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty. The war, which has for eight years ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to vain ideas of grandeur, commerce, posterity, and peace? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first importance, as well as the highest glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation with the sole view of rendering it happy."

Lord Grenville, then the foreign secretary of England, replied to this letter. He referred to the repeated changes in the French government, and to fresh aggressions following solemn treaties in consequence, which prevented any reliance on the mere renewal of general professions of pacific dispositions. The most natural pledge of reality and permanence would be a restoration of the ancient line of princes: "nevertheless, his majesty made no claim to prescribe to France what should be the form of her government." But, as there was "no sufficient evidence of the principles on which the new government would be directed—no reasonable ground by which to judge of its stability—a just and defensive war" must, for the present, be maintained.

In 1800, great distress was felt in England from the failure of the harvests and the scarcity of bread. This distress produced riots in London and other places; and an act was passed prohibiting the sale of bread that had not been baked four-and-twenty hours, because it was thought that people would eat a much smaller quantity of stale bread than of new. On the 15th of May, the king's life was twice endangered. In the morning, while attending the field exercises of the grenadier battalion of the guards in Hyde Park, a bullet from one of the muskets of the soldiers wounded a gentleman who stood within eight yards of his majesty. Whether the shot was fired by accident or design, did not appear. In the evening his majesty went to Drury Lane Theatre, when a pistol was fired at him by a person in the pit, named Hatfield. On examination, the man, who was once a soldier and been severely wounded in the head, turned out to be insane; and, after undergoing a trial for high treason, he was sent to Bedlam, where he finished his days.

But the great event of 1800 was the union of Ireland with Great Britain. It had been discussed in both parliaments the preceding year: and, in the Irish par-

liament, it was carried by a majority of only one vote, notwithstanding a profuse distribution of English money. The necessary bills being passed, the Act of Union received the royal assent on the 2nd of July. The Irish parliament was extinguished; and the Irish people were, in future, to be represented in the English parliament by four prelates and twenty-eight peers in the House of Lords, and by 100 members in the House of Commons.—On the 1st of January, 1801, a proclamation announced the royal title to be, "King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland:" from that time the sovereign of these islands ceased to be styled King of France.

On the 11th of February, Mr. Pitt resigned his office. To induce the Irish to consent to a union of their country with Great Britain, he had held out hopes to the Roman Catholics that they should be emancipated from the legal fetters that bound them; that is, that they should have the same privileges as Protestants, and be eligible to hold public offices and to sit in parliament. Pitt also proposed to grant the same privileges to dissenters. These promises the king refused to ratify; declaring that he should reckon any man his personal enemy who proposed such a measure. Mr. Pitt wrote to the king, desiring him to consent to Catholic emancipation, or accept his resignation. George did the latter, at the same time expressing his cordial affection for Mr. Pitt, and his high opinion of his talents and integrity. He was, however, so agitated by the loss of a minister so well calculated to carry out his ideas of government, and by a fear of the Catholics, that it brought on a brief attack of his insanity. Pitt was succeeded as prime minister by Mr. Addington, then Speaker of the House of Commons.

The war on the continent was ended; France was triumphant; and Napoleon had leisure to turn his victorious arms solely against the English. He threatened to invade our sea-girt island; large bodies of troops were collected on the northern coasts of France; ships and flat-bottomed boats were built and equipped; the ports of France, Belgium, and Holland were crowded with armed vessels; and the deeds of the victorious soldiers of the republic were vaunted in consular proclamations and manifestoes. But, in reality. both France and England were tired of the war: the former had prevailed on land, and the latter at sea; and, in spite of these preparations, and the alarm they created, secret arrangements for peace were being carried on between the two countries. After some months of negotiation, preliminaries of peace were signed at London on the 1st of October, 1801, and the peace itself was concluded at Amiens on the 27th of March in the following year. This long revolutionary war, after having doubled our national debt, and drained almost the life-blood of England, left the French triumphant, and the affairs of the continent in very much the same condition as that in which it found them. The peace was celebrated in London with public rejoicings, and Mr. Pitt described it as glorious and honourable. Mr. Sheridan said, more correctly, that it was a peace of which every one was glad, but no one proud.

Soon after the peace of Amiens, Napoleon Bonaparte was created first consul for life, with power to appoint his successor. This made him an hereditary sovereign in everything but the name. Possessed of regal power, he became himself a brilliant military despot. Extreme republicans were treated with great severity; the press was fettered, and a secret police organised. Fresh disputes broke out between France and England; and it was evident that the war would soon be renewed.

During the October of 1802, a conspiracy was discovered, the object of which was the death of the king and the overthrow of the government. The means, however, by which these traitorous designs were to be executed, were so ridiculously insufficient for so great a purpose, as to raise a doubt as to the sanity of those concerned in them. The conspirators were Colonel Marcus Despard and twenty-nine labouring men and soldiers, who were all arrested at a public-house at Lambeth. Early in the following year, Despard was placed on his trial, and, although Lord Nelson and other gentlemen of rank appeared and spoke highly in his favour, he was found guilty. Notwithstanding an urgent recommendation to mercy, Despard and six of his followers suffered the punishment of death, as awarded in cases of treason. During July, 1803, a fresh insurrection broke out in Ireland: it was a wild and senseless affair, and, after the commission of several murders, ended in confusion. Some of the leaders were executed, and among them was the talented enthusiast, Robert Emmett, whose melancholy fate has been lamented in the melodies of the poet Moore.

Bonaparte still laboured to promote the aggrandisement of France—a matter which excited the jealousy of the English ministry; and after much angry discussion and correspondence, war was once more declared between the two nations in May, 1803. Again Bonaparte threw the English into excitement by a threat of invasion. Before war had been actually declared, two English frigates had captured two French merchant vessels; Bonaparte, therefore, retaliated by arresting all English persons in France, and treating them as prisoners of war. The year 1803 closed with military triumphs in India. The French interest there was annihilated, chiefly by the genius of Major-General Wellesley, who obtained the victories of Assaye, Delhi, Laswaree, and other successes. The result was, the acquisition of an enormous Indian territory by the British.

In 1804, an unsuccessful attempt was made to destroy the French flotilla at Boulogne, by means of newly invented fire-ships, or rather great combustible floating coffins, called "catamarans." The French admiral, Linois, was repulsed by an English fleet of merchant ships; and, late in the year, four Spanish ships, richly laden from South America, were captured, although no war yet existed. In consequence of this outrage, the King of Spain declared war against England in the month of December.—In France, Napoleon had ascended the highest pinnacle of power. Addresses were got up all over that country, entreating him "to accept the crown of Charlemagne." The ambitious soldier and statesman willingly complied, and, on the 18th of May, he was crowned in the church of Nôtre-Dame, at Paris, as Emperor of France. He had, before this, restored the Roman Catholic religion; and the ceremony of coronation was performed by the pope himself.

Mr. Addington, being unequal to the difficult post of prime minister, was compelled to resign, and Mr. Pitt again took office. As England was once more at war, he could carry out his previous policy with regard to France; and he abandoned the question of Catholic emancipation, probably intending to bring it forward in the event of the king's death. That event he was destined never to see; for his own constitution was fast yielding to the effects of disease and anxiety. His disorder was much accelerated by the disgrace of his intimate friend, Lord Melville, who was convicted of a misappropriation of large sums of the public money.

The year 1805 was made memorable to England by the victory of Trafalgar, and the death of the naval hero, Lord Nelson. The French fleet, having ventured out to sea, was joined at Cadiz by a Spanish fleet, making together thirty-three sail-of-the-line and seven frigates. The English fleet, under Nelson, which had been sent out to meet them, consisted of twenty-seven sail-of-the-line and four frigates. On Monday, the 21st of October, the rival fleets came in sight of each other at daybreak, off Cape Trafalgar. The last signal that Nelson commanded to be telegraphed through the fleet, before going into action, has become a proverbial saying amongst us: it was the memorable sentence, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY!" The conflict began about twelve o'clock, and continued to rage for four hours with tremendous fury. Then many of the enemy bore away to Cadiz: some were destroyed, others taken; and the naval power of France and Spain was almost annihilated. But before the day was won, the brave Nelson had received his death-wound. He had entertained a presentiment that, though his country would triumph in that wild scene of slaughter, yet he would perish. The mysterious presage was but too true. While walking on the quarter-deck of his ship the *Victory*, he was struck with a musket-ball, which entered his left shoulder, and lodged in the spine. He instantly fell, exclaiming to a captain near him, "They have done for me at last, Hardy!"—I hope not," was the reply. "Yes!" answered the hero, smitten in the hour of triumph, "my back bone is shot through." He was removed to the cockpit, and expired after more than three hours of suffering. His last words were, "Thank God, I have done my duty!" His remains were brought to England, and honoured with a magnificent public funeral in St. Paul's. Admiral Villeneuve, the unfortunate French commander, committed suicide in a remarkable manner, to avoid the disgrace of a court-martial.—The destruction of Bonaparte's fleet at Trafalgar put an end to his scheme for the invasion of England; as, without an immense navy, such a design was no longer practicable.

Though Napoleon had experienced defeat at sea, he had acquired a brilliant triumph by land. On the 2nd of December he defeated the combined armies of Austria and Russia on the plains of Austerlitz. The two defeated emperors sought for peace; and a treaty was entered into at Presburg, by which the French warrior was recognised, not only as Emperor of France, but also as King of Italy, master of Venice, of Tuscany, of Parma, of Placentia, and of Genoa.

Mr. Pitt was as much grieved by this news as he had been elated by the victory of Trafalgar. As minister, he was surrounded with difficulties, and involved in a struggle the end of which no one could foresee. Worn out by the eternal conflict and rack of mind to which he was exposed, he was obliged, in the autumn of 1805, to repair to Bath, to see if the genial air and medicinal waters of that city would restore him. It was in vain; and he returned, in a state of extreme debility and exhaustion, to his house on Putney Heath to die. He expired on the 23rd of January, 1806, in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was buried with public honours in Westminster Abbey, by the side of his illustrious father. Forty thousand pounds was also voted to pay his debts; for, notwithstanding the many means he possessed of personal aggrandisement at the expense of his country, he availed himself of none of them, and died insolvent. No one will dispute Mr. Pitt's integrity and genius; but the use he made of that genius is by some eulogised, by others condemned. Whilst he was considered, by the great majority of the English people, as the saviour of his country—"the pilot who weathered the storm" with which it was threatened by the French revolution—the followers of Fox and the Jacobins described him as an instrument of tyranny, and accused him of having used his great talents for the purpose of enslaving Europe, crushing the liberties of Englishmen, and rolling back the giant wheels of civilisation.

CHAPTER XCVIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.—A.D. 1806—1811.



FTER the death of Mr. Pitt, a government was formed, called the ministry of "All the Talents," because it included distinguished statesmen of various opinions. Lord Grenville was the head of it, and Mr. Fox Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Fox exerted himself to reverse the policy of Pitt by bringing about a peace with France; but when he began negotiations, he found he really had the difficulties to contend with which Pitt was charged with merely pretending; and he had no success. He was not, however, long to continue his labours in this good cause. For some years his health had been declining: a few months after he became a minister, his disorder resolved itself into dropsy, and, on the 13th of September, he breathed his last at Chiswick, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He died much lamented by the nation, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, within a few inches of his life-long antagonist, Pitt.

The ministry of "All the Talents" did not long survive Mr. Fox: it was wrecked by the king's refusal to afford some relief to the Roman Catholics; but before it broke up it carried one glorious measure, which will secure to its authors for ever the gratitude of the world. Chiefly in consequence of the unremitted exertions of the amiable Mr. Wilberforce, a bill was passed for the abolition of the eternally infamous slave-trade. This bill became law after twenty years of previous agitation, chiefly led by Mr. Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson.

In the April of 1807, a new and very Tory ministry was formed, with the Duke of Portland at its head. So strong was the popular feeling against the Catholics, that the new ministry had no difficulty in obtaining a party in the House of Commons large enough to support it; though the professors of that faith had become so insignificant, compared with the mass of the nation, that no danger could have resulted from admitting them to political privileges.

The power of Napoleon had made France almost the mistress of Europe, with the exception of Great Britain. In his hostility to this country, and with a view to injure her in what he considered her most vulnerable point—her trade and commerce—the emperor (after having defeated the Prussians at Jena, on the 14th of October, 1806) marched to Berlin, and from thence, on the 20th of November, issued a decree declaring the British islands in a state of blockade. By the treaty of Tilsit, concluded in June, 1807, Russia and Prussia, having made peace with Napoleon, engaged to keep their ports closed against England. He then demanded that the government of Portugal should not only do the same, but seize all English property in its dominions; and, on meeting with a refusal, he poured his troops into Lisbon in November, and the Portuguese royal family emigrated to Brazil. Denmark, though desirous of preserving a neutrality, was also compelled to close her ports to the commerce of England—a measure which brought on her the vengeance of this country. Her fleet was captured, and her capital attacked and taken, on the 7th of September; and she was forced to submit to terms dictated to her by the British on her own territories. In November of that year (1807), the British government issued orders in council, declaring France and all the powers tributary to it in a state of blockade; and this led to the Milan decree, issued from that city on the 17th of December, which blockaded, verbally, the British dominions in all parts of the world, though Napoleon had scarcely a single vessel to enforce the edict.

A strange and unnatural quarrel having arisen between Charles IV., King of Spain, and his son Ferdinand, they agreed to refer the matter to Napoleon; and Bayonne was appointed as the place of arbitration. There the worthless Queen of Spain accused Ferdinand of treason, and declared that he was not the son of the king. The degraded Charles, shocked at the disclosure, and unable to sustain the cares of royalty, resigned his crown into the hands of Napoleon, who, in 1808, conferred it upon his brother Joseph. The Spanish people, indignant at being thus transferred from one sovereign to another, rose in insurrection, and appealed to England for aid—an appeal which was immediately acquiesced in. Thus arose that famous episode of British history, the Peninsular war, in which Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington) won such laurels by the victories of Roliça, Vimiera, Talavera and Vittoria: and in which the brave Sir John Moore met his death at Corunna, after a skilful retreat from four overwhelming French armies.

While Sir Arthur Wellesley was assisting the Spaniards to regain their national independence, the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, was permitting his mistress, Mrs. Clarke, to sell for money those commissions and promotions in the

army which ought to have been given as the reward of meritorious service. This shameful traffic was brought before the House of Commons by Colonel Wardle, on the 26th of January, 1809. A strict investigation followed; Mrs. Clarke was summoned to the bar of the House; and although an attempt was made to save the honour of the duke by declaring that he had no share in the profit of these transactions, and indeed no knowledge of them, yet he felt it decorous to resign the command of the army—a resignation which the king immediately accepted.

During the summer of 1800, the unfortunate Walcheren expedition sailed from England. This was a fleet of thirty-five ships of war, and about 200 smaller vessels, having on board 40,000 troops. The object of the expedition was to destroy or capture the French vessels at Antwerp or Flushing, or in the Scheldt, and to take the island of Walcheren. It was commanded by the Earl of Chatham, who, although a brother of Mr. Pitt, was a very incompetent person for such a charge. The expedition was a terrible failure. Walcheren certainly was taken; but it proved to be so unhealthy a place, and fever broke out to such an alarming extent amongst the troops, that they were compelled to abandon the island and return to England. Flushing also had surrendered; but the acquisition was purchased by the loss of 10,000 men and a large sum of money. This unfortunate affair led to a duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, two of the ministers. It took place on the 22nd of September, and the latter was wounded, but not fatally. The result of this hostile meeting was the resignation of the cabinet, and the elevation of Mr. Perceval, another statesman of Tory principles, to the rank of prime minister.

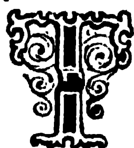
The 25th of October, 1809, was held as a great public festival, under the name of the *Jubilee*, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the king's accession to the throne. George had, for many reasons, deserved the love of his people; and there was much rejoicing, and a great show of affection for him personally. The English people love the pomp and power of royalty; but their conduct on this occasion probably proceeded largely from pity. The aged monarch had passed his seventieth year: he was nearly blind, and still subject to attacks of insanity. His youngest daughter—his favourite child, the Princess Amelia—was slowly sinking into the grave. Every day the old king visited his dying child; and during one of these visits, she silently placed on his finger a ring containing a lock of her hair, and the words, "Remember me when I am gone." The aged father knew the meaning of that sad gift; it smote deeply both to heart and brain: he controlled the gush of agony that assailed him; but when he left the chamber, his mind was gone for ever. From that gloomy time, until the hour of his death, the King of England was a helpless, pitiable lunatic. The princess died soon after she had bestowed so fatal a gift upon her father; and the condition to which she had reduced him was mercifully concealed from her.

At this time there were many political societies in England, where the affairs of the nation were debated; and Mr. John Gale Jones, the president of one of them, called the British Forum, was committed to Newgate by the House of Commons, early in the session of 1810, because it was said he had been guilty of a breach of privilege in discussing their affairs with too much plainness. One member (Sir Francis Burdett) declared the House had exceeded its authority; but his motion to that effect was negatived by a large majority. He then addressed his constituents upon the subject, "denying the power of the House of Commons to imprison the people of England;" and published his address to them in the famous William Cobbett's *Weekly Register*. The Commons regarded this proceeding as another breach of privilege, and decreed that Sir Francis should be sent to the Tower. This gentleman, in a spirited manner, denied the legality of their order, and refused to surrender to the sergeant-at-arms. A body of police, therefore, assisted by the military, on the 9th of April forced an entry into his house, and conveyed him to the Tower. An immense crowd had assembled: the people were much excited at this outrage on public liberty; and as the escort which guarded Sir Francis was on its return, the soldiers were attacked with mud, stones, brickbats, and even with fire-arms. In return, the soldiers fired upon the people; two of them were killed, and six others severely wounded. From his prison Sir Francis brought an action against the Speaker for false imprisonment; but the trial was decided against the "patriot," as he was called, and the authority of the Commons thus confirmed. The captive statesman remained in the Tower until the prorogation of parliament on the 22nd of June, when his release was hailed with acclamations by thousands, who had assembled on Tower Hill to conduct him home in triumph—an honour which, to avoid mischief, he wisely declined by taking a boat at the Tower stairs, and going to Westminster by the river.

As the restoration of the afflicted old king to reason was considered hopeless, his eldest son George was declared REGENT, and empowered to exercise the royal authority in the name of his father. He was installed in this great dignity on the 12th of February, 1811, at Carlton House. George III. lingered on in darkness, both mental and bodily, during nine dreary years; but from this period he was politically dead—a king in nothing but the name.

CHAPTER XCIX.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.—A.D. 1811—1820.



HE regent, who became George IV. on the death of his father, had been attached to that division of the Whig party called the "New Whigs;" and he still continued intimate with the brilliant but dissipated Sheridan, who had been Treasurer of the Navy in Lord Grenville's administration of 1806. The regent was desirous of seeing the Whigs again in office. That party was now reunited—those of the "Old Whigs" who still dreaded the effects of the French revolution, having joined the Tories. After he had taken the oath, his royal highness, therefore, sent for Lord Grenville, and offered to reinstate him as premier. The conditions demanded, however, the regent refused to accede to, and he retained the services of Mr. Perceval and the Tory cabinet.

While the war was being carried on in the Spanish peninsula against the generals of Napoleon with varying success, and while a new war with the American republic was threatening, England was startled by the assassination of the prime minister. On the 11th of May, 1812, as Mr. Perceval entered the lobby of the House of Commons, he was fired at with a pistol, by a man named John Bellingham. The bullet pierced the heart of the unfortunate gentleman, who fell, and expired in a few minutes. The murderer, who made no attempt to escape, was seized, and placed upon his trial a few days after the perpetration of the deed. It appeared that he was labouring under an acute sense of some real or supposed wrong he had received at the hands of the ministry. He denied, however, having any personal malice against Mr. Perceval, and declared that he would rather have shot Lord Gower. Although doubts of his sanity were entertained, Bellingham was condemned, and hanged the next Monday morning, before his counsel had time to bring the witnesses from Liverpool who, he affirmed, could establish the fact of the madness of his client. A grant of £2,000 a year was settled upon the widow of the unfortunate statesman; and a further sum of £50,000 given to his twelve children. The Tory Lord Liverpool (formerly Mr. Jenkinson) succeeded him as minister.

The Emperor Napoleon had now reached the height of his gigantic power; and he was to experience the beginning of those reverses that drove him from being the gorgeous ruler of nations—the Man of Destiny, who trampled on the old despotisms of Europe, and then strangled its new-born liberties—to waste the last years of his brilliant, stormy life, a humiliated captive on a sea-girt rock. The refusal of the Emperor of Russia to continue to enforce Bonaparte's scheme of excluding British commerce from the European continent, led to a renewal of the war between France and Russia. In the summer of 1812, Napoleon entered the latter country at the head of 600,000 men, consisting of French, Germans, Poles, Prussians, &c. The Russians fell back from this enormous army of veterans, whom constant successes had made confident of victory. Well might they recede in terror; for such a mighty host had never before been seen in Europe. Several partial actions, however, took place, and a battle was fought at Smolensko on the 17th of August, where the Russian army, 120,000 strong, after having thrice repulsed the enemy, was defeated. Napoleon continued his advance upon Moscow; and, on the 7th of September, he fought the awful and sanguinary battle of Borodino. In this, the most bloody conflict of modern history, 10,000 French and 15,000 Russians were left dead upon the field, while the wounded on either side were too many to be counted.

The victory is generally allowed to belong to Napoleon, but both sides laid claim to it. A few days afterwards the French took possession of Moscow, which they found deserted. The emperor proceeded to the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the czars, where he intended to pass the winter, which had set in with unusual severity; but on the following night Moscow was found to be in flames in a dozen places at once; the fire was spread by the high winds, and nothing could stop the conflagration until nearly 8,000 houses were destroyed. After some hesitation, Napoleon resolved on a retreat; a description of the horrors of which makes the blood freeze and the heart feel sick. The rigours of an awful winter, famine, and the sudden midnight visitations of the avenging Cossacks, swept down the wretched French by thousands. The angel of death seemed to ride upon the icy blasts of the north, and a larger number of the retreating French perished from cold, than were slain by the deadly instruments of war. Napoleon reached Paris in disguise on the 18th of December; but his great army was almost annihilated. It was estimated that 125,000 were killed in battles or skirmishes; that 132,000 had died of fatigue, disease, cold, and hunger; and that 139,000 had been taken prisoners. Other estimates make the loss of the French still greater.

But the iron will, the gigantic energy of Napoleon

was unbroken. Though his misfortune had induced many of his allies to abandon him—though Austria took courage again to declare war against him, and though nearly all the powers of Europe, supported by the wealth of England, were in a league against the French empire—yet her inflexible emperor did not despair of treading every difficulty beneath his feet, and preserving the splendid majesty of his imperial power. He laid his affairs frankly before the senate early in 1813, which voted him 350,000 men to repair his losses. The campaign of that year opened with the battle of Lutzen, on the 2nd of May, gained by the French. The emperor also gained further advantages at the battles of Bautzen on the 20th, and Wurtzen on the 26th of that month. All these advantages were soon dispelled. On the 6th of September, a triple league was formed against France by Austria, Prussia, and Russia. On the 16th of October the battle of Leipsic was fought, in which the French were totally defeated, losing more than 40,000 men, and sixty-five pieces of artillery. Napoleon then retreated, and was followed by the allies on the road to Paris. Further disasters compelled him, on the 11th of April, 1814, to abdicate his imperial crown in favour of the deposed royal family, and retire to the island of Elba, with the title of ex-emperor, and a pension of 2,000,000 of livres. His Bourbon successor on the throne—Louis XVIII., the brother of the poor king who perished on the guillotine—was a faithless man, who soon disgusted his people. The admirers of Napoleon took courage to whisper everywhere, "He will return with the violets." The prediction was verified; the ex-emperor left Elba with about 1,000 men, and landed in France on the 1st of March, 1815. He was welcomed back with enthusiasm; the Bourbon king fled in dismay; and once again Napoleon was emperor. The news spread alarm throughout Europe; and Austria, Russia, Prussia, and England bound themselves never to lay down their arms until he was utterly deprived of authority. Napoleon offered terms of peace, but still prepared for the coming storm.

His new reign was a brief one: his term of power lasted but 100 days, when it was finally extinguished on the blood-red field of Waterloo. The allied armies were collected into two great bodies, one of which was commanded by the Duke of Wellington, and the other by the Prussian general, Marshal Blucher. On the 11th of June, Bonaparte quitted Paris in high spirits, saying, "I am going to measure myself with this Wellington." He marched into Belgium with an enormous army, and with the intention of separately destroying the two hosts opposed to him. Wellington, with an army of 76,000 men, was at Brussels; General Blucher, with another army of 80,000 men, was stationed at Namur. On the 16th, the Prussians were attacked at the village of Ligny by a part of the French army, led by the emperor; while an advanced body of English, stationed at a place where four roads met, and thence called Quatre Bras, were fallen upon by another detachment of the French, under Marshal Ney. At Ligny the Prussians were defeated, though not thrown into confusion; and Blucher, after having lost 12,000 men in killed and wounded, retired to Wavres. Marshal Ney was not so successful as his great master; and although he attacked 19,000 men with an army of 40,000, he was repulsed; but not until Wellington, who was present, had 350 men slain, and 2,380 wounded.

Blucher's retreat to Wavres obliged Wellington to make a corresponding retreat to the little town of Waterloo. This was executed on Saturday, the 17th, and, in the evening, the English general selected the ground upon which he would sustain the attack of the French: it was in front of the village and farm of Mont St. Jean, about a mile and a-half from Waterloo. The night that preceded the battle was a gloomy one; it rained heavily, the wind blew in stormy gusts, the horizon was illuminated from time to time by vivid flashes of lightning, and deep peals of thunder reverberated through the air. The men lay upon the soaked earth, and in the dripping corn. At length dawned that ever-memorable Sunday, the 18th of June, and about nine o'clock the rain ceased. Napoleon's army amounted to 78,000 men, chiefly veterans; Wellington had 76,000; so that (excluding the Prussian army) the contending powers were pretty nearly equal.

Soon after ten the French began the attack, and the battle raged with unmitigated fury till the evening. We have neither space nor inclination to relate the particulars of that awful carnage: they are known almost too well; for humanity is not improved by dwelling much on such matters. Suffice it to say, that after the famous Old Guard of the emperor, which he had kept as a reserve, was driven back by the deadly showers of bullets and the bristling banks of bayonets of the English infantry—thrown into irremediable confusion, and slaughtered like sheep—the Prussian army, under Blucher, made its appearance on the field; and Wellington, himself charging at the head of his troops, carried all before him. A total rout followed; and when the moon rose upon that hideous scene, the French were flying with the precipitation of despair. Wellington, in pity to his exhausted troops, resigned the pursuit to Blucher, and an enormous number of panic-stricken wretches were cut down like wild beasts, and fell dead upon the roads, or crawled into the neighbouring fields and woods, to die in solitude and agony. During this pursuit, the Prussians took about 150 pieces of cannon, Napoleon's travelling equipage, and

the whole baggage of the French army. Twenty thousand Frenchmen lay dead upon the field of battle, mingled with 13,000 of the victors, among whom were no less than 600 officers and eleven generals.

Napoleon had fought his last battle, and he fled back to Paris in despair. Knowing that the enemies of France would not sheathe the sword while he retained any power, he abdicated in favour of his son, who was pronounced Emperor of the French, with the title of Napoleon II. This did not prevent the allied armies from marching towards Paris; and Bonaparte prepared to provide for his safety by proceeding to America. He embarked on board a small frigate off Rochefort; but as that port was blockaded by a British fleet, through which he was unable to pass, he surrendered to Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*, and was conveyed to England in that vessel. Arrived at Torbay, he addressed the following letter to the English regent:—"Exposed to the factions which divided my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself on the hearths of the British people. I place myself under the safeguard of their laws, and claim the protection of your royal highness as the most powerful, the most constant, the most generous of my enemies."

The prince-regent was not generous enough to a great fallen foe to reply to his letter. Bonaparte was not even permitted to land in England: the sovereigns allied against him feared that his liberty was incompatible with their peace—for they recollected how he had broken faith at Elba—and he was sentenced to exile in St. Helena, a solitary rocky island, 1,200 miles distant from the nearest continent. There he lived for nearly six years; and there, on the 5th of May, 1821, he died of disease in the stomach, in his fifty-second year. Thus perished one of the greatest men that modern times has produced; and who, had not his genius been stained by crimes dictated by his illimitable ambition, would have been regarded with admiration by all posterity. As it is, the Man of Destiny—as he loved to call himself—was a curse to Europe; but he might have been the regenerator of the world. His character can scarcely yet be written with impartiality.

Louis XVIII. again ascended the throne of France: that country was restored to its ancient limits; and peace was proclaimed in Europe. Yes! after a twenty years' war, which had distracted all the great European nations, the storm had subsided, the olive flourished again, and everywhere the joyful shout was raised, that "*the world was at peace*."

The awful struggle which convulsed Europe during this period, throws the comparatively unimportant war that had taken place in the interim with America into obscurity. In 1812, the United States of America, incensed at injuries for which they could get no redress, declared war against England. The chief cause of dispute arose out of an irritating right the English claimed to search American vessels for seamen who had deserted from the British flag; and a supplementary one sprung from the orders in council, interdicting intercourse with France; which were constantly remonstrated against; and their repeal on the 23rd of June, 1812, came too late; war had been declared on the 18th. The details of this unfortunate war are more sad than interesting. By land the English were, at first, generally successful; but though the American navy, compared with that of England, was literally contemptible, at sea our former glory seemed departed. Five different actions were fought, ship against ship, in 1812 and 1813, and the enemy (in every instance, it may be remarked, superior in the number of guns and of men) was successful in all. At length Captain Broke, in the *Shannon*, appeared off Boston on the 1st of June, 1813, and challenged the commander of the American frigate *Chesapeake* to a contest for the honour of the two flags. Captain Lawrence accepted the challenge, and, in less than half-an-hour, the British jack was flying over the American stars and stripes. From that time the British held their own at sea; but an expedition sent against New Orleans, in 1814, signally failed. Negotiations, however, were going on at Ghent; and a treaty of peace was signed there on the 24th of December, 1814, before it was known that the British army had retired from before New Orleans.

Though the great European war was at an end, its consequences remained, and were bitterly felt in England by the distress which prevailed, especially among the poor. In 1816, this distress produced serious discontents and riots. Tumults broke out in various counties; incendiary fires blazed nightly; ignorant demands were made for a fixed price for bread and meat; and in some places encounters with the military occurred. In Cambridge an insurrection broke forth; eighty unhappy men were tried for treason, and twenty-four of them condemned to death—a fate five of them suffered.

Many meetings were held to devise means of alleviating the general distress, and for a redress of political grievances. On the 15th of November, 1816, thousands of working-men assembled at Spa Fields, to prepare a petition to the prince-regent, imploring him to take into consideration the distresses of the country. Henry Hunt, a country squire and political demagogue, addressed them in a long and violent speech; in return for which, the excited people harnessed themselves to his chariot, and drew him home in triumph. Shortly afterwards (on the 2nd of December), another great

meeting was held at the same place, to receive the answer to the petition, or rather to learn that it had been rejected because it was not written in language sufficiently respectful. On this occasion, a hair-brained young surgeon, named Watson, in concluding a violent speech, demanded, "If they will not give us what we want, shall we not take it?" Loud shouts of approval rising from the people, the orator continued, "Will you go and take it? If I jump down, will you follow me and take it?" "Yes, yes!" was still the excited response; and away went the madman, with a tricoloured flag in his hand, and a vast mob at his heels, to take the Tower! Entering the shop of a gunsmith upon Snow Hill, Watson demanded arms for his followers, and, on meeting with a refusal, drew forth a pistol and fired at a gentleman named Platt. Happily the wound was not fatal; and the maniac, struck with remorse, examined it and dressed it himself. After this he thought it prudent to make his escape, and his followers were persuaded by the city magistrates to retire to their homes. Watson contrived to get safely off to America; but a poor ignorant sailor was hanged for plundering the shop of the gunsmith.

Such was the discontent resulting from the distressed state of the country, that on the 28th of January, 1817, the prince-regent was hooted and pelted at in his carriage while returning from opening parliament. In alarm he sent a message to that assembly, drawing its attention to the political meetings held in different parts of the country, which, he said, tended to the overthrow of the law and the constitution. Secret committees were accordingly appointed to investigate this subject, and, on the 18th of February, they presented the result of their inquiries. It was to the effect that alarming conspiracies existed in all the great towns throughout the country, having for their object the promotion of a spirit of insubordination, a contempt of all laws, an equal division of all property, and, in short, the accomplishment of a revolution. It added, that many societies existed, called Hampden Clubs, Spencean Philanthropists, &c., which, under the disguise of constitutional proceedings, laboured to extend the plans of destruction already alluded to. In consequence of these disclosures, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and three bills hurried into laws, by which the liberties of the people were much abridged.

There is very little doubt that the fears of the government magnified the intentions of the supposed conspirators in some cases, and altogether mistook them in others. Yet there certainly was cause of alarm. On the 10th of March, 30,000 men assembled at Manchester, each with a blanket strapped on his back, soldier-fashion, and with the intention of proceeding together to London to present a petition to the regent for parliamentary reform. It was called the Manchester Blanket Meeting, and was dispersed by the military after its leaders had been seized and conveyed to prison. Some few hundred poor deluded men actually set out on their march; but they were overtaken and dispersed by the yeomanry and constables—not without violence and the death of one man, who, unfortunately, happened to be only a spectator.

The disturbances continuing, the government resorted to a plan which all governments adopt when conspiracies exist, and which all conspirators denounce to be base and iniquitous: it sent spies into the disturbed districts to ascertain the motives and plans of the disaffected. These spies—and especially one amongst them, named Oliver—are said to have lured distressed people into riots and unlawful associations, that they might obtain a reward for betraying them: but there is nothing to show that this was the case, except the statements of the accused. In consequence of the many who had been committed to prison for sedition or treason in the midland counties, a special commission was appointed to sit at Derby for the trial of the offenders. Sentence of death was pronounced upon twenty-three of these unhappy men, of whom three suffered, and the rest were transported for different periods. Many of them attributed the criminal acts into which they had been led to the snares laid by Oliver, the government spy.—The close of the year 1817 was marked by the death of the Princess Charlotte, the only child of the regent; who had been married the year before to Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg. Her death taking place under rather painful circumstances, associated with the fact of her being a very amiable character, and regarded as the future sovereign of England, gave rise to acute feelings of national sorrow.

On the 17th of November of the following year (1818), the princess was followed to the grave by the old Queen Charlotte, wife of George III. She died in her seventy-fifth year, having enjoyed almost uninterrupted health nearly to the close of her long life. She was much respected for her high notions of moral conduct, and her devoted behaviour as a wife and mother. Her manners, however, were extremely formal and ceremonious; and she was accused of avarice, because she was very frugal in her expenditure. But, after her death, it was found that the greater part of her income had been expended in works of charity and beneficence. She had borne her husband fifteen children, though many of them died before her. The custody of the poor secluded, insane old king, which had been entrusted to the queen, was then given to his son, the Duke of York.

The year 1819 was distinguished by a painful circum

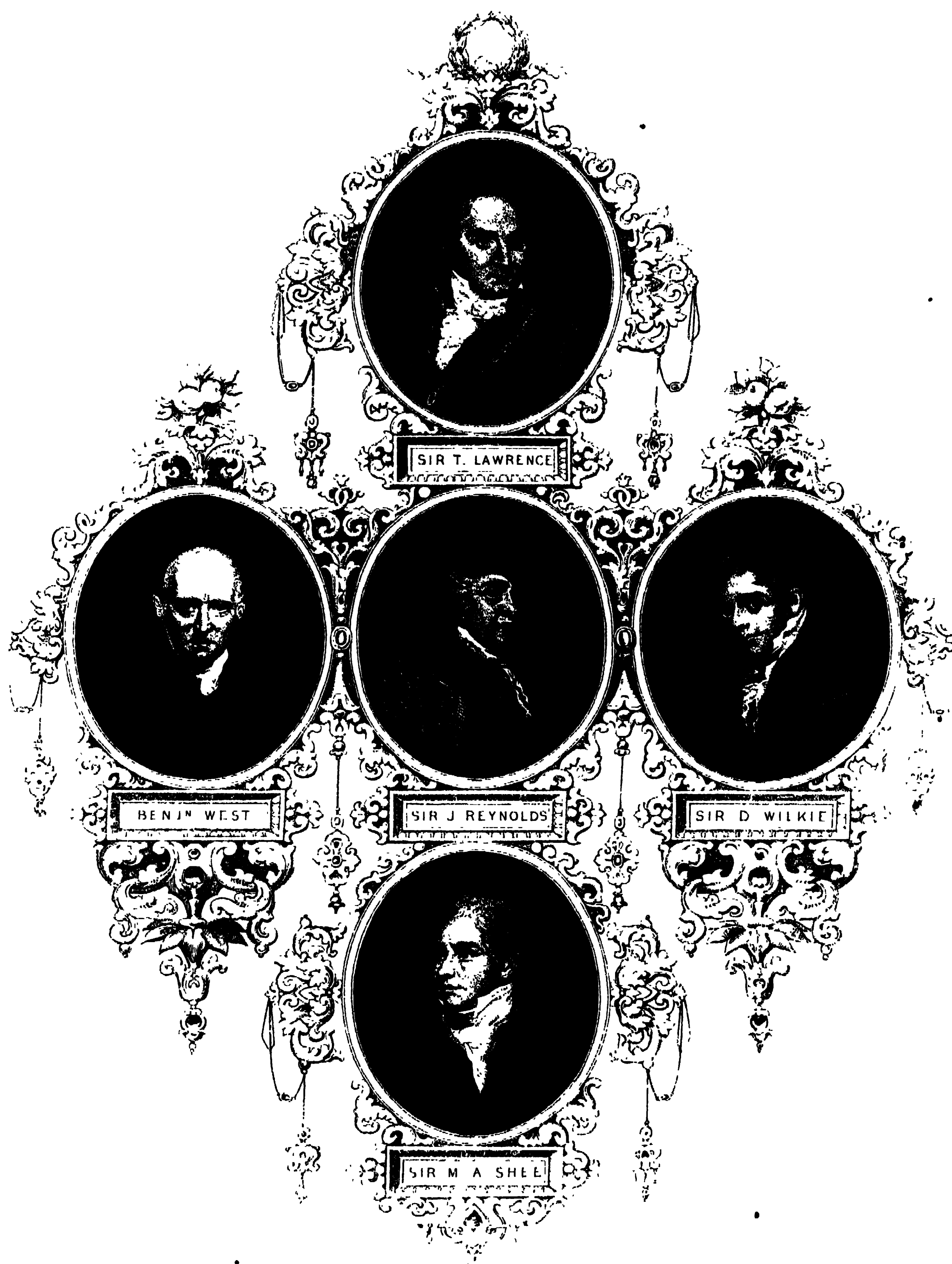
stance at Manchester. Great distress had prevailed in the manufacturing districts; and, in the previous summer, 15,000 Manchester spinners had abandoned their work, and refused to return to it without an advance of wages. The strike did not terminate until after a collision with the military, and the arrest of many of their leaders. Want induced the people to reflect on their condition, and a party arose amongst them called Radical Reformers, who declared that the absence of a true representation of the people was the great source of the misery and evils of the nation; and that annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and election by ballot, were the only means of curing them. Meetings to discuss and promote these principles were held at Glasgow, Ashton-under-Lyne, Leeds, Stockport, and other places. In Lancashire, female reform societies were constituted, the members of which addressed the wives and daughters of artisans in other districts, entreating them to follow their example, and instil into their children a deeply-rooted hatred of all tyrannical rulers. At Birmingham, the radical reformers decided on the novel step of electing Sir Charles Wolseley to represent their town in parliament, without having received a royal writ sanctioning them to do so; for Birmingham did not then return a member to the House of Commons. In the wide-spreading excitement, working-men subjected themselves, in many parts of the country, to military exercises. Their weapons, however, were only sticks; and it seems they had no more serious object than that of learning to march together in an imposing manner to the great political open-air meetings. This drilling produced a proclamation from the regent against military training, seditious meetings, and the illegal election of members, or "legislatorial attorneys," to represent otherwise unrepresented towns in parliament.

Not deterred by this proclamation, the reformers of Manchester called a meeting, for the purpose of electing Mr. Henry Hunt as their legislatorial attorney. On the magistrates declaring the object of the assembly to be illegal, it was abandoned; but another meeting was called, for the alleged purpose of petitioning for a reform in parliament. It took place on the 16th of August, in an open space in the town called St. Peter's Field, and it was calculated that more than 60,000 persons were present. They consisted of men, women, and children, in high spirits and in their holiday attire. Large bodies of men had marched in from the neighbouring towns and villages, each preceded by its own banner, bearing a motto—some of them bordering on sedition. Two clubs of female reformers appeared, bearing flags of white silk. The appearance of that vast assembly was imposing enough; but the members of it had collected with no idea of breaking the peace, or it is certain that they would have left their wives and children at home. About one o'clock Mr. Hunt took the chair, and began an address by the recommendation of peace and good order. He was interrupted by the appearance of a body of yeomanry cavalry, who advanced towards the platform with drawn swords, and telling Mr. Hunt he was their prisoner, summoned him to surrender. The intruders were backed by six troops of Hussars, and other military assistance. After enjoining the people to be tranquil, Mr. Hunt offered to surrender to any civil officer who should produce his warrant, and was taken into custody by a constable, together with several other persons who occupied the platform.

The people continued in the field, not obeying the order to disperse; and, instead of endeavouring to persuade them to retire peaceably, the yeomanry cried out, "Have at their flags!" and began to strike down the banners raised in various parts of the field. A shout rose from the multitude; and the yeomanry, with brandished swords, instantly charged amongst them. A scene of terrible confusion ensued; the flying crowds were trampled beneath the feet of the horses, or had their limbs broken in that dense mass of human beings. Such was the fury of the yeomanry, assisted by the Hussars, that in ten minutes the field was cleared; but, in that brief time, eight men, two women, and a child had been murdered, and upwards of 400 persons severely wounded. It is declared by the reformers, that the Riot Act was not read previously to this cruel and unprovoked military outrage upon a peaceable assembly of English men and women, collected for the purpose of petitioning for their political rights.

A feeling of indignation against so wanton an act prevailed throughout the country, and large meetings were held in London and elsewhere to censure the magistrates and military, and to express sympathy for the sufferers. The sum of £4,000 was immediately subscribed for their aid. Sir Francis Burdett even addressed so stringent a letter upon the subject to the electors of Westminster, that he was tried for libel, convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of £2,000, and to suffer three months' imprisonment. Yet, at this very time, Lord Sidmouth, the Secretary of State, actually addressed a letter to the magistracy and military of Manchester, thanking them in the name of the regent. This cruel conduct did not prevent petitions being sent to that prince—petitions which must have sounded like reproaches—desiring him to inquire into the massacre that had been committed on his subjects at Manchester.

Hunt, Johnson, Knight, Healy, Bamford, and five others, arrested at St. Peter's Field, were committed to prison on a charge of being engaged in a conspiracy to


SIR T. LAWRENCE
BENJn WEST
SIR J REYNOLDS
SIR D WILKIE
SIR M A SHEE

overturn the government. They were admitted to bail, and tried at York during the April of the following year (1820), when the five whose names are given were found guilty, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Mr. Hunt was treated with the greatest severity, being condemned to imprisonment for two years and a-half in Ilchester gaol. The government also passed six bills, known as the Six Acts, for the purpose of putting down sedition and blasphemy. The training in the practice of military evolutions was prohibited; justices of the peace were authorised to search for, seize, and detain arms; public meetings placed under magisterial control; the speedy administration of justice in cases of misdemeanor was provided for; severe punishments were affixed to blasphemous and seditious libels; and certain publications were subjected to the stamp duty. These measures caused immense opposition, and excited the indignation of all the Whigs and reformers in the country. Measures of progress are seldom passed without much determined opposition. In this instance, twelve years had to elapse before the Reform Bill became law.

During the years of his affliction, George III. had been kept in the deepest seclusion; but his general health remained good until the close of the year 1819. It was then evident that the gradual decay of his vital powers would soon end in dissolution. On the evening of Saturday, the 29th of January, 1820, he expired at Windsor Castle without a pang, in the sixtieth year of his reign, and the eighty-second of his age. Only a week before he had been preceded to the grave by his fourth son, the Duke of Kent—a brave man, of liberal politics, and the father of our present amiable sovereign, Queen Victoria.

The character of George III. has been represented in very different colours. The Tory party loved to call him the "good old king," the "father of his people;" while the Whigs looked upon him as a narrow-minded tyrant. It is not to be denied that he had strong attachment to the royal prerogative, and to the effete doctrine that his people owed him the duty of an almost passive obedience. He was also, as a rule, opposed to all change; and resisted alike the proposals to repeal the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, and to modify those which related to moral crimes and offences. Personally, he was religious, sincere, and courageous, though extremely obstinate. He acted honestly on his convictions; but those convictions were tainted by his love of arbitrary power, and he had not judgment enough to arrive at enlarged and correct views. Still he had a certain solid plainness of understanding, and showed great art in the manner in which he always contrived to get rid of any minister who was obnoxious to him, and in ruling through the medium of servile parliaments. His tastes and amusements were simple; he was fond of farming and rural occupations. He established an experimental farm, and procured from Spain the most valuable specimens of the superior races of Merino sheep. Several letters in Young's *Annals of Agriculture*, bearing the signature of John Robinson, are said to have been written by him; though for literature generally he had neither taste nor inclination. In contrast with the pleasure he took in farming occupations was his love of dramatic entertainments; he was fond of attending the theatres, and delighted in a pantomime.

His court was conducted with a great regard to decorum and a high morality: but although George III. is usually upheld as a model of moral perfection, he was far from being so perfect in that respect as he has been represented. When very young, he seduced a pretty Quakeress, named Hannah Lightfoot. It is even asserted that he was privately married to her at Kew by Dr. Wilmot. If so, the marriage was not binding by the law of the land; and, whatever the nature of his connection with her, it ceased on his union with the queen. After that union, no one could lead a more exemplary life as a husband, father, or friend. His conduct had a great effect on society; and during his reign the country progressed in morality, as it did in wealth and prosperity, notwithstanding the expensive wars in which it was engaged.

So long a period as that over which the reign of George III. extended was necessarily adorned by men of genius in almost every branch of science, art, and literature. A very brief account of them all would make a volume. As might naturally be expected, English eloquence reached its highest excellence during a time when kingdoms were rocked to their foundations, and society shaken with the storms of revolution. The names of Chatham and Holland, Pitt and Fox, Murray, Burke, and Sheridan, will ever remain illustrious as orators, in spite of the varying opinions we must entertain of the truth or error of their principles. Nor should the noble and generous legal orators, Erskine and Macintosh, or the eloquent Irish patriots, Grattan and Flood, be overlooked.

England was rich in literary men during this period, especially during the latter part of it. With the beginning of the present century a perfect cluster of poets rose in the horizon. Chief among them were Chatterton, Crabbe, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, Scott, Burns, Campbell, Moore, Byron, Shelley, Keats, and Rogers. In the ranks of poets of less pretensions were many ladies, who acquired an honourable fame; amongst

them, Miss Joanna Bailie, Mrs. Hunter, Mrs. Grant, Mrs. Opie, Miss Mitford, and Mrs. Hemans, deserve especial mention. Among our most distinguished painters were Sir Benjamin West, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Sir Martin Arthur Shee, and Sir David Wilkie; James Barry, the eccentric portrayer of allegorical and historical subjects; and Henry Fuseli, the exquisitely imaginative illustrator of Shakspeare and Milton, who, though born at Zurich, may be considered an Englishman by adoption. In sculpture, Flaxman and Chantrey made marble seem to breathe; while the stage was supported by the varied talents of David Garrick, and the dignified personations of the Kemble family.

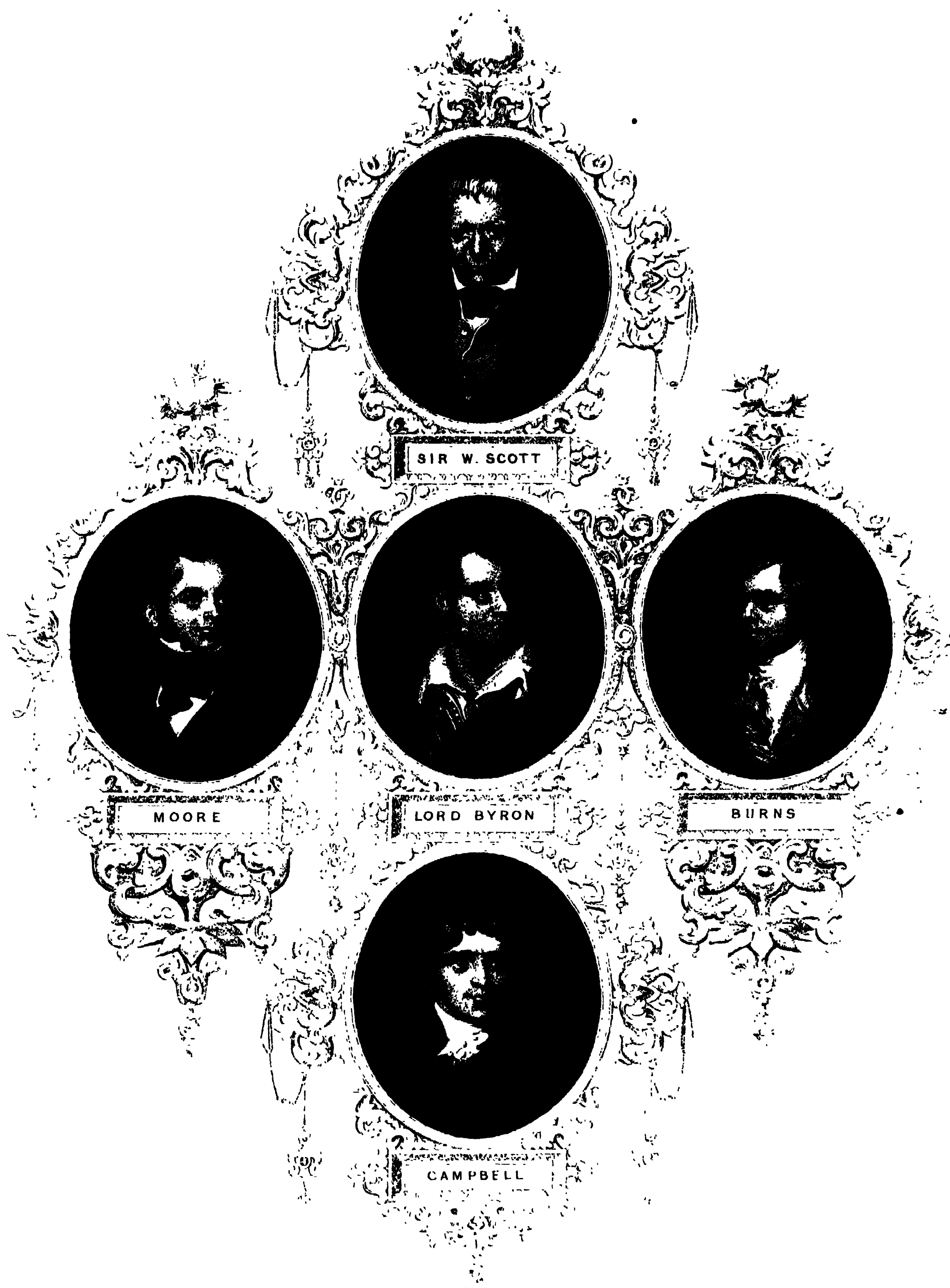
The annals of science were rendered illustrious by the names of Dr. Herschel, the astronomer; Dr. Wollaston, Dr. Priestley, and Sir Humphry Davy, the distinguished chemists; the wise John Hunter, the anatomist; and Sir Joseph Banks, the natural philosopher. On those of art, besides the painters and sculptors we have enumerated, stands the name of James Watt, whose improvements in the steam-engine almost entitle him to be ranked as its inventor; together with those of Sir John Soane, the architect; and Telford, Rennie, and Fulton, the engineers. In the records of learning are the names of Sir William Blackstone, the celebrated lawyer and most popular writer on the laws and constitution of his country; Sir William Jones, the great Oriental scholar and linguist; Dr. Samuel Parr and Dr. Richard Porson, the profound classical scholars; Jeremy Bentham, famous for his political disquisitions; Edward Gibbon, the eloquent and learned historian of the decline of ancient Rome: together with Hallam and Lingard, both historic writers of great merit; though the *History of England*, by the latter, is composed with a strong bias in favour of the Roman Catholics.

Foremost in the rank of writers on religion, stand Bishops Warburton, Lowth, Hurd, Porteous, Watson, Tomlins, March, &c. There were also many eloquent writers and preachers among the dissenters; of whom Dr. Chalmers, Robert Hall, John Foster, and Edward Irving, may be mentioned. It was also during this period that the devout and industrious John Wesley founded that extensive sect known as the Methodists—a name given *to* them at first in contempt, but now claimed *by* them as one of honour. The most distinguished prose writer of fiction, during this period, was one we have mentioned also as a poet—that varied and exquisitely natural creator of imaginary beings, Sir Walter Scott; though the first of his novels did not appear until 1814. We must also mention Miss Edgeworth, Miss Owenson (afterwards Lady Morgan), Mrs. Brunton, Miss Austen, and Madame d'Arblay. Nor must Godwin and his extraordinary and most eccentric wife be forgotten—Mrs. Godwin, better known by her maiden name of Mary Wolstonecraft, famous, among other works, for her spirited *Vindication of the Rights of Women*. Her example, however, is one that young ladies neither should nor will feel inclined to follow.—These are some of the most distinguished of the children of genius in this remarkable age; but the list is necessarily very imperfect, and omits more than it contains. It is not, however, intended as a catalogue, but as a friendly indicator, to point out the chief fountains of learning and intellect that sprung up within that time, and contributed to the mental fertilisation and advancement of the people of England.

CHAPTER C.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.—A.D. 1820—1830.

THE prince-regent was proclaimed as KING GEORGE THE FOURTH on the 30th of January, 1820, being then in his fifty-eighth year. The following month, the startling Cato Street conspiracy was discovered. This was a plot of some desperate men to murder the ministers, and overturn the government. The leader of it, Arthur Thistlewood, a retired military officer, was chiefly actuated by a desire of revenge for an injury he had received from Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary. A number of poor reckless persons were associated with Thistlewood, the chief of whom were Ings, a butcher; Davison, a creole; Brunt and Tidd, shoemakers. The assassination of the ministers was appointed for Saturday, the 19th of February; but, on learning that they would all dine at Lord Harrowby's house on the following Wednesday, the shocking deed was postponed, Thistlewood exclaiming with glee, "As there has not been a dinner for such a length of time, there will, no doubt, be fourteen or sixteen there, and it will be a rare haul to despatch them all together." On that occasion, one of the conspirators was to go with a note to the


SIR W. SCOTT
MOORE
LORD BYRON
BURNS
CAMPBELL

door, and when it was opened the rest were to rush in secure the servants, and assassinate the guests. After bringing away the heads of Lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth, the Mansion-house was to be seized, the Bank attacked, and London set fire to in various places. Such a strange scheme of diabolical wickedness raises doubts of the sanity of its authors.

Amongst these ruffians was a government spy, named Edwards, who informed ministers of all that occurred; and it was resolved to seize the conspirators on the very evening of their intended crime at their secret place of meeting. This was a loft over a stable in Cato Street, Edgware Road. A large body of police officers proceeded there at eight in the evening, entered the loft, and summoned the conspirators to surrender. Thistlewood replied by stabbing the officer who attempted to secure him; the lights were blown out, a scuffle ensued, and the leader, with fourteen others, escaped in the darkness and confusion. Nine, however, were secured, and the next day Thistlewood also was made prisoner. In the month of April they were placed upon their trial. Five, who pleaded guilty, were sentenced to transportation for life; Thistlewood and the other four were condemned to suffer death as traitors; and the sentence was executed with all the revolting details which were the invention and disgrace even of a savage age.

We have mentioned the king's marriage, in the year 1795, to his cousin, the Princess Caroline, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick—a lady for whom he seems never to have entertained any affection. After the birth of their only child, a complete separation took place between them. It had existed some years, when the princess was accused by Sir John Douglas and his wife, Lady Douglas, of improper behaviour, and of having secretly given birth to an infant in the year 1802; which infant had been brought up in her own house, and under her own inspection. A number of noblemen were accordingly formed into a commission to examine whether this serious charge was true. They reported that there was no foundation whatever for believing that the child living with the princess was her own; that it had been born in the Brownlow Street Hospital, and adopted by her royal highness; but they were not inclined to acquit her of a certain levity of conduct which had been deposed to by some witnesses in the course of the inquiry. The princess, on her part, addressed a letter to the king, in which she solemnly asserted her innocence, not only of the criminal charge made against her, but also her freedom from the indecorums imputed to her on the evidence of Sir John and Lady Douglas and other persons. George III., in reply, declared his belief that the character of the princess was stainless; but that unhappy lady was subjected to so many indignities, and so peremptorily excluded from the society of her daughter, that in the year 1814 she went abroad, and passed her time in travelling upon the continent.

Spies and scandal followed the princess: and at length it was rumoured that she was living in a state of habitual adultery with an Italian named Bartolomeo Bergami, whom she had raised from the obscure situation of her courier to that of the first post in her household. When the prince-regent became king, he required the princess to renounce her right to the title of queen, and to absent herself from England for ever, on condition of receiving an income of £50,000 a year. This offer (which implied the guilt of the queen), together with the omission of her name from the Liturgy, and the insults to which she was subjected at foreign courts, made her resolve on coming to England, and claiming her dignity. On the 6th of June, 1820, she arrived at Dover, where she was received with enthusiasm by immense crowds of people, and escorted in triumphal procession to London, which was illuminated in her honour. The same day the king sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, accompanied by a bagful of papers, containing information respecting the alleged misconduct of the queen while abroad. Secret committees of the Lords and Commons were appointed to investigate these papers; but the queen sent a message to the Commons, boldly demanding an open inquiry. "In the face," she declared, "of the sovereign, the parliament, and country, she solemnly protests against the formation of a *secret* tribunal to examine documents privately prepared by her adversaries, as a proceeding unknown to the law of the land, and a flagrant violation of all the principles of justice."

Lord Liverpool, the prime minister, then introduced into the House of Lords a bill of pains and penalties to deprive Caroline of the title of queen, and to dissolve the marriage between her and the king. The preamble to the bill stated, that for a length of time she carried on a disgraceful and adulterous intercourse with Bartolomeo Bergami, by which she had brought scandal and dishonour upon the king and the kingdom. On the 17th of August the queen's trial commenced by the production of evidence in support of the assertions contained in the bill. She was bravely and eloquently defended by Henry Brougham and Thomas Denman (subsequently created Lords Brougham and Denman), by Dr. Lushington, and other gentlemen. The scene that followed is one of the most remarkable and repulsive in modern history. Day after day, for three weeks, the Queen of England sat at the bar of the High Court of Parliament, and listened to the most searching investigation of her character—to the disgusting stories of paid (and it is believed perjured) Italian witnesses—her domestic servants, who came

forward to blast her reputation. If their statements were true, she had not only degraded her high station, but violated every decent usage of society, and every precept of morality. But Queen Caroline solemnly called the Deity to witness her innocence; and the nation generally believed her assertion, and regarded her as an injured woman, whom her husband sought to get rid of by a wicked conspiracy.

The Lords, who sat as judges of the queen's conduct, were not influenced by the same generous spirit that animated the nation. They voted, by a majority of twenty-eight, that the bill of pains and penalties should be read a second time. Against this decision the queen protested, and charged many of the peers with the gross unfairness of listening to the whole evidence for the charge, and absenting themselves during her defence. When the third reading of the bill was moved, there was only a majority of nine in favour of it. To pass the bill in the face of so small a majority, and in defiance of the almost universally expressed indignation of the people, was felt to be a dangerous experiment, and Lord Liverpool and his colleagues abandoned it. By this means, although the queen was not acquitted of the imputations cast upon her name, yet the proceedings against her were ended. A shout of triumph arose from the nation; for three nights, London and most of the great provincial towns were illuminated, and bonfires blazed in the streets. The queen afterwards went to St. Paul's to return thanks to God, when the concourse of people was so immense, and their congratulations so enthusiastic, that her carriage could hardly proceed, and it was feared that dangerous accidents would result.

Queen Caroline had yet to pass through another ordeal. The coronation of her husband did not take place until the 19th of July in the following year (1821). Fifty thousand pounds a year had been voted for her support; but she was not satisfied while any taint remained upon her name, and she therefore presented a memorial to the privy council, claiming to be crowned with her husband as Queen of England. On the day of coronation she even drove up to Westminster Abbey in her state carriage, and demanded admission, which was resolutely refused. Finding her efforts were all in vain, she returned home, followed by an enormous crowd, which expressed its sympathy by lusty cheers. Her troubles were soon at an end: the following month she was taken ill at Drury Lane Theatre. Her disorder was cold, followed by inflammation; and, after a week's suffering, she died on the night of the 7th of August, in the fifty-third year of her age. There can be little doubt that the illness which led to her death had its origin in the fearful excitement to which she had been exposed. She desired that her remains should be conveyed to Brunswick for interment, and that the following inscription should be placed upon her coffin:—"Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured Queen of England." The day on which the funeral procession was to proceed to Harwich, turned out one of the wettest that had been seen for a length of time; still, nearly the whole population of Middlesex and the adjoining counties assembled to behold the sad spectacle. The government ordered that the procession should not pass through the city; but the populace resolved that it should pass by no other route, and actually forced it along in that direction. This led to an affray with the military, who fired upon the crowd, when many persons were wounded and two killed. At an inquest held on the body of one of the latter, a verdict of wilful murder against a lifeguardsman unknown was returned. George IV. subdued his regret or compunction (if he felt any) for the fate of his queen by the excitement of a visit to Ireland. On his return he visited his dominions in Hanover, where he was received with much ceremony; and during the following year he paid a state visit to Scotland. In spite of George's trip to Ireland, and the professions of regard he expressed for his subjects in that ever-troubled island, it was soon afterwards the scene of revolt and barbarous murders, arising from the dissatisfaction the people felt at high rents and the tithe system. The following year the disturbances and distress in Ireland, aggravated by famine, assumed a form positively awful. Cases of misery and starvation were published that thrilled the readers with horror. Subscriptions were opened in London for the wretched peasantry, and amounted to the sum of £300,000; £50,000 was also voted for the same purpose by the English parliament. Some slight excuse may perhaps be found, in the harrowing distress of the Irish, for the shocking crimes they committed; but those very crimes increased the distress that prevailed. When magistrates, landlords, and farmers were murdered, the land naturally remained uncultivated, the peasants were thrown out of work, and fresh ruffians were added to the gangs which were already sapping the foundations of society.

During the August of 1822, great excitement was caused by the suicide of Lord Londonderry, the most unpopular of the Tory ministry. Regarded as an unscrupulous advocate of despotism, perhaps no man was ever so bitterly hated by the people. Public odium, the harass of business, and a mental malady which caused him to believe himself haunted by visions, seem to have led to the fatal act. He had retired to his country seat at Foots Cray, where he cut his throat with a penknife. His doctor entered the room almost at the same instant, and the unhappy nobleman had merely time to say, "Bankhead, let me fall upon your

arm—it is all over," before he expired. The English people are usually too generous to war with the dead; but they received the news of this event with a shout of exultation, and the deceased statesman was buried in Westminster Abbey, amidst the execrations of the populace. Such was the end of one who had used the power of the law to coerce opinion and to fetter a nation. Lord Londonderry was succeeded as Foreign Secretary of State by Mr. Canning, one of the most talented men of the day.

Many commotions took place abroad; but in England affairs were tolerably tranquil. The blessings of peace were beginning to be felt; taxation was reduced, and returning prosperity brought with it returning tranquillity. Statesmen had arisen who understood the true principles of commerce, and government began to be conducted on better principles. In 1824, great public excitement was caused by two remarkable cases of crime. The first was the murder of a gentleman named Weare by John Thurtle, a gambling acquaintance. He had invited his victim to have a few days' shooting with him, and having driven him into a retired place, called Gill's Hill Lane, there murdered him for the sake of his property; and, in conjunction with Probert and Hunt, two accomplices, threw the body into a pond. Suspicion having been aroused, Probert turned king's evidence, and, in consequence, Thurtle was executed, and Hunt transported for life. Probert, however, did not long escape the hands of justice, as he was afterwards hanged for horse-stealing.—The other case was that of Henry Fauntleroy, a partner in the banking-house of Marsh and Co. This man, by means of forged powers of attorney, had disposed of Bank of England stock to the amount of £170,000—a proceeding which caused distress and ruin to numbers of persons, who were thus defrauded of their property. Great efforts were made to save him, and many respectable persons came forward to bear witness to his character. Their efforts were in vain; Fauntleroy was found guilty of forgery, and suffered the last penalty of the law.

The attention of the government was now chiefly occupied by the affairs of Ireland and the struggles for Roman Catholic emancipation: The grievances of the Roman Catholics were many and serious. They were excluded from parliament, from public employment, from all posts of trust and distinction, and even from the jury-box. They had long hoped that the time was at hand when they should have the same civil rights granted to them that were enjoyed by their Protestant fellow-subjects. Mr. Pitt would have long since yielded this, but for the resolution of George III. upon the subject; and it now began to be felt that it would be impossible to govern Ireland without removing the laws which oppressed her Catholic people. A powerful society had arisen in Ireland, called the Catholic Association, which raised large sums of money, and excited the people by its immense public meetings, at which its leaders, Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Sheil, denounced Protestant ascendancy with a fiery eloquence. These orations were made the more bitter by the violence of the Orange party, or extreme Protestants, who irritated the Catholics by the most biting insults. It was found necessary to pass an act of parliament expressly to dissolve an association which had attained an enormous influence over the people. Several measures were attempted on behalf of the Roman Catholics, but without success. Mr. Canning moved for leave to bring in a bill to admit Roman Catholic peers to the House of Lords; but the latter rejected the application. Sir Francis Burdett also brought forward a Relief Bill, the objects of which were to repeal Catholic disabilities, make some state provision for the Catholic clergy, and deprive an ignorant class of the Irish peasantry—the forty-shilling freeholders—of their votes. This bill passed the House of Commons, but was rejected by the Lords, partly on account of the vehement opposition of the Duke of York, the heir-presumptive to the throne.

The duke, however, was not to ascend the throne he looked forward to. During the Midsummer of 1826 he was attacked by dropsy; and, on the 5th of the following January, he expired, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Though a dissipated man, he was liked by the people on account of his attachment to the army, and the reforms he effected in it. Some years before his death he had been reinstated in the command of the army, and was succeeded as commander-in-chief by the Duke of Wellington. The death of his royal highness was speedily followed by a breaking-up of the Tory ministry. The following month, Lord Liverpool, the premier, was seized with an apoplectic fit, from which he never recovered sufficiently to resume his public duties. The helm of state was then confided to Mr. Canning, who formed a ministry composed of the members of both parties. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, Mr. Peel, and others, refused to serve under Mr. Canning because he was favourable to Roman Catholic emancipation: still, the new ministry was supposed to be the strongest and most talented that had existed since the time of William Pitt; and the prospect of a comparatively liberal government was hailed with delight by the nation.

The hopes entertained of Mr. Canning's ministry were defeated by the unexpected death of that gentleman. Soon after the close of the session, the mental anxiety to which he had been subjected brought on a severe fit of illness. In the hope that tranquillity and a change of air would restore him, he went to the seat of

the Duke of Devonshire, at Chiswick. Change of scene, however, failed to benefit the jaded statesman: he was seized with internal inflammation, and expired on the 8th of August, 1827. His decease was regarded as a national loss; and his remains were honoured with a funeral in Westminster Abbey. Mr. Canning was succeeded as premier by Lord Goderich, and very few alterations were made in the cabinet.

The ministry of Lord Goderich was very short-lived; and, on the resignation of that nobleman, the king sent for the Duke of Wellington, and desired him to form a new ministry. But a year before the duke had declared that he should be mad if he accepted a position for which he was so unfit as that of prime minister. Still he did accept it, and gave as a reason for doing so, that the emergencies of the state called for his assistance, and that he was ever ready to serve his country. Most of the Whig party were turned out of the new cabinet, and Mr. Peel returned to office. The first measure carried under the duke's ministry was the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, which, in the time of the Stuarts, had been made to exclude dissenters from parliament and public employments, by compelling every one admitted into corporations, or accepting any office, civil or military, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. The proposal for the repeal of these laws had been brought forward by Sir Samuel Romilly and Lord John Russell: it was left for Mr. Peel to carry out.

The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was only a prelude to the far more important point of Catholic emancipation. Again did Sir Francis Burdett bring forward a resolution that "The House resolve itself into a committee, for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the laws affecting his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as may be conducive to the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, to the stability of the Protestant establishment, and to the general satisfaction and concord of all classes of his majesty's subjects." After a debate, which lasted three nights, Sir Francis Burdett's motion was carried by a majority of six. A conference was then held with the House of Lords on the subject, and the Lords expressed themselves decidedly against the adoption of the resolution. But the clamours from Ireland were too loud to be suppressed; and the government became convinced that Catholic emancipation was the only means of restoring law and order to that country.

The ministry, especially the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, had resolutely declared against granting the relief desired by the Catholics. Now that they felt that rebellion and civil war might be the result of a continued refusal, they made up their minds to yield. On the opening of parliament, in 1829, the king recommended the members of both Houses to take into consideration the condition of Ireland, and the laws which imposed civil disabilities on his Catholic subjects. At the same time, Mr. Peel, who sat in parliament as member for the university of Oxford, resigned his seat, because he said he felt himself obliged to advise the king to grant claims to resist which he had been elected. The members of the university, in indignation, sent Sir R. H. Inglis to represent them in the Commons; and Mr. Peel was elected as member for the borough of Westbury. A cry of anger arose from the Tories, and from a large body of the Protestant clergy; and the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel were denounced as "arch-apostates." The Marquis of Winchelsea was so violent in his condemnation of the duke, that the latter demanded satisfaction, and a duel was the result. It took place on the 21st of March. The duke having fired without effect, the marquis discharged his pistol in the air, and then admitted that he regretted having charged the duke with disgraceful and criminal motives.

The Roman Catholic Relief Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on the 5th of March, 1829, by Mr. Peel, in a speech that lasted for nearly five hours. In it he referred to his own reluctant change of conduct, and justified it upon the grounds of an inevitable state necessity. He urged that it was impossible for government to avert any longer a decision upon the subject. This question had poisoned the civil intercourse of Ireland; family was divided against family; the bonds of civil life were burst asunder; the tranquillity of the country was disturbed; and the fountains of justice were turned from their proper direction. The principle of the measure, he said, was the abolition of civil distinctions, and the equality of political rights. He proposed to substitute for the oath of supremacy, on entering parliament, an oath of fidelity to the existing institutions in church and state: to admit Catholics to all offices except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor, Viceroy of Ireland, and such as were connected with the church, its universities and schools. In conclusion, he said—"I trust that, by the means now proposed, the moral storm may be appeased, the turbid waters of strife may subside, and the elements of discord may be stilled and composed. But if these expectations shall be disappointed—if, unhappily, civil strife and contentions shall survive the restoration of political privileges—if there be something inherent in the Roman Catholic religion which disdains equality, and will be satisfied with nothing short of ascendancy—still I am content to run the hazard of the change. The contest, if inevitable, will be fought with other

objects and with other arms. The contest then will be, not for an equality of civil rights, but for the predominance of an intolerant religion. We shall be able to fight that battle more advantageously after this measure shall have passed, than we could do at present. We shall have dissolved the great moral alliance that has hitherto given strength to the cause of the Catholics. We shall have ranged on our side the illustrious authorities which have heretofore been enlisted on theirs; the rallying cry of civil liberty will then be all our own. We shall enter the field with the full assurance of victory—armed with the consciousness of having done justice, and of being in the right—backed by the unanimous feeling of England, by the firm union of orthodoxy and dissent, by the applauding voice of Scotland—and, if other aid be requisite, cheered by the sympathies of every free state in either hemisphere, and by the wishes and prayers of every free man, in whatever clime, or under whatever form of government, he may live." This speech was deservedly much applauded; the bill was debated vigorously on each of its three readings, and finally carried by a majority of 178.

It had next to be debated by the House of Lords, and it was brought forward in that assembly by the Duke of Wellington the very day it had passed the Commons—the 31st of March, 1829. On the debate following the second reading of the bill, the duke made some remarks which have gained him much celebrity. "It has been my fortune," said he, "to have seen much of war—more than most men. I was constantly engaged in the duties of my profession from boyhood until I grew gray. My life has been passed in familiarity with scenes of death and human suffering. Unfortunately, I have been chiefly engaged in countries where the war was internal, where a civil war was maintained by conflicting factions. I must say, that at any sacrifice I would avoid every approach to the horrors of a civil war. My lords, I would do all I could—I would run any risk—*I would sacrifice my life to prevent such a catastrophe!*" He added, that unless the Irish people were conciliated by the grant of Catholic emancipation, a civil war must be the result.

Very little doubt can be held that the fears of the duke were well founded. Still the bill was opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Primate of Ireland, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Durham, Salisbury, and London, by Lord Eldon, and nearly a dozen other lords. Lord Eldon, who was always opposed to every change, however slight, and to every concession to either dissenters or Roman Catholics, was quite sure that, sooner or later, the bill would overturn the aristocracy and the monarchy. His statement, however, was only received with ironical cheers by the Duke of Wellington, which was just the sort of reception it deserved. The bill was debated in the House of Lords for four nights, and passed by the immense majority of 204.

It was then necessary for the measure to receive the assent of the king, which it was known he had the strongest objection to give. It is said that he hesitated, bewailed his hard fate, and even shed tears, exclaiming, "What can I do? what can I fall back upon? I am miserable, wretched; my situation is dreadful; nobody about me to advise with. If I do give my assent, I'll go to the baths abroad, and from thence to Hanover; I'll return no more to England. I'll make no more Catholic peers. I'll return no more; let them get a Catholic king in Clarence." After all, the king sanctioned the bill. Indeed, when any measure has been passed by the Houses of Lords and Commons, the assent of the king is little more than a state ceremony. As a result of the bill, eight Roman Catholic peers took their seats in the House of Lords, and the famous Irish agitator, Mr. Daniel O'Connell, took his seat in the House of Commons. The government placed some petty obstructions in his way, for which he had his revenge by raising a cry for the repeal of the union between England and Ireland, and pledging his life for the accomplishment of that object.

The subject of parliamentary reform—that is, a better and purer representation of the people in parliament—had many times been brought before the notice of the Commons. Soon after the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, the Marquis of Blandford moved a series of resolutions on the subject. It was necessary to abolish the shameful custom of buying seats in that assembly; but as yet the attention of the nation was not aroused to the subject, and the Commons decided, by an overwhelming majority, that they did not need any reform, and that they would not have any. A very different story was told a few years afterwards.

During this year (1829) every branch of trade was much depressed, and working-men throughout the country suffered great privations. A committee, appointed to inquire into the subject, reported that, in several townships in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield, there were as many as 13,000 weavers who had no more than 2½*d.* a day to live upon. Such frightful distress soon led to serious disturbances. The weavers of Spitalfields and Bethnal Green set the example by refusing to work except at an increased rate of wages, and by destroying the webs in the looms of their masters, until the latter acceded to their demands as the only means of saving their property. The silk-weavers of Macclesfield, Coventry, Nuneaton, Bedford, and other places, followed the same mischievous examples, and with the same success—a success which

was only temporary; for though masters yielded to save their property, they had no intention of continuing an increase of wages wrung from them by intimidation. The sufferings of the poor weavers, added to their ignorance, will plead their excuse; but the silk trade had declined, and the masters shared in the distress felt by the men. Parliament interfered, and a bill was passed for the relief of the trade, by reducing the duties imposed on the importation of raw silk.

In the February of this year, the noble cathedral of York narrowly escaped destruction. It was set on fire by a religious fanatic of the name of Martin. On his trial, this man said that he had a dream, which induced him to set fire to the Minster. He had written five letters to the clergy; but as he received no answer to any of them, he prayed to the Lord to direct him what to do. Upon that he had another dream, in which he saw a cloud hanging over the Minster, and afterwards come and settle above the place in which he lodged. Then he said he thought himself destined to destroy all things, and he prayed again to God for direction. Suddenly he heard a voice proclaiming that he was to destroy the cathedral, on account of the sins of the clergy; and then he had no rest, night or day, until he accomplished his design. That design he effected so far, that the conflagration was not stopped until the falling-in of the roof of the building; and an amount of damage was done which it was estimated would cost £60,000 to repair. Martin was acquitted of the crime on the ground of insanity.

The distress which prevailed throughout the country, and the feeling that a wise government could alleviate it, gave rise, in 1830, to societies called Political Unions. Their object was to procure a proper consideration of the national grievances, and to obtain such a reform in the House of Commons as would ensure a representation of the lower and middle classes of society. The principles of these unions may be understood from an address put forth by the most important of them, that of Birmingham. "We use no violence," it said, "and we allow none. We only seek justice for ourselves and for our country. We put in force two constitutional rights—the right of meeting together peacefully and legally, and the right of petitioning parliament. We only meet, consult, resolve, and petition. We discuss the effect of public measures upon our own affairs, and we take the proper legal steps for securing our own redress. In a great national emergency, when the legislature has lost its landmarks and its guides to the national welfare, we bring forward the intelligence, the public spirit, and the practical knowledge of the industrious classes, to the aid of the legislative council." These political unions, started in nearly every large town in the kingdom, had no trifling share in helping forward that famous measure, the first Reform Bill, which was passed in the following reign.

On the 4th of February, 1830, George IV. opened his last parliament. Various debates followed—upon the state of the country, on reductions in the national expenditure, on the currency, and upon reform in parliament. Lord Blandford again moved for leave to bring forward a bill for that purpose. On this occasion, Sir Francis Burdett made some amusing disclosures of the corrupt system by which members of parliament were then returned for small boroughs. He said—"Early in life I came into this House in order to defend the constitution of England. I *purchased* my seat of a boroughmonger. I purchased it of the Duke of Newcastle. He was no patron of mine; he took my money, and by purchase I obtained a right to speak in the most public place in England. With my views, and my love of the liberty of my country, I did not grudge the sacrifice I made for that commanding consideration." Although Lord Blandford's motion was lost, so open an exposure of the secrets of the old corrupt system, was regarded as an omen of its approaching destruction.

The advocates of parliamentary reform were determined that it should not be lost sight of; and Mr. O'Connell next moved for leave to bring in a bill for a radical reform of the Commons' House of Parliament. It was useless: the motion was defeated by an enormous majority; but a purification of parliament had now become a topic of conversation over all England. Among the other measures brought before this parliament, were proposals for a revision of taxation; for the reduction of the interest of the public debt; for inquiries into the land revenues of the crown; for the repeal of the corn-laws; for inquiry into the state of Ireland; for reforming the church of Ireland; and for abolishing the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Mr. Brougham brought the defects of the English courts of law before the notice of the House of Commons in a brilliant speech, which lasted for six hours. A very interesting debate also followed a motion of Mr. Robert Grant to admit Jews into parliament. The bill at first was favourably received, but defeated on the second reading.

For some time the king had been suffering from illness, and living in seclusion in what he termed his "cottage at Windsor." A life of selfish pleasures had led to a desolate, debilitated, and peevish old age. At the commencement of 1830, he had an attack which made those around him think that his days were numbered. However, he partially recovered, and was able to take the air in his carriage. But, on the 15th of April, the royal physicians issued a bulletin, saying that the king had a bilious attack, attended with diffi-

culty of breathing. On the 24th of May, the Duke of Wellington informed the House of Lords that the king was unable, without great pain, to write his name to those public papers which required his signature. Arrangements were accordingly made for affixing his name to such documents as required it by means of a stamp.

In the meantime the king got rapidly worse; and on the morning of the 26th of June, 1830, he ruptured a blood-vessel in the stomach, and expired almost immediately. He was in his sixty-eighth year, and had ruled England ten years as king, and for nine years previously in the character of regent.

As a king, George IV. was a sort of negative character, and can scarcely be said to have done either good or harm. He was neither soldier, statesman, or scholar, nor distinguished by any brilliant qualifications. Yet he possessed good natural qualities, a knowledge of the world, particularly of the gay and vicious part of it, and his urbanity of manners obtained for him, from his admirers, the title of "the first gentleman of the age." His reign was favourable to liberty and national progress, because the mind of the people was awakened; and the king, from indolence and a love of pleasure, permitted—at least to a considerable extent—things to take their own course. He did not possess the high notions of kingly power entertained by his father. He never made any harsh or shameful use of his regal prerogative, but was contented to govern constitutionally through his ministers. The latter were almost exclusively of the Tory party, to which George naturally leaned, though he sometimes showed a faint desire to conciliate his early friends, the Whigs. A serious charge against him was his laxity of principle, and the little value which he placed upon his word. It seems to have cost him no struggle to condescend to falsehood. Prodigal in his nature, he had a passion for expensive pageantries; but his taste has been ridiculed as being rather gaudy than either correct or magnificent.

The private character of George IV. was stained by many vices: but censure towards him should be mixed with a forbearing pity, as he was, undoubtedly, drawn into habits of vice and licentiousness by the leading Whigs of the day—especially Fox and Sheridan—who aimed at making him their leader in opposition to his father's government. The greatest blot upon his character was his cruelty to his unfortunate queen. Her accusation, exile, sufferings, and death, are generally attributed to his bitter dislike. She was less his wife than a bride-decked sacrifice to his creditors. He married her to induce the nation to pay his debts; and cast her off and slandered her that he might readily amuse himself with others of her sex. He was punished for his cruelty: death deprived him not only of the wife he hated, but of the child he loved. His early associates had long since gone to the grave; and he died, notwithstanding his magnificence and his throngs of attendants, a peevish, worn-out, solitary man, alike unloving and unloved by the people generally.

The most illustrious men and women in science, art, and literature that adorned this brief reign, have already been enumerated in the last chapter. A circumstance, in connection with education and the people's progress, may here, however, be mentioned, as, for its importance and the good it is doing, and will continue to do, it deserves to stand by itself. That circumstance was the foundation, in the year 1823, by Dr. Birkbeck and Mr. Brougham, of the London Mechanics' Institution. Its object was to educate the working classes, especially in those scientific principles which are connected with their daily avocations. The idea was so admirable, that similar societies were, in a short time, established in nearly all the great towns of England. From that time to this, the good work has been going on; and now almost every little town, and even many villages, have their Mechanics' Institution, or Mutual Instruction Society; with its library, lectures, discussions, and classes for acquiring useful branches of knowledge. Certainly the support bestowed upon them has been rather precarious; while some flourish, others drag on a meagre and languishing existence. This is to be expected until the people learn the inestimable value of such societies. Unfortunately, the majority of our working classes are as yet too ignorant to show a desire to participate in advantages intended especially for their welfare. It will be otherwise in time: "the schoolmaster is abroad" among the people, teaching them that education, bare and imperfect as it may sometimes be—self-education, if no better is to be readily had—is the best safeguard for good government; the best protector of national freedom; the best nursery of wise laws; the best preventative of misery and crime; and the best means of making a people prosperous, happy, and intelligent.

CHAPTER CI.

THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH.—A.D. 1830—1832.



EORGE THE FOURTH was succeeded on the throne by his brother William, Duke of Clarence, and third son of King George the Third. The new monarch was immediately proclaimed as WILLIAM THE FOURTH. He was born on the 21st of August, 1765 and being a stout, hardy lad, his father had destined him for the navy. He entered that service as a midshipman, and was present in one or two engagements, but had no opportunity of acquiring distinction. On some occasions, while passing through his nautical probation, he presumed on his high birth to excuse neglect of duty; and when he had gained the command of a ship, he twice quitted a foreign station without leave. He was generous, but thoughtless, and his early life was stained by many jovial irregularities. Eventually, he withdrew from the active exercise of his profession; but was, notwithstanding, advanced in rank until he obtained the office of Lord High Admiral, and was created Duke of Clarence, with an allowance of £12,000 a year. In early life he became attached to Mrs. Jordan, an erring but amiable and attractive actress, with whom he lived for a period of twenty years, and by whom he had a large family. He left her about the year 1810; and the unhappy lady died in poverty, some years afterwards, in France. William's object in abandoning her was a selfish one; it was, that he might marry a wealthy heiress, named Sophia Long; but the rich young lady preferred some one else. He was at last, in 1818, allied to the Princess Adelaide, eldest daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen. By this lady he had two daughters, but they both died in infancy.

William, who obtained the name of the "Sailor King," was sixty-six years old when he ascended the throne, and could not hope to enjoy it very long. His little niece, the Princess Alexandrina Victoria, the heiress-presumptive, was but eleven. The new king was supposed to be very liberal in his political opinions; but he kept his late brother's Tory ministers.

On the very day on which George IV. breathed his last, a startling insurrection broke out in Paris, and shortly terminated in another revolution. Louis XVIII. had died on the 16th of September, 1824. His successor, Charles X., had for his chief minister Prince Polignac, a man whose extravagant attempts at despotism ruined his master. By his advice, Charles resolved to govern by his own decrees; or, in plainer language, to do just as he pleased in defiance of law. King and minister thought they could rule as they liked if they put down all the newspapers that did not approve of their conduct. Consequently, on the 26th of July, 1830, they issued six ordinances, by which they destroyed the liberty of the press, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, or French parliament, and altered the number of deputies and mode of electing them in such a manner as to place that right only in the hands of wealthy people. These ordinances were resolutely resisted by the nation: the tyrannical king endeavoured to enforce them with the aid of the military; the famous three days of revolution, called the Three Days of July, followed; the people were victorious, and Charles X. was driven from France to end his days in exile in England. The government of this country, however, had learnt wisdom from the past; they would not adopt his cause, or even recognise him as king; but they gave him an asylum as a private gentleman, and addressed him only by his former title of the Count Ponthieu. He was succeeded on the throne by another member of the Bourbon family, Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, who ruled, not as a sovereign of France, but as "King of the French;" by which was meant, that he derived his title from the people, and could therefore be deposed by them if he betrayed his trust.

These events in France, occurring on the eve of a general election in England, greatly aided the liberal character of the new parliament, and helped forward the reform question. The Duke of Wellington was considered as a domineering and despotic minister (which he was not), and the elections went so far against him, that he tried to strengthen himself in the House of Commons by uniting with the followers of the late Mr. Canning. That party was represented by Mr. Huskisson, a gentleman of great talent as a financier. It was therefore arranged that the duke and Mr. Huskisson should meet at an approaching ceremony of great importance; no less than the opening of the first railway in England—a line from Manchester to Liverpool. This great triumph of art and industry took place on the 15th of September, 1830, in the sight of astonished thousands, amongst whom were many of the most noble and illustrious persons in England. The glorious experiment was perfectly successful; but the general satisfaction was damped by a melancholy incident.

The terrific power of steam was not understood, or

not reflected upon, by the gentlemen engaged in the experimental trip. When the train stopped at Parkside, the thoughtless passengers got out, and stood talking in little groups upon the line. The result was, that Mr. Huskisson was overtaken by an engine coming in an opposite direction, knocked down, and had his left thigh broken and lacerated in a frightful manner. The unfortunate statesman, who bore his sufferings with heroic fortitude, expired in the evening. The contemplated union between the Duke of Wellington and the Canningite party was thus broken off, and the latter leant rather to the Liberal than the Tory cause.

The new parliament opened on the 26th of October, 1830, when Earl Grey declared the people throughout the country to be anxiously waiting for a reform in parliament, and asked whether ministers were prepared to bring forward any measure of that character. The reply of the Duke of Wellington sealed the fate of his ministry. He said the noble lord alluded to something in the shape of parliamentary reform. The noble lord had, however, been candid enough to acknowledge that he was not prepared with any measure of reform; and he would have as little scruple to say, that his majesty's government was as totally unprepared as the noble lord. Nay, he on his own part would go further, and say he had never heard or read of any measure, up to the present moment, which could in any degree satisfy his mind that the state of the representation could be improved or rendered more satisfactory to the country at large than at that moment. He would not, however, at such an unreasonable time, enter upon the subject, or excite discussion; but he should not hesitate to declare unequivocally what were his sentiments upon it. He was not only unprepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but he would at once declare that, as far as he was concerned, as long as he held any station in the government of the country, he should always feel it his duty to resist such measures when proposed by others.

This speech gave rise to so much dissatisfaction, that the duke considered it prudent to postpone an engagement which the king and queen had made to dine with the Lord Mayor and citizens of London at Guildhall. He feared that an attack might be made upon him by the people, and that perhaps, in the general excitement, insult or outrage might be offered to their majesties. Great excitement followed this postponement; the stocks fell nearly three per cent. in little more than an hour, trade was at a standstill, and the timid believed the country was on the eve of a revolution.

On the 15th of November, the ministry was left in a considerable minority in the House of Commons; and that evening the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues resigned their offices. Great was the dismay of the Tory party; but greater still was the joy of the English people. The feeling of triumph rose higher when it was known that the new ministry was to be formed of statesmen who had been the most ardent and unwearied advocates of parliamentary reform. Earl Grey was the new prime minister; Mr. Brougham became Lord Chancellor. The other most distinguished members were—Lord Durham, Sir James Graham, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Holland, Lord Althorp, Lord Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Denman.

Petitions in favour of reform poured in upon the new ministry from all parts of England. The political unions throughout the country evinced extraordinary activity. It was even rumoured that 100,000 men would march to London in a body to demand reform. The Tory party feared a revolution which should end in the destruction of property. Unhappily, in the rural districts, where the people are always most ignorant, there were some wicked, desperate men whose actions gave a colour to these fears. The close of the year 1830 was distinguished by the frequent burning of hayricks, farmhouses, and agricultural machinery. These conflagrations were effected in so mysterious a manner, that the incendiaries were scarcely ever detected. A blue speck was seen in the air, which soon ran along the ridge of a stack, and presently it was enveloped in flames. This wickedness (probably dictated by the distress of the ignorant labourers) arose in Kent, and spread from thence into Hampshire, Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, Sussex, and Surrey. The military were called out, and large rewards offered for the detection of offenders, but with very little result.

Parliament reassembled on the 3rd of February, 1831, when Earl Grey said his majesty's government had succeeded in framing a measure upon the subject of reform, which he trusted would prove satisfactory to the country, without transgressing the bounds of well-considered and just moderation. On the 1st of March, application was made to the House of Commons, by Lord John Russell, for leave to bring forward the bill. The Speaker had never remembered the House so full as it was that night: the galleries, also, were crowded with strangers; and the building was thronged around by dense masses of excited people. According to the bill brought forward by Lord John Russell, sixty boroughs—rotten boroughs they were called, which returned such members to parliament as their owners bid them do—were to be disfranchised; that is, deprived of the right of returning members to parliament for the future. Forty-seven other small boroughs were only to return one member each. On the other side, populous places were to send members to parliament insead of the rotten boroughs; the suffrage was to be

extended to the inhabitants of houses rated at £10 a year; and by this means the voters were increased half a million.

Most of the reformers among the people thought that this measure was not much to boast of, and that it did not effect so great an improvement as was desirable; but they consented to be satisfied with it notwithstanding. After seven nights of debate, leave was granted to bring in the bill. In a short time, shouts rang through the land of "The bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill!" On the second reading, however, ministers experienced a defeat. Sir Richard Vyvian urged upon the House the danger of introducing into the legislature a strong democratic influence which, he said, would ere long overpower the other branches; and he moved as an amendment that the bill be read that day six months; which meant, that it should be altogether abandoned. This amendment was lost, in a House of 600 members, by only one vote; and ministers, feeling that, under such circumstances, they could not pass the measure to which they had pledged themselves, offered to resign. The king declined to accept their resignation, and begged them to proceed with the public business, and carry the Reform Bill as well as they could. In reply, they requested him to dissolve the parliament, and appeal again to the excited people, whose loud clamours for reform seemed to herald the storm of revolution. William hesitated, until he was told that some of the peers had spoken of a dissolution as a step he dared not hazard. This roused the temper of the Sailor King, and he resolved instantly to proceed to the House of Lords for that purpose. An order was given for the royal carriages to be prepared. "Never mind the carriages," exclaimed the impatient sovereign; "send for a hackney-coach."

Parliament was prorogued and dissolved the next day, in spite of the passionate bitterness and excitement of the Tory peers and commoners. Very different, however, was the feeling of the people: by them the dissolution was celebrated by illuminations; and in London an immense mob paraded the streets, and broke the windows of those houses that were not lit up. The dwellings of the Bishop of London, the Marquis of Cleveland, the Marquis of Londonderry, and Lord Grantham, were assailed. That of the Duke of Wellington was subjected to a shower of stones; but the mob retired on being informed that the Duchess of Wellington then lay dead in the house.

The election for the new parliament proceeded rapidly. Such was the feeling of the aroused people, that the Tories scarcely dared show themselves on the hustings. The new House of Commons, which met on the 14th of June, was therefore purged of many of the opponents of reform. On the 24th, Lord John Russell brought forward a new Reform Bill, or rather the old one again with a few alterations. After a great deal of debating and excitement, it was carried, on the 22nd of September, by 345 votes against 236. This news was received by the anxious crowds around the House with loud and prolonged shouts, which were repeated all over London, and through the livelong night. Soon the glad tidings reached the country, where they were received by the ringing of the church bells in merry triumph, by the waving of banners, and the dull booming of cannon.

But all this joy was premature; the bill had yet to pass the startled House of Lords; the members of which looked upon all reform as revolution, and were resolved to oppose the measure to the last. Lord Grey brought it forward, and earnestly appealed to the bishops in its favour. It was in vain; they all, with the singular exception of the Bishop of Norwich, voted against it. Petitions poured into the House of Peers in favour of the bill; and one came from the political union of Birmingham, signed by 100,000 names. Lord Wharncliffe moved that the bill be *rejected*—a mode of refusing the sanction of the House intended to imply contempt; but his motion was overruled. Lord Eldon spoke mournfully, and the Duke of Wellington bitterly, against the bill. One statesman, however—a newly-created peer, the reform Chancellor, Lord Brougham—made a noble and most impassioned oration on its behalf. For four hours he reviewed the opinions of the various speakers against the bill, in a strain of mingled reasoning and sarcasm, and concluded by imploring their lordships, on his knees, not to reject it. Notwithstanding the eloquence of the Chancellor, the efforts of the ministers, and the fear of the people, the Lords, after a debate which lasted for five nights, rejected the bill by a majority of forty-one!

This information was received by the country with a storm of passionate excitement. A majority of the House of Lords was able to defeat a measure which the people, the Commons, and the king all considered imperatively necessary. Public meetings were held all over England, and petitions sent to the king, praying him to stand by his present ministers, and to create such a number of Liberal peers as would be necessary to carry the bill through the House of Lords. Amongst the lowest of the people excitement led to violence: the windows of Apsley House were pelted with stones; the Marquis of Londonderry was assailed in a similar manner; while the obnoxious Duke of Cumberland was dragged from his horse by the mob, and would, perhaps, have lost his life had he not been rescued by the police. At Birmingham a meeting of the political union took place, at which not less than 150,000 persons were said



ELDON



BROUGHAM



COTTENHAM



LYNDHURST



LOUGHBOROUGH

to be present. All pledged themselves not to pay any taxes until the bill had passed. At Bristol a very serious riot took place on the public entry of the Tory recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, into that city to hold the sessions. In spite of the presence of the military, he was groaned at, hissed, and pelted with so much fury, that, having reached the Mansion-house and opened his commission, he was glad to escape in disguise.

His flight did not calm the excited feelings of the mob, which, the next morning—a Sunday—broke into the Mansion-house, took possession of its wine-cellars, and drank themselves either furious or insensible. The colonel of the military, a humane but timid man, refused to let the soldiers act. The result was, that the drunken mob broke open the gaols, liberated the prisoners, and burnt down the bishop's palace, the Custom-house, the Excise Office, and two sides of Queen's Square. Many of the ruffians, too drunk to move from the scene of destruction, were consumed in the blazing ruins. The citizens hastened to repress these scenes of outrage; the military were authorised to act; and after several charges had been made upon the mob, and about 100 persons killed or wounded, tranquillity was restored. About 200 prisoners were taken and tried by a special commission; eighty-one were convicted, and four suffered the penalty of death. The conduct of Colonel Breton, who commanded the troops in the first instance, was submitted to the inquiry of a military court, which excited the unhappy gentleman to such an extent, that he shot himself through the heart.

At Nottingham, also, great riots took place, and its castle was fired and plundered by a mob. This was in consequence of the extreme unpopularity of its owner, the Duke of Newcastle, who not only steadily opposed the Reform Bill, but dictated to the inhabitants of the boroughs on his estates who they should elect to represent them in parliament, and asked the insolent question, "May I not do as I like with my own?" His *own!* as if the people who rented his land were his property as well as the land itself. The leaders of the rioters who burnt Nottingham Castle escaped detection; but nine persons were convicted for other serious riots, and three of them suffered the last and most solemn penalty of the law. Great efforts were made to save them, on the ground that the crimes of which they had been guilty were not the result of premeditation, but of violent political excitement.

On the 31st of October, a large meeting of the London Political Union assembled in Lincoln's Inn Fields. On this occasion a division took place among the members, as many considered that the proposed Reform Bill did not go far enough. An immense number of working-men seceded from the London Political Union, and established a Metropolitan Union, which demanded universal suffrage, vote by ballot, and the abolition of all hereditary distinctions. To promote these objects, a meeting of all the working-men throughout the country was summoned at White Conduit House. The government took alarm, surrounded the city with troops, swore-in large bodies of special constables, and directed the magistrates to inform the most active leaders of the union that the proposed meeting was illegal. Deputies from the latter accordingly waited upon Lord Melbourne, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, to explain their views. That nobleman received them with much politeness, and, in a kindly manner, pointed out to them that many parts of the address they had issued were seditious, if not treasonable, and might subject all who attended the meeting to serious consequences. The manly frankness of the minister made such an impression on the deputies, that the idea of the great meeting was abandoned. A proclamation was soon after issued against political unions in general; but in the then excited condition of the country, little notice could be taken of it.

The king advocated the reform of parliament so far, that the people, in good-humoured allusion to his name of William, had given him the title of "Reform BILL." Immediately after that great measure had been thrown out by the House of Lords, he prorogued parliament, to give an opportunity for the bill to be again brought forward. On the 6th of December, parliament was re-opened, and on the 12th, Lord John Russell once more moved for leave to introduce a new Reform Bill. It was, of course, the old bill containing only some alterations in detail, founded upon the recent census. In consequence of the Christmas recess, the third reading did not take place until the 19th of March in the following year, the memorable 1832. It was then determined that the measure should have the milder title of "A Bill to Amend the Representation of the People of England and Wales;" and it was carried by 355 votes against 239, giving a majority of 116.

Once again was the Reform Bill brought before the House of Lords; and the nation generally awaited their decision with that strange, ominous silence which so often, in nature as in society, precedes a storm. Many of the Tory peers began to waver; and, after a debate of five nights, the second reading of the bill was carried by nine votes. The Duke of Wellington, however, who had been its most unrelenting opponent, entered a vehement protest against it on the books of the House—a protest which was signed by seventy-four other peers.

Parliament then adjourned for the Easter recess, and the country was literally convulsed with exultation and political excitement. The Birmingham Political Union convened a large meeting of all kindred associations of

the neighbouring counties, to be held at the foot of Newhall Hill. It took place on the 7th of May, when the greatest public meeting ever known in England was assembled. The people formed a procession of four miles in length, accompanied by 700 banners and 200 bands of music. A popular production in favour of liberty, called the "Union Hymn," was then sung by that vast multitude. The people uncovered their heads, and, in a solemn manner, repeated, after one of their leaders, the following words:—"With unbroken faith, through every peril and privation, we here devote ourselves and our children to our country's cause." In conclusion, a petition was presented to the House of Lords, imploring their lordships not to drive to despair a high-minded, generous, and fearless people, or to urge them, by neglecting their claims, to make demands of a more extensive nature; but rather to pass the Reform Bill into a law, unimpaired in any of its provisions, and more especially uninjured in the clauses relating to the £10 franchise. Other great meetings were held at Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Paisley, and Dundee. In London the National Union held a meeting, and got up a petition to the Lords, which declared that if the bill were rejected or mutilated, "there was reason to expect that taxes would cease to be paid, that other obligations of society would be disregarded, that the authorities would be powerless, and that the ultimate consequence might be the utter extinction of the privileged orders."

But the Lords still protracted the struggle; and, on the 7th of May, on one clause of the bill, then in committee, they obtained a majority of thirty-five against the ministry.* The defeated reform statesmen held a council, and at length resolved on advising the king to overcome the obstinacy of the Lords by the creation of a sufficient number of new peers to allow the bill to pass. William hesitated. Such an act was considered the most important use he could make of the royal prerogative. He had, besides, been alarmed by the representations of his queen, and other female relatives, who were strongly attached to the aristocratic cause, and adverse to reform. It is even said that the king shed tears; at any rate he refused to accede to the request of his ministers, and they resigned. William desired time for reflection; but the next morning they were informed that their resignation was accepted.

It was instantly reported that the king had abandoned the popular cause, and dismissed his reform ministers. Indignation, sorrow, and astonishment seized the people, and business was at an end. The streets were filled with mobs; church bells tolled dismally; public-house signs of the "King's Head" were hung with crape, and those of the "Queen" blackened. The National Union met; declared its sessions permanent; enrolled 1,200 members that evening, and 2,000 more the next day. Resolutions were passed expressing confidence in Earl Grey and his colleagues, and proclaiming any one a public enemy who should advise the dissolution of parliament. A petition was addressed to the House of Commons, praying that body to withhold all supplies until the bill should be passed. The common council and livery of London pursued a similar course; and enormous public meetings took place in all the suburbs of the metropolis. At Birmingham the excitement was most alarming, and printed placards were placed in many of the windows, stating that no taxes would be paid until the passing of the bill. Another gigantic meeting was held at Newhall Hill, when the people resolved on arming and marching upon London to demand their rights. Everywhere it seemed as if a terrible revolution was about to burst forth, and that an attempt would be made to obtain, by force of arms, that which was denied to right and reason.

The king, lately so popular, could no longer pass between London and Windsor without insult, and the fear of something worse. But the Duke of Wellington was the chief object of the national wrath. He was the leader of the anti-reformers, and had resolved upon military government. Yes! it was said, he who had once declared that he would sacrifice his life sooner than see his country the prey of civil war, was now, in his blind opposition to a just and necessary change, ready to bring down that awful infliction upon the land. Officers were ordered to join their regiments; and the Scots Grays, located at Birmingham, were employed in grinding their sabres. Immense bodies of men were expected to march from the northern and southern counties, and to encamp near London. The Scots Grays, it was rumoured, were to oppose their march; and all minds were excited and alarmed; moderate reformers blaming the steps taken, by inflammatory speeches, pamphlets, articles in newspapers, and placards, to goad on the populace to violence if their demands were refused. Providentially, the storm was at its height. The Tory peers, finding what was the state of the public feeling, refused to take office when solicited by the king, and advised him to recall the "reform ministry." He did so; and, on the 18th of May, Earl Grey and his colleagues were reinstated. A cry of joy rose up from the people, and national mourning was converted into national enthusiasm. No news of a great victory—no new Trafalgar or Waterloo—could have excited such delight. The king and Earl Grey were quite besieged with congratulatory addresses. The Lords now had only the alternative of passing the bill, or submitting to the creation of a number of new peers. To save the dignity of their order they abandoned all opposition. The Duke of Wellington and about 100 peers left the

House; and, on the 4th of June, 1832, the Reform Bill passed the Lords, received the royal assent three days afterwards, and thus became the law of the land!—Separate bills were afterwards passed for Scotland and Ireland.

Great was the joy, and brilliant the illuminations, that followed the passing of the bill. No men were so popular as Earl Grey, Lord Brougham, and Lord John Russell—no man more unpopular than the Duke of Wellington, who had won so much honour and glory for his country. When the calm came, there was disappointment with it. It was found that the Reform Bill was framed—as its opponents always declared it was—more to benefit the Whig party than the people; and, after the lapse of a very short period, the cry was raised for a further, a greater, and a more decisive change, which the Whigs shrank from making.

CHAPTER CII.

CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF WILLIAM THE FOURTH.—A.D. 1832—1837.

DURING the excitement which prevailed in England, in 1831, about the Reform Bill, the people were visited by that much-dreaded plague, the cholera morbus. Arising in Asia, this mysterious scourge (the nature of which medical science has not yet comprehended) proceeded, like some invisible giant, along the banks of the Ganges, through the north of Europe, and from thence to England. The rapidity with which its victims were carried off created much gloom and alarm. In some cases, men who had gone to their business in apparent health in the morning, were smitten and dead before the evening. The accounts of its ravages, however, seem to have been exaggerated, and the visitation was not so severe as people had been led to expect. Fear was found to be the greatest means of spreading this disease; temperance and a tranquil mind the best mode of avoiding it.

Soon after the passing of the Reform Bill, and before the excitement had cooled down, the Duke of Wellington, in paying a visit to the Mint, was not only shamefully hooted by the mob, but pelted with stones and mud. One man even seized the bridal of his horse, and endeavoured to throw the duke from his seat—an outrage he would have succeeded in but for the interference of the police. At first the duke treated the insults of the mob with stolid indifference, saying he did not mind what was going on; but he was afterwards compelled to take refuge in the chambers of Sir Charles Wetherell, in Lincoln's Inn, until the assistance of a body of police could be procured to see him safely to Apsley House. His grace covered the windows of that house with iron, to protect them and himself from the unthinking violence of the metropolitan populace; and these iron safeguards remained till after his death. This last outrage upon the duke occurred on the 18th of June, the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo—a day when his services ought to have been remembered, and at least have protected him from insult. The next day, the king, while attending Ascot races, had some stones thrown at him by a discharged and wooden-legged Greenwich pensioner. The act did not proceed from political motives, but because the man had sent a petition to the king, to which no attention had been paid. Collins, the pensioner, was placed on his trial for high treason, but declared to be insane, and sent to a lunatic asylum.

During the Midsummer of 1832, the son of the great Napoleon went to his grave. As his mother, Maria Louisa, was an Austrian princess, the lad had been brought up in that court with the title of the Duc de Reichstadt. He was kept in extreme seclusion, and educated in a manner calculated to make him forget the startling and gorgeous career of his father. He knew something, however, of the greatness of that extraordinary man. On one occasion, the young prince, while at his lessons, appeared lost in thought, and, on his tutor drawing his attention to the subject before him, he struck his forehead impatiently, and exclaimed, "What do they want with me?—can they imagine I have my father's head?" In the autumn of the year 1831, he was attacked by a prevailing epidemic, and died on the 22nd of July in the following year, having, shortly before, reached his twenty-first birthday.

The English people were gratified with a new election, that they might see the Reform Bill in action; and the first reformed parliament met on the 29th of January, 1833. A number of members of Liberal politics were elected, and great hopes were entertained of the good that was to be done. Catholic emancipation had not succeeded in producing tranquillity in Ireland. It was, indeed, scarcely to be supposed that it should;

and that distracted country was in a wretched condition. The maintenance, by force, of a Protestant established church, in a country almost entirely Catholic, was a source of constant violence, amounting nearly to civil war. In many places it was found impossible to obtain payment of the tithes, and not a few of the collectors were murdered. The perpetrators of outrages of this kind were not only concealed, but applauded by an ignorant and savage peasantry. To remedy this, the government determined upon strong coercive measures; but, to render them palatable, it also brought forward an act for a reform of the Irish church. Two archbishoprics, ten bishoprics, together with the sinecure deaneries, chapters, and benefices attached to them, were to be abolished. Means were, however, taken that spiritual teaching should be attended to by the amalgamation of dioceses. This could easily be done; for there were 200 benefices, each containing less than twenty-five Protestants; and 157 others, in which there were no congregations at all. After much opposition, and some alterations, this bill passed.

Earl Grey introduced his Coercion Bill by an account of many shocking murders and cruelties that had occurred in Ireland: and he showed that juries dared not convict assassins, for fear of the vengeance of the mob. At Kilkenny, he said, a jury had manifested such apprehension, that they were assured their names should be concealed as much as possible. A list of their names, however, had been obtained, and, within half-an-hour of their retiring from the jury-box, a placard was put forth containing that list, headed with the words, "Blood! blood! blood!" To put an end to these proceedings, Earl Grey asked for such a bill to be passed as, under other circumstances, might be considered an attack on the liberties of the people. It was intended, however, only for the preservation of life and property, and to cease when tranquillity was restored to Ireland. Long and fierce debates followed; and the bill was violently opposed by the Irish members, especially by Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Shiel, the latter exclaiming, "Forbear! while there is yet time, forbear! With the same staff with which you strike our liberties to the core, you will commit suicide upon your own." On the ministerial side, it was represented that, to withhold the required power, was to offer encouragement to violence and murder. Sir Robert Peel truly remarked, that to make the wealthy feel they were safe, would afford more relief to the labouring classes, than confiscating all the property in the country. The bill was eventually carried, though in a milder form than at first proposed.

Trading in slaves by English vessels had been abolished in the year 1807; but, unhappily, negro slavery still existed in our colonies in the West Indies. The negroes had risen in insurrection, and demanded their emancipation—a demand which was re-echoed by the people of England. The ministers proposed that the slaves should acquire their liberty by degrees, that they might not fall into excesses from the too sudden possession of so inestimable a blessing. They proposed that negro children born after a certain day, and all who were then under six years of age, should be free; but that all others should be compelled to labour for a fixed period for their present owners, under certain conditions. Twenty millions of money were voted for the compensation of the planters for the loss of their *human* property. This was much censured by many, who considered that the planters had no right to compensation, because slavery was unnatural; for, as all men were equally regarded by the Deity, no man could have a property in the person of another. The twenty millions, however, was voted; and, on the 1st of August, 1834, the slaves of the West Indies were declared free men. It says much for the moderation and intelligence of the negroes, that that day was passed by them in thanksgivings to God for their deliverance, and not in frantic revelling, or the formation of plans of vengeance against their late owners.

One of the great advocates of negro emancipation was Lord Brougham, who assisted the cause by some brilliant and eloquent orations. But while advocating the cause of humanity abroad, he did not forget that of reform at home. He endeavoured to make law cheap and accessible to the poor man as well as to the rich one; and he laboured zealously in behalf of national education. He also addressed himself to the abolition of the abuses of the court over which he presided—a court whose very name has become associated with the ruin of suitors and the indefinite postponement of justice;—we need scarcely say, the "eternal" Court of Chancery. He procured a bill to be passed, by which *thirteen* offices in that corrupt court were abolished;—thirteen unnecessary offices, which cost, together with some other evils he put an end to, no less than £70,000 a year!

Many other good measures were passed by the first reform ministry; among the most important of them being the act for amending the poor-laws. Those then existing, though very humanely meant, had been the cause of a great deal of mischief. While they encouraged pauperism, they degraded the independent labourer, and nearly caused the ruin of tradesmen by exorbitant and oppressive rates. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, a statute had been made to provide for the poor, who, before the destruction of the monasteries, during the reign of her father, had been fed at the gates of those establishments. This had remained unaltered until the thirty-sixth year of the reign of George III. An act was then framed, on the principle that relief to paupers ought to be given in such a manner as to place

them in a situation of comfort. To magistrates and overseers was granted the power of giving relief to the poor at their own dwellings. This humane regulation was abused in the most disgraceful manner. Numbers of stout, hearty, agricultural labourers preferred living in idleness, on what they could obtain from the parish, to working for their bread like honest men. Farmers beat down the wages of their labourers by telling them to go to the parish, and obtain as charity a part of that sum which they ought to have received as payment for their toil. The morals of the poor were also seriously affected, because every woman of loose behaviour received a small sum per week for each of her illegitimate children. To such an extent was this carried, that some worthless women actually lived upon the offspring of their guilt. The result of this misplaced benevolence was, that poor-rates had risen to such a height, that they came to be regarded as a second rent, which pressed so heavily upon the industrious, that many parishes were abandoned; tradesmen fell to the grade of servants; servants fell back upon the parish: and pauperism was growing more extensive every day.

To put an end to these evils, the new act proposed a central commission, which should possess authority to make general rules and orders as to the mode of relief, and for the regulation of workhouses. Out-door relief was to cease; and those who were old, sick, or destitute, were to be provided for within the workhouse. These establishments were to be regulated in such a manner, that they would no longer be perverted from their true use. They were to be a refuge for the really destitute, and not a home for idle vagabonds. Parishes with only a small number of paupers were to be joined to neighbouring ones with many, that, by means of these unions, rates might be equalised.—The act met with much opposition; but it was passed into a law in August, 1834.

Some altercations arising out of the Irish Coercion Bill, together with the impatience of the people for rapid reforms, and his own advanced age, induced Lord Grey to resign his post as prime minister. The venerable statesman said that, in the preceding March, he had completed his seventieth year; and at that period of life, a man, though he might be able to discharge the duties of office under ordinary circumstances, must feel, in a state of affairs like the present, that they were too much for his strength. The premier had disappointed the expectations of the people, and lost much of his popularity, especially with the dissenters. They had supported him zealously in the struggle for reform, and, in return, expected relief from certain odious restrictions to which they were subject. Their expectations were not realised. The reform ministry was not so powerful as the high-church party; and dissenters were still excluded from the universities, subject to church-rates, and compelled to celebrate their marriages in the parish church.

Lord Melbourne, a Whig nobleman, succeeded Earl Grey as prime minister, and England had still a Liberal government. Lord Melbourne was to guide the vessel of state but for a brief period. In August, 1834, parliament was prorogued.

An incident that occurred in the preceding spring had done much towards bringing the reform ministry into odium with the poorer sort of people. Trades' unions had become formidable associations, and the fashion had extended itself even among the agricultural labourers. The ministry resolved to strike a blow at the system; and accordingly six Dorchester labourers were indicted, under an obsolete statute, and sentenced to seven years' transportation, for being members of an illegal society; that is, a trade union, as officers of which they had administered unlawful oaths to their companions. This circumstance created great excitement; and a meeting of the trades' unionists of London took place in Copenhagen Fields, to prepare a petition to the king for a recall of the Dorchester labourers. The same day, the petition was taken to Lord Melbourne at the Home Office, by a procession of 30,000 men, decorated with ribbons, and bearing banners. That nobleman declined to receive a petition presented in such a way; but added that, if it were brought forward another day, in a becoming manner, he would lay it before the king. Great fear had been entertained that such an enormous assemblage of working-men would break into riot; but they all separated peaceably. The petition was afterwards quietly presented, and the Dorchester labourers were pardoned.

In the autumn of 1834, on the evening of the 16th of October, a fire broke forth, which terminated in the utter destruction of both Houses of Parliament. The conflagration spread with such rapidity and fury, that it was feared the noble and venerable edifice of Westminster Hall would also be destroyed. By great efforts it was saved, together with a portion of the library and records of the House of Commons; but many documents of historical interest were lost. The principal work of destruction was accomplished in a few hours; but it was a week before the fire was quite extinguished. Suspicions were entertained that it was the work of an incendiary; but, upon inquiry, it was proved that the fire arose from over-heating the stoves. St. Stephen's chapel, or the old House of Commons, was a mean, dingy apartment, by no means large enough to accommodate all the members comfortably. Its loss was therefore not much regretted, especially as some attempts had already been made for the erection of a new one. The present gorgeous pile, which seems to rear its richly-carved walls and towers out of the river that

washes its base, looks a building fit to contain the assembled representatives of a great and free people.

Before parliament reassembled Lord Melbourne was no longer prime minister, and the reform cabinet was broken up. Lord Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, having, by the death of his father, been called to take his seat in the House of Peers as Earl Spencer, it was necessary to appoint a new Chancellor. Lord Melbourne informed the king that he should have some difficulty in doing so, when William unexpectedly told him that he would take that trouble off his hands, as the services of his party were no longer required. It was on the 14th of November, 1834, that the Whig ministry was dismissed.

King William applied to the Duke of Wellington, who recommended that the post of first minister should be offered to Sir Robert Peel. Special messengers were sent to that gentleman, who was on a tour in Italy, and, until his arrival, the duke conducted the affairs of the country, much to the alarm and astonishment of the Whig party, who thought such conduct both arrogant and dangerous. But Wellington's popularity was returning; and public affairs never worked more smoothly than during the short time (from the 15th of November to the 9th of December) that the duke stood alone at the helm. When the new cabinet was completed, Sir Robert Peel was First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; Lord Lyndhurst became Lord Chancellor; and the Duke of Wellington presided at the Foreign Office. Other members of the ministry held Tory opinions; but the term Tory—at the suggestion, some say, of Sir Robert Peel, while others attribute it to Dr. Southey, the poet-laureate—was changed for that of Conservative. Under the new title, the leaders professed that their policy was, to conserve or preserve our institutions in church and state, and to promote the progress of improvement in every way.

Sir Robert Peel published a letter to his constituents at Tamworth (intended for the whole country), containing a programme of his principles. In it he denied that he had ever been a defender of abuses, or an enemy to judicious reforms. Having alluded to his efforts for the amendment of our criminal law, and for other reforms, he said—"I appeal to these as a proof that I have not been disposed to acquiesce in acknowledged evils, either from the mere superstitious reverence for ancient usages, or from the dread of labour or responsibility in the application of a remedy. But the Reform Bill, it is said, constitutes a new era; and it is the duty of a minister to declare explicitly, first, whether he will maintain the bill itself; and, secondly, whether he will act upon the spirit in which it was conceived. With respect to the Reform Bill itself, I will repeat now the declaration which I made when I entered the House of Commons as a member of the reformed parliament—that I consider the Reform Bill a final and irrevocable settlement of a great and constitutional question—a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of this country would attempt to disturb, either by direct or insidious means."

Parliament was dissolved; a general election took place; the new House of Commons was unfavourable to a Conservative ministry; and the legislature assembled on the 9th of February. The Conservatives had been considerably increased by the elections: still the Whigs and Liberals (as the more advanced party was called) outnumbered them; and Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues, being repeatedly left in minorities, and finding themselves unable to carry on the government, resigned on the 7th of April, having held office for a few months only. Sir Robert retired with graceful dignity, and Lord Melbourne once again became prime minister; the leading members of his late cabinet resumed their places; and Lord John Russell became leader in the House of Commons.

After much discussion, a bill was carried to provide for municipal reform; the Irish church was talked about; and parliament was then prorogued. Many other matters of little interest occupied the attention of government during 1836; but one important act was passed concerning the church of England. It was for regulating the great inequalities of ecclesiastical incomes. Lord John Russell said that the income of the see of Canterbury amounted to £18,090; that of Durham, £19,480; London, £13,890; while those of Llandaff, Oxford, and Rochester, only amounted to £1,170, £1,600, and £1,450. The new bill arranged that no bishop should receive less than £4,500 a year; and that, with a few exceptions, none should receive more than £5,500. The exceptions were—that the Archbishop of Canterbury should receive £15,000 a year; the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London, £10,000 each; the Bishop of Durham, £8,000; and the Bishop of Winchester, £7,000.

Early in 1837, it was known that the health of the king was declining. For some years he had been subject to an asthmatic disease called the hay fever—a disorder, however, from which he had been free since his accession until that year. So feeble had be become, that his physicians were kept in constant attendance upon him, and he became at length aware that his death was not very distant. The latter part of his life was occupied with devotion; and his last act as a sovereign was to sign a pardon to a condemned criminal. He desired to see his illegitimate children; received the sacrament from the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and at length, sinking into a lethargy, expired so tranquilly, that the attendants could not tell the



precise moment at which he breathed his last. He died on the 20th of June, 1837, in the seventy-third year of his age, having reigned seven years all but a few days.

William IV. was a well-disposed, good-natured, and easy prince, who loved his people, and did his best for their prosperity. With regard to the Reform Bill, he was liberal beyond what might have been expected of a sovereign, until the conduct of the violent demagogues of the day caused him to believe that reform meant revolution. Then, for a brief time, he wavered; but he yielded sooner than hazard the peace of the nation.

No serious charge has been brought against William, except that of permitting Mrs. Jordan to die in poverty. The sternest morality, or the most severe economy, could scarcely have been offended by his bestowing such a moderate pension on the mother of his children as would have allowed her to spend her last days in comfortable retirement. William also wanted firmness and consistency; but no English sovereign ever lived whose character was more free from the dark spots of tyranny and cruelty. His manners were simple and open; he was devoid of that austerity and dignity which is generally considered almost necessary to royalty; and the memory of William IV. will not be remembered with the less respect or kndly feeling because he was a bluff, plain, outspoken, hearty old sailor.

CHAPTER CIII.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1837, 1838.



N the same day that King William breathed his last, his niece, the PRINCESS ALEXANDRINA VICTORIA, then virtually Queen of England, met the privy council in the state apartments at Kensington Palace. Having taken the usual oaths, and received the homage of her uncles and other nobles, she read an address, in which, after referring to the solemn responsibility that had devolved upon her, and expressing a hope that Divine Providence would give her strength for the performance of it, she continued—"Educated in England, under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country. It will be my unceasing study to maintain the reformed religion as by law established, securing, at the same time, to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty; and I shall steadily protect the rights, and promote, to the utmost of my power, the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects."

The following day—the 21st of June—she was proclaimed Queen of England. As she could not succeed to the crown of Hanover because the Salic law, which excluded women, prevailed there, that kingdom fell to her eldest uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, the most unpopular member of the royal family. Few persons regretted his departure from England.

The new sovereign was not only popular, but generally beloved by her people. It was long since the English throne possessed so interesting an occupant. The queen had attained the eighteenth anniversary of her birthday on the 24th of May—scarcely a month before her accession to regal honours. She had some claims to be considered beautiful, and was both amiable and accomplished. She soon, also, gave indications of an intelligence and self-possession not commonly possessed by young ladies of her age. On attending the House of Lords to prorogue parliament, she read her speech with a composure and dignity which created both pleasure and surprise in her listeners. Shortly afterwards she took up her residence at Windsor Castle, when a lady of rank, who held a high situation about her person, was on more than one occasion a few minutes behind the hour at which her official duties required her presence. One day the laggard found the queen waiting her arrival with her watch in her hand. The noble attendant expressed a fear that she had kept her majesty waiting. The queen replied that such was the case—told her how many minutes she had been expected, and, adding that she required punctuality in those about her person, desired that it might not be again lost sight of. The lady seemed hurt by the reproof, and became embarrassed in the arrangement of the queen's shawl, when the latter assisted her attendant, and said kindly, "We are new to our situations; we shall all become more perfect in our parts, I hope."

Other incidents occurred, which showed not only the intelligence of the young queen, but her desire justly to discharge the important duties connected with her exalted station. Lord Melbourne, the prime minister, presented eighteen documents for her to sign, having previously given in a list containing only sixteen. The

queen noticed the difference of the numbers, and was informed by the minister that a necessity had arisen since the list was handed in for two additional papers. "Then I must retain them," promptly replied her majesty; "I sign nothing without being fully aware of its purport." On another occasion, a nobleman having submitted something to her, was urging its expediency, when he was stopped by the queen's exclaiming, "My lord, I have been taught simply to consider what is right and wrong. Expediency is a word which I do not wish to hear or understand."

Though the Whig ministers were restored to office, they were not restored to popularity. The people were dissatisfied with them, as they found them as unwilling as the Tories had been to grant the additional reforms called for, or to sanction such changes and innovations as the Liberals deemed beneficial. Consequently, in a general election which took place, the Conservatives gained strength considerably. When the new parliament met, on the 17th of July, a violent party contest began. Sir Francis Burdett, the once fiery advocate of liberty, abandoned his principles in his old age, and, amidst much laughter, took his seat among the Conservatives. Early in this session also, a young orator, who had previously distinguished himself as a writer of fiction, made his first speech in the House of Commons, and was received with an amount of ridicule and gross rudeness of which it is hardly possible to suppose an assembly of gentlemen could be guilty. The speaker was Mr. Disraeli, who, after in vain contending with groans, hisses, laughter, and incoherent cries, sat down with the assertion that the time would come when they would listen to him. That prediction he has worthily fulfilled.

Before the close of the year 1837, news arrived of a rebellion in the colony of Canada. Many unredressed grievances had induced the Canadians to appeal to arms against their rulers; and the colony was then in military occupation. Many members of parliament justified the proceedings of the Canadians, and believed the struggle would end by their imitating the conduct of the Americans, and declaring their independence. Lord John Russell defended the English government; declared that the case of the Canadians bore no resemblance whatever to that of the Americans; and protested against abandoning the colony, as the enemies of England would then exclaim that its sun was sunk in clouds and darkness.—Ultimately, an adequate force was employed; the rebellion was suppressed; and there are now no more loyal subjects of the British crown than the Canadians.

In the spring of 1838, a circumstance occurred more in harmony with the events of the rude ages of English history than with those of this country in the nineteenth century. Some years previously, a mysterious-looking man had taken up his residence at an inn at Canterbury. He dressed in an Oriental costume, wore a long beard, arranged his hair in imitation of that of the Saviour, and called himself Sir William Courtney, though it afterwards appeared that his name was John Thom. Wonderful stories were told of his unbounded wealth and generosity. These, together with some wild religious addresses which he made to the common people, gained him so much popularity, that he started a weekly publication called *The Lion;* offered himself to represent Canterbury in parliament; and obtained 350 votes in the Conservative interest. Subsequently he was convicted of perjury, and sentenced to seven years' transportation; but, on its being discovered that he was not in his right mind, he was removed from gaol, and placed in the county lunatic asylum.

For some years nothing more was heard of Thom, when, to people's surprise, he again made his appearance in Kent. He soon won the favour of the farmers, by stating that he was a man of high birth, entitled to some of the finest estates in the county, which, when he obtained, they should live upon rent free. The madman added, that they were oppressed by tyrants, against whom he would lead them, and accomplish, not only political, but religious reform. In consequence of these assertions, nearly 100 persons, most of them farm labourers, consented to march under his banners. This success induced him to advance his pretensions, and he actually declared himself the Saviour of the world. To support this profane assumption, he asserted that he was invulnerable; that neither sword or bullet could injure him; and he pointed to some scars in his hands, which, he said, had been caused by the nails that held him to the cross on Mount Calvary.

On the 28th of May, Thom and his followers started from the village of Boughton, and marched about the country without any apparent object. At length a farmer, whose labourers he had driven away from their work, obtained a constable to induce them to return to their duties. When the poor officer made his appearance, Thom, after a short conversation, shot him with a pistol, then stabbed him with a dagger, and finally threw the body into a ditch. This shocking event caused general alarm, and the military were sent for from Canterbury. Thom and his followers, in the meantime, retired to Bossenden Wood, where they were found by the soldiers and the magistrates. As Lieutenant Bennett advanced at the head of the military, Thom deliberately drew out a pistol and shot him dead also. The soldiers instantly avenged the deed by firing; the madman was mortally wounded, and expired, exclaiming triumphantly, "I have Jesus in my heart." Ten of the ignorant labourers who followed him were also killed, and others severely wounded. Such was the

besotted superstition of these people, that one of them who was taken prisoner, declared that he and his associates would not have hesitated to attack 2,000 soldiers, such reliance did they place in Thom's assurance, that those who believed in him could not be shot. The belief of others was not shaken even by his death, and for some weeks they expected he would rise again. He had predicted that such would be the case if some water was put between his lips, in the event of anything happening to him. Accordingly a poor woman washed his face, and poured water into his mouth, as he lay upon the ground, immediately after receiving the bullet that put an end to his mischievous life. She had followed him for that purpose, for more than half a mile, with a pail of water. Twenty-three of the maniac's followers were captured, and committed to Feversham gaol. Of these, three were transported, and six suffered a year's imprisonment.

It is pleasing to turn from this event to one which has been an incalculable blessing to the nation—the adoption of Mr. Rowland Hill's scheme of a uniform postage of 1*d.* The circumstances which led to the adoption of this new postal system were rather curious. We will tell them in the language of that delightful authoress and noble-minded lady, Harriet Martineau:—"It is related that Mr. Rowland Hill, being one day walking through the Lake district, saw a postman present a letter to a female at a cottage door, who, having looked at the superscription, said it was from her brother, but declined taking it in, as the postage, which came to 1*s.*, she was unable to pay. Mr. Hill kindly paid the postage, though the woman was not willing that he should do so; and, when the postman had retired, she told him what he had done was useless, and, opening the letter, she showed it was merely a blank sheet of paper, sent by agreement from her relation, as was his practice once a quarter, to intimate that he was well, without expense to her, as it was understood she would decline to receive it. This incident led Mr. Hill to think that the postage system was defective; and subsequent inquiries more than confirmed the impression thus produced. To save postage numerous artifices had been resorted to. In some cases, paper of a particular colour gave a sort of telegraphic hint, for which the recipient took care not to pay. As newspapers were sent post free, parties in town corresponded with their friends in the country by marking different words, so as to make known what they desired to indicate. Several letters were frequently written upon one sheet, which, sent from the country, were to be separated and delivered to various individuals in London; and numerous letters, in various ways, were smuggled to town in coaches, passage boats, and parcels."

Mr. Hill first published his plan in 1837. In 1838, a committee of the House of Commons declared in its favour. The bill, substituting the penny for the old rates of postage, was passed in 1839; and, on the 10th of January, 1840, it came into operation.

The coronation of the Queen, which had been for some time deferred, took place at length on the 28th of June, 1838. The day was observed as one of national rejoicing by all ranks of people, and the fineness of the Midsummer weather contributed to the general enjoyment. The ceremony was performed with great magnificence, and throughout the Queen behaved with much grace, self-possession, and dignity. A grand fair was held in Hyde Park, in honour of the event. It was continued during several days, and honoured by a visit from her majesty. On the evening of the day of coronation all the theatres were opened gratuitously, and brilliant exhibitions of fireworks took place in the parks.

Notwithstanding all the loyalty displayed towards the Queen, discontent was at work among the working classes of the kingdom. Poor men were told that the Reform Bill had done little or nothing for them, and taught to accuse the government of legislating for classes instead of for the whole nation; considerable distress prevailed; the action of the new poor-law (just and necessary as it was) produced much discontent; great numbers of people entered into political combinations, and demanded a new, more extensive, and, indeed, sweeping Reform Bill, to be called the People's Charter. This document consisted of five propositions, called the five points of the charter: they were—annual parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, no property qualification, and the payment of members. A sixth point—the demand for equal electoral districts—was afterwards added.

On the 6th of August, 1838, an immense open-air meeting of Chartists was held at Holloway Head, near Birmingham. Delegates from the working-men of London, Liverpool, Leeds, Lancashire, and Yorkshire attended, and it was supposed that as many as 200,000 persons were present. The proceedings opened with a prayer; and after the adoption of what was called a "national petition" to parliament, that the People's Charter should become the law of the land, the crowd separated in peace. Other vast meetings succeeded this; and it was at length understood, that if what were called the people's rights were not yielded to them, they were to be wrested from the government by force. Mr. Feargus O'Connor, an Irish barrister (who subsequently became an inmate of a lunatic asylum, where he died), was a very active speaker at these assemblies. At a meeting of the London Chartists in Palace Yard, Westminster, he declared that, "rather than see the people oppressed—rather than see the constitution violated with impunity while the people were

in want—if no other man would do so, he would himself lead them to death or glory. Let the moral-force men take that, and let it set them a good moral example." This mischievous boasting was, however, outdone by the Rev. J. Stephens, a Wesleyan minister, at a Chartist meeting at Kersall Moor, Manchester. After a great deal of nonsense, which could only be palatable to very ignorant men, he said—"I am speaking to hundreds of thousands, three out of four of whom have, in all probability, left their arms at home to-day. And why have you left them at home? Because you were afraid to bring them?" To this unfair and unnecessary question, the excited people not unnaturally cried out, "No! no!" and the orator continued in the same inflammatory manner.

To demand even the most reasonable thing in this violent and unreasonable way, was the best mode of alarming people hitherto indifferent, and of exciting the opposition of the government. As the winter approached, these meetings, instead of being discontinued, were held by torch-light, the glare of which added a solemnity to the proceedings, and excited fears of incendiarism and insurrection in the minds of all moderate men. In November, Lord John Russell desired the magistrates in the north to notify that such meetings were illegal; and the following month the Queen issued a proclamation, warning all peaceful subjects to keep away from them. The Chartists replied, that they had no place to meet in but the open air, and no time except in the evening, after their daily labour.

At the time of these Chartist movements, a serious dispute broke out between the English and the Chinese. The government of the latter people was much opposed to the injurious practice of smoking opium, which was very general among them. This opium was a principal article of traffic between them and our East India merchants. The Chinese authorities had frequently complained of the importation of opium; but, as this produced no effect, in 1838 they prohibited our merchants from continuing the trade. This they had a perfect right to do; but the tone of their edicts was regarded as extremely bombastic and insulting. As a warning, also, two unfortunate native dealers in opium were strangled in front of the English factories. An angry feeling was speedily generated between the Chinese government and the merchants; and a report was presented to the emperor, gravely proposing to destroy the foreigners in their dens in England, by not allowing them to buy any tea or rhubarb, without which they believed the barbarians, as they called them, would soon perish. The Chinese, in all their dealings with the English, treated them as an inferior race, and spoke of them as "barbarians," destitute of both reason and honesty.

The haughtiness and pretended contempt of the Chinese was laughed at by the merchants, and opium continued to be smuggled into the Celestial Empire, till, in 1839, Commissioner Lin issued an edict, demanding that all the opium on board the British ships should be delivered up to the government, that it might be destroyed. He at the same time intimated, that if this demand was not complied with, the barbarians would be overwhelmed by numbers and massacred. The supplies of provisions, also, were cut off, and the English factories placed in a state of blockade by an arc of boats, filled with armed men. Under these circumstances, the English merchants, at the advice of their superintendent, Captain Elliot, surrendered upwards of 20,000 chests of opium. The state of blockade then ceased, and the English were commanded to retire. Captain Elliot, however, wrote to Lord Auckland, the governor-general of India, for such ships of war as he could spare for the protection of life and property.

In an affray between some English sailors and Chinese villagers, one of the latter was killed. Commissioner Lin demanded that the man who caused the death of the Chinese should be delivered up, that he might be put to death also. This was refused, and Lin issued an edict prohibiting any provisions to be supplied to the English; and, shortly afterwards, another against the importation of any British goods. Other differences followed; and, in November, 1839, Admiral Kwan, with a fleet of twenty-nine Chinese war-junks, prepared to attack the English. This fleet was fired upon by the *Volage* and *Hyacinth*, two English ships of war, when, after a brief conflict, one junk blew up, three were sunk, and the rest retired, having had quite as much fighting as they cared for. The Chinese, however, had the impudence to represent that they had obtained a victory.

Though the English government could not approve of smuggling opium into China, yet the ministers considered it was their duty to demand reparation for the destruction of so great an amount of property belonging to English merchants. An expedition was therefore sent to China, in the spring of 1840, to enforce this demand, and also to compel the Chinese government to respect those international laws which are observed by all civilised countries. When the English fleet, consisting of fifteen ships, besides transports, arrived, the Chinese made an attempt to burn it by means of fire-rafts. As this failed, they proposed to employ expert divers, who should climb up the English ships at night and massacre every one they found. This daring scheme was not put into practice. Another attempt of this kind very nearly produced fatal results. The Chinese prepared a boat-load of poisoned tea, in

small parcels, which they sent off to be sold to the English sailors. It so happened, however, that this tea was seized by Chinese pirates, and sold to people of their own nation, many of whom died in consequence of using it.—The events of the war in this year were unimportant. A truce was agreed to at the close, and negotiations for peace commenced. While these proceedings were being settled, an imperial decree was issued by the emperor on the 6th of January, 1841, ordering all British ships and men to be destroyed; and offering rewards and honours to any of the Chinese who should capture an English man-of-war, or to any one who should cut off an Englishman's head. This edict caused the war to be resumed. We will give the result in another chapter.

CHAPTER CIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1838—1846.



LET us look back to an event which took place in London early in 1838. One bitter winter's night—the 10th of January—a part of the Royal Exchange was discovered to be on fire. In consequence of the high wind, and the difficulty of procuring water, the flames spread rapidly, and the destruction of the whole building soon became inevitable. At midnight the old peal of bells chimed, for the last time, the tunes of "There's nae luck about the house," "Life let us cherish," and "God save the Queen." Shortly afterwards, the blazing tower in which they were contained fell with a dismal crash, and the ponderous bells, weighing eighteen hundredweight, were hurled through the roof, carrying everything before them. The inner walls soon after fell with a terrific noise, burying beneath them the statues of the kings and queens of England. During the conflagration, the flames rose to such a height as to be seen at Windsor Castle; and before the end of the following day, the great pile was reduced to bare blackened walls, and heaps of still-burning ruins.

The English had become engaged in war with a people in India, whom they found to be a very different sort of enemy to the Chinese. These enemies were the Seiks and the Afghans, the most warlike races of India. The dispute arose out of a contest between two native princes, Dost Mahomed and Shah Sujah, for the monarchy of Afghanistan, in which the English espoused the cause of the latter, the unpopular candidate. The quarrel was complicated by the interference of both Persia and Russia, the latter being suspected of intriguing to obtain an entrance into our Indian possessions. The usual military successes of the English seemed, for a time, to have deserted them; and the retreat of 17,000 persons, consisting of soldiers and camp followers, from Cabul to Jellalabad, in January, 1842, through a chain of mountain passes, is one of the most awful events chronicled in the blood-red annals of war. The most dreaded of the defiles alluded to was the Khyber Pass, through which, it was reported, Akbar Khan (the second son of Dost Mahomed, who was at the head of a numerous force) had threatened only one man should go alive, and that he should be set down there with his limbs chopped off, and a letter in his mouth warning the infidel foreigners never again to set foot in Afghanistan. Akbar Khan nearly kept his word: the women and children were consigned to him on a solemn promise of protection; but of the men, on the seventh day of the retreat, only one arrived—and he more like a spectre than a man—at the English garrison at Jellalabad. With the exception of a few who returned to Cabul, all the rest had perished.

General Sale, who commanded the English at Jellalabad, was at length relieved by General Pollock, who fought his way through the Khyber Pass, in September, 1842. Akbar Khan was defeated; Shah Sujah was murdered; Dost Mahomed became sovereign of Afghanistan; the English abandoned Cabul; peace was restored, and then broken; other battles were fought; and at length, after a frightful loss of life on both sides, the enemy was vanquished, a great tract of land annexed to the British dominion, and the famous diamond, called the Koh-i-nor, or Mountain of Light (the symbol of Indian empire), taken among the spoils, and brought to England.

Early in 1838, the attention of the government was called to the state of Ireland by the unprovoked murder of Lord Norbury, an amiable nobleman and kind landlord, who was shot from behind a hedge while walking in the shrubbery on his estate at Kilbeggan. The assassination was not committed from a desire of revenge or of plunder, but appeared to be part of a diabolical plot, in which the great body of the Irish peasantry were concerned, to wrest the land from its

rightful owners, and abolish rent by murdering the landlords, or whoever dared to assert his right to his own property by ejecting tenants that would not pay. It is very shocking to have to relate, that the fearful and irrevocable crime of murder was actually approved of by immense masses of the people; that no one would inform or give evidence against the ruffians who committed it; but, on the contrary, screened them from the hands of justice, and even applauded their crimes. An awful catalogue of murders of this character was brought before the notice of parliament, and the appalling statement made that twenty murders were committed, in the county of Tipperary alone, in the brief space of a single month. Lord Morpeth, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, vindicated the government from the charge that the state of Ireland was the result of the legislation of the existing ministry. Property, he said, had its duties as well as its rights; and he felt bound to warn those who possessed it, that there were provocations which, while the condition of Ireland continued to be what it had long been, would arouse resistance. There were sufferings which would defy endurance. It was the opinion of his colleagues that no unusual mode of strengthening the law in Ireland ought to be resorted to without great caution: and he felt they must first alter the condition of the people before they could improve their morals.

For many years a duty had been imposed on foreign corn, when imported into this country; and as this tax had the effect of raising the price of bread, and also, it was asserted, of reducing employment in manufacturing districts, the "corn-laws" became very unpopular. Great discontent was raised, and the cry became general that the people were denied cheap bread to add to the wealth of the landed aristocracy. In September, 1838, fifty or sixty gentlemen at Manchester formed themselves into an association called the "Anti-Corn-Law League." When parliament opened in 1839, numbers of petitions were presented for the repeal of the corn-laws; and Lord Brougham moved that the Lords should hear evidence upon the subject, and inquire into it. But it was supposed that, although a repeal of the corn-laws might benefit the people, it would lower the rent of land; and, as nearly all the Lords were land-owners, the motion was rejected at once. A similar motion was then brought forward, by Mr. Villiers, in the House of Commons; but it was strongly opposed by Sir Robert Peel, and rejected there, also, by a large majority. The members of the Anti-Corn-Law League, however, were not discouraged, and they resolved to appeal from parliament to the people. They sent lecturers and tracts about the country explaining the subject; they held great public meetings for the same purpose; and even enlisted the ladies in the cause, by means of immense tea parties. So great was their activity, that, in a little while, the Anti-Corn-Law League became a power in the land; and the question, complicated as it seemed at first, was becoming clearly understood by the millions.

The demand of the working classes, that the document they called the People's Charter should become the law of the land, was not lost sight of. The agitation for the People's Charter was kept up with that for the repeal of the corn-laws. In May, 1839, a body of delegates from the working-men of Great Britain commenced their sittings in London, under the title of the National Convention. These people encountered much obloquy; but they seem to have been earnest in a desire to benefit their class, by obtaining for them the political privileges enumerated in the charter. Under their direction, an enormous petition—a "national petition"—was prepared, carried in procession, and presented to the House of Commons on the 14th of June. It was said to have contained 1,200,000 signatures, and it prayed that the charter should become law. It was so large, that it was obliged to be rolled into the House by half-a-dozen Radical members, who were its advocates. There it was received with respect; but the House declined entering upon a consideration of its various points at once, because it would occupy too much time.

Meanwhile the violence of the people prevented it from being paid attention to. The Chartists of Birmingham broke out into such a serious riot, that sixty armed police were sent from London to assist in keeping the peace. On their arrival, they immediately proceeded to an open space called the Bullring, and dispersed a large body of Chartists—a feat they were unable to accomplish without a violent conflict, and the assistance of the military. This event caused great excitement, and the Chartist Convention at London issued an inflammatory resolution, expressing its conviction that a wanton and unjust outrage had been made upon the people of Birmingham by the employment of the metropolitan police. For issuing this resolution, which the ministry regarded as a libel, Messrs. Lovett and Collins, secretaries of the Chartist Convention, were arrested, and each eventually suffered a year's imprisonment.

The refusal of the House of Commons to take the charter into consideration, caused a renewal of the disturbances at Birmingham. Great meetings were dispersed by the military; some of the crowd received serious wounds, and their excited feelings rose to madness. At first, windows and street lamps were smashed; then houses, belonging to persons obnoxious to the Chartists, were broken into; and, finally, several were burnt. The town was thrown into the greatest alarm.

and it was some days before order could be restored. Large assemblies leading to riots took place in other towns, especially at Sheffield, where the Chartists marched through the town in solemn silence, and afterwards broke out into riots, which, fortunately, did not end so seriously as those at Birmingham. Many foolish means were taken by the Chartists to intimidate the government into granting them their demands; a run upon the savings' banks was recommended; and it was agreed to keep a "sacred month," during which the people were to abstain from their customary labour. As, however, they had sense enough to see that such a proceeding would injure them more than it would perplex the government, the mad scheme was abandoned.

The ministry succeeded in procuring the imprisonment of most of the Chartist leaders; and, in the month of September, 1839, the "National Convention" was dissolved by consent of its town members. It was then supposed that Chartism was at an end; but that was not the case. Unfortunately some of the most moderate men had been sent to prison, and the leadership fell to more violent persons.

Chartism soon appeared at Newport in Monmouthshire, in the form of insurrection. The inhabitants of that district were ignorant miners, and greatly under the influence of a Mr. Frost, a linendraper, who also fulfilled the duties of a magistrate. Lord John Russell having heard that Frost had made some violent speeches at a meeting at Pontypool, and that he had been elected a member of the National Convention, caused him to be written to, saying that, if this were the case, it would be his lordship's duty to recommend the Lord Chancellor to erase his name from the commission of the peace. Frost, in reply, sent a long and insulting letter to Lord John Russell, questioning his lordship's authority to assume a power over that part of his conduct which did not refer to his duties as a magistrate, and denying that he knew any body calling itself a Convention. Lord John Russell disclaimed having any wish to interfere with the opinions of Mr. Frost; was glad to hear the existence of the National Convention denied, except as a committee to watch over the fate of petitions; and stated that no immediate steps would be taken with respect to his position as a magistrate.

Mr. Frost's conduct, however, became so turbulent and threatening, that he was ultimately removed from the bench; and he then engaged the poor workmen of South Wales in an attempt to overturn the existing order of things. On the evening of the 3rd of November, 1839, news was brought to the magistrates of Newport, that Frost was marching upon the town with a body of 4,000 or 5,000 men. The magistrates prepared for the attack, obtained a body of military, police, and special constables, and took their station in the principal inn of the town. Frost and his rioters entered the town in two divisions, and headed an attack upon the hotel. The rioters first discharged an irregular fire, and, driving in the door, rushed into the house. The soldiers were then ordered to fire down the passage, and, at the same time, a cross-fire was opened from the bow windows of the hotel. After a few discharges the insurgents took to flight. Frost, together with two other firebrands, named Williams and Jones (his associates), were soon afterwards arrested, and placed on their trial for high treason. They were found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged and quartered. The day was even fixed for their execution; but public feeling revolted from so shocking an event: petitions were presented to the Queen praying for a mitigation of the punishment, and the sentence was commuted to that of transportation for life.

Public attention was soon directed to a very different kind of event. On the 10th of February, 1840, her majesty was united in marriage to his serene highness Albert Francis Augustus Charles Emmanuel, of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, the second son of the reigning Duke of Gotha. Several royal personages had been spoken of as candidates for her hand; but it was understood that Prince Albert was her choice, and the union not the result of state policy, but of affection. Before the arrival of the wedding-day, it is said, the Archbishop of Canterbury inquired whether her majesty wished any alteration to be made in that part of the marriage service which includes the promise of obedience. She replied, that it was "her wish to be married, in all respects, as any other Englishwoman might be, according to the usages of the church of England; and though not as *Queen*, yet, as a *woman*, she was ready to promise all that was required in the Liturgy." The ceremony took place in the Chapel Royal, at St. James's Palace; and, in the afternoon, the distinguished pair took the road to Windsor.

A few months after the marriage of the Queen, the nation was thrown into a state of excitement by an attempt upon her life. On the evening of the 10th of June she left Buckingham Palace with Prince Albert, in a low, open phaeton, to take a drive in Hyde Park. As they drove up Constitution Hill, a young man advanced to within a few yards of the carriage, and fired a pistol at her majesty. She instantly rose from her seat, but was pulled down into it by the prince, who loudly called to the postilions, who had stopped in surprise, to drive on. Before the order could be obeyed, a second pistol was fired, but happily, like the first, without effect. Though somewhat agitated, the Queen drove to the mansion of her mother, the Duchess of

Kent, to assure that parent of her safety, and then returned in the same open carriage, confidently reposing on the loyalty of her people, notwithstanding the infamous outrage that had just been perpetrated.

The intended assassin, who made no attempt to escape, was immediately taken into custody. He was a youth of about seventeen or eighteen, of the name of Edward Oxford. On inquiry, it turned out that he had lately been a barman at a public-house, the landlord of which spoke well of his general conduct, but said he had been obliged to discharge him on account of a habit he had of laughing in the faces of customers. Oxford was placed on his trial for high treason, and found guilty; but as it was doubted whether there were any bullets in the pistols he fired, and as other circumstances tended to excite doubts of his sanity, he was committed to confinement in Bedlam.

Louis Philippe, the King of the French, felt, or, it is generally supposed, pretended to feel, a great admiration for the character and genius of the late Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte. France mourned for the fate of that extraordinary man; and, to gratify the people, Louis requested and obtained permission from the English government to remove the corpse of the hero from St. Helena, that it might be honourably deposited amongst the sepulchres of the ancient kings of France. The body of the emperor, after having laid nineteen years in the grave, was exhumed with a feeling of almost idolatrous veneration, under the direction of the Prince de Joinville, and some of the few surviving generals of the great soldier. On account of the masonry by which the coffin was surrounded, it had been preserved uninjured; and when it was opened, the spectators were struck with astonishment to behold the emperor lying in his uniform, scarcely touched by the hand of corruption—indeed, hardly changed from the time when, nineteen years before, he had been committed to what was then supposed to be his eternal resting-place. The body was carried to France, where, on the 14th of December, 1840, it was reinterred in the church of the Invalides, among the mouldering remains of royalty. The ceremony was performed with gorgeous magnificence, which gratified France, and excited the admiration of surrounding nations.

At this time the Whig ministers had long lost the popularity they once possessed. In May, 1839, they had felt it necessary to resign, because an important bill they brought forward with respect to Jamaica was only carried by the slender majority of five votes. The Queen entrusted Sir Robert Peel with the formation of a new ministry; but she regretted losing her late advisers, and very frankly told him so. Sir Robert, observing that the principal ladies about the Queen were the sisters or wives of his political opponents, insisted on their resigning their places. Her majesty refused to part with her ladies, as such a course was, she said, repugnant to her feelings, and, she believed, contrary to custom. Upon this Sir Robert resigned the authority that had been entrusted to him; the late ministers were recalled, and got on as well as they could.

Still the Whig ministers sank in public estimation, until at length, in May, 1841, they attempted to raise a deficiency in the exchequer of £2,400,000, by imposing some objectionable duties on sugar. This proposal excited so much dissatisfaction, that, when it was put to the vote, there was a majority of thirty-six against the government. As ministers still showed a reluctance to resign, Sir Robert Peel brought forward a motion that they did not possess the confidence of the House of Commons to an extent sufficient to enable them to carry on the public business, and that their continuance in office, under such circumstances, was at variance with the spirit of the constitution. This motion was carried by a majority of 312 to 311; still the Whigs did not resign, but procured a dissolution of parliament, and appealed to the country.

The new parliament met on the 19th of August, 1841; and, in a fierce party debate which arose on the address, Mr. Cobden, the leading member of the Anti-Corn-Law League, made his first address to the House. Notwithstanding the attempts to laugh or cough him into silence, he made an eloquent appeal to the feelings of his brother legislators, as Christian men, against the corn-laws. In both Houses amendments were moved to the address, and carried, in the Lords, by a majority of 72; in the Commons, by 91. Lord Melbourne and the Whigs were thus compelled to resign, and a Conservative ministry, with Sir Robert Peel at its head, came into office. This time the Queen made no objection to parting with the ladies of her household; but it was reported that the circumstance was very painful to her. Sir Robert Peel asked for time to mature his plans for the restoration of prosperity, and, on the 10th of November, the parliament adjourned until the following year.

Just before the prorogation of parliament, a destructive fire broke out in the Tower. It reduced a great part of that ancient building, so rich in historical associations, to ruin; nearly all the military stores and trophies were destroyed, or much injured; and the regalia and crown jewels only saved by being carried off to a place of safety by the wardens, surrounded by groups of soldiers, police, and firemen. This unfortunate fire took place on the 21st of October; and a few days afterwards, on the 9th of November, the Queen presented the nation with her first son, the Prince of Wales.



The agitation against the corn-laws continued to be carried on with wonderful activity, and the cry for their repeal became loud and general. One of the great offences of the late Whig ministry was, that it trifled with and neglected this important question. Parliament reassembled on the 3rd of February, 1842, and great curiosity prevailed to see what Sir Robert would do about the corn-laws. The great landowners, or protection party, believed that he would not yield to the national demand, because he had always been in favour of the corn-laws as they stood; but, on the other side, there was an expectation that perhaps the Conservative ministers might, after all, act with more liberality than the Whigs.

Sir Robert soon brought forward his plan. It consisted of a sliding-scale of duties, by which, when corn was cheap in England, the duty on importing foreign grain was to be high; but it was to be gradually reduced as corn rose in price, and was to cease altogether when it reached 74s. a quarter. The plan was approved by the protectionists, who felt they must yield something, and were glad it was no worse. The free-traders denounced it, but it finally passed into law. It gave so little satisfaction, however, that, in some manufacturing towns, Sir Robert Peel was burnt in effigy, and the Anti-Corn-Law League became more active than ever. The minister next brought forward a property and income-tax, for making up the deficiencies the Whigs had left in the public revenue. This disagreeable tax had never been considered justifiable, except in times of war; but Sir Robert promised that it should not be continued longer than three years; and, to make amends, he passed a new tariff, by which a reduction of duty took place on as many as 750 sorts of goods. The result, he said, would materially reduce the charge of living. In the course of his speech on this occasion, he made some observations which implied a change in his opinions, and gave great hope to the free-trade party. It was capable of demonstration, he said, that a selfish policy was not always a wise one for a great nation. He believed that, on the general principle of free trade, there was now no difference of opinion. All agreed that we should purchase in the cheapest, and sell in the dearest market.

The amiable character of the Queen, and her uprightness as a ruler, was insufficient to preserve her from dangerous attacks by evil-disposed or half-insane people. A second attempt was made on her life on the evening of the 30th of May, 1842, by a young man named John Francis, who fired a pistol at her. The ruffian—a machinist employed at Covent Garden Theatre—appeared to have no motive for the atrocious act, and it is therefore reasonable to imagine that he was not of sound mind. He was sentenced to death for high treason, but her majesty graciously commuted his punishment into transportation for life. This merciful conduct did not prevent a miserable-looking, sickly, deformed, and dirty youth, named Bean, from presenting a pistol at the carriage of the Queen the very next day. The weapon was an old, worthless thing, that would not go off, and the act of presenting it was unobserved by the Queen; so that she was saved the agitation that must necessarily have resulted from the explosion. Bean, who seems to have been weak in his intellect, was convicted of a misdemeanor, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. To protect her majesty from such wanton acts of malignant and half-witted miscreants, a law was passed, by which, instead of being tried for high treason, they should be committed to prison, and severely whipped.—Another attempt at assassination terminated very differently. Mr. Drummond, the private secretary and friend of Sir Robert Peel, was shot at by a decently-dressed man, of the name of M'Naughten, under the impression that he was the premier himself. The unfortunate gentleman received a severe wound, from the effects of which he expired a few days afterwards. Great sympathy was shown for the fate of the sufferer, not only by Sir Robert and the public, but by the Queen and Prince Albert. Upon the trial of M'Naughten the jury declared him to be insane, and he was very properly consigned to imprisonment during her majesty's pleasure.

The activity of the Anti-Corn-Law League was wonderful: they sent out more lecturers, and distributed tracts by the million. It is no wonder, then, that when parliament reassembled in January, 1843, the subjects of national distress and the corn-laws were resumed. Long and vehement debates took place; but the session passed without any further alteration of those statutes which made bread dear and labour scarce.

At the close of the last chapter, the Chinese were left fully determined to destroy the English fleet, and extirpate the English people. Hostilities recommenced by the capture of Chusan. The Chinese had been uttering most extravagant boasts; but their troops all took to their heels after a cannonade of about seven or eight minutes from some of our war steamers. Negotiations then took place; but the arrogance and insincerity of the Chinese led to a renewal of the conflict. Several other encounters occurred, in which the Asiatics showed themselves so incompetent to contend with the power they had provoked, that they were slain almost like sheep. Preparations were made for storming Canton; but on the 20th of January, 1841, a treaty was signed with Ko-shen, the mandarin who ruled there; and the city was ransomed by the promise to pay 6,000,000 dollars.

The Emperor of China refused to ratify this treaty,

and war was resumed on the 25th of February, as the money was not paid. His imperial majesty was much enraged by his losses, and he issued a pompous proclamation, commanding a thorough extermination of the "English rebels." He could not, however, maintain his own against the "Barbarians." In February, 1841, the important forts and war-junks on the Canton river were destroyed; the city was besieged, and only saved from the English by the payment of the large sum demanded. In the summer the operations of the war were confined to the sea and rivers; but, on the 27th of August, Amoy, and in October, Tinghae, Chinhae, and Ningpo were captured.—In June, 1842, Woosung and Shanghae were taken; and the English, who had evacuated Ningpo, were preparing to besiege Nanking; and Ching-kiang-foo, one of the strongest and most important cities of China, was taken. The Chinese fought there with a desperation they had never shown before, and, when defeated, committed suicide, after having destroyed their wives and children. The scenes witnessed by the English troops, on entering the city, were perfectly appalling. In the streets and houses were children dead or dying from the effects of broken spines —a hideous mode of death, inflicted on them by their unnatural parents, to save them from the profanation of the victor's touch. In one house, seven dead or dying persons were found in a single room. One of them was a beautiful young woman, lying on a bed as if in sleep, with a silk scarf thrown over her neck, to conceal the gash which had deprived her of life. Hailing, the chief who defended the city, had raised a funeral pile, of wood and his official papers, and burnt himself to death. The fall of Ching-kiang-foo brought the emperor to reason, and he was at length glad to enter into a peace. This was consented to on several conditions, the chief of which was, that the emperor should pay 21,000,000 of dollars for the expense of the war, besides 6,000,000 he had already been compelled to pay for the opium that had been destroyed. British subjects were to be allowed to reside at certain cities, and to carry on trade without molestation; and in all future transactions between the two nations, the Chinese were always to treat the English as equals. Odd as this last condition may seem, the intolerable boasting of the Chinese had rendered it necessary.

Chartism had again broken into activity; the National Convention was revived; and in May, 1842, a second petition for the charter, twice as large as the first, and containing as many as three million and a-half of signatures, was presented to the House of Commons. It was too large to be got through the door without being cut into five pieces. To the old prayer for the enactment of the five points of the charter, this petition added a desire for the abolition of the national debt, the established church, and the union between England and Ireland. It was not likely that such extensive demands would meet with consideration, and the ministry made an excuse for avoiding the subject. During the following summer and autumn great meetings were held on the Lancashire moors and other places, and many tumults occurred. A disposition was shown amongst the people to raise an insurrection; strikes took place, workhouses were broken into, and bread was sometimes carried off from the bakers' shops. The talk about the month of idleness, or sacred month, as it was called, was revived, and affairs wore a melancholy and threatening aspect. The government at length interfered in a resolute manner; many arrests of the Chartists were made; and, at a special commission at Stafford, 274 of them were placed on their trials. Of these, fifty-four were acquitted, thirteen transported for life, and the rest imprisoned for different periods. Other trials took place, and many more Chartists were condemned to imprisonment or transportation.

About the same time some singular disturbances broke out in Wales. The farmers of Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire were much irritated, in 1833, by some heavy turnpike tolls, which were not only considered illegal, but became so oppressive as sometimes to eat up the profit of the goods they carried to market. The simple Welshmen, unable to procure redress, or ignorant how to set about obtaining it, came to the resolution to demolish all the obnoxious gates. From the 24th chapter of Genesis they selected a text, which they fancied sanctioned their intention—"And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them." Choosing one of their number for a chief, they dressed him as a woman, and in a short time toll-gates were destroyed in every direction. To the most rigid inquiries after these offenders, no answer could be obtained but that the gates were destroyed by Rebekah and her children. The work of destruction was carried on with great art; and Rebekah and her daughters baffled all attempts of the military and police to discover them. When these riots began (in the winter of 1842-'43), they were unattended with violence to the toll-keepers or any other persons. But as the following autumn approached, incendiarism and even murder was added to the destruction of gates. A proclamation was therefore issued against Rebekah and her followers, large rewards offered for their apprehension, and a commission appointed to inquire into the cause of the disturbances. Upon the report of these commissioners the offensive tolls were removed, and Rebekah and her daughters were seen no more.

Almost as a matter of course, Ireland continued in a state of disorder and agitation. Mr. O'Connell laboured unceasingly to obtain a repeal of the union between

that country and England. In 1843, his agitation was rendered extremely formidable on account of his being joined by the Irish Roman Catholic priests. Immense assemblages of the people, called "monster meetings," frequently took place. The greatest of these was held on the 15th of August, at the Hill of Tara, where the ancient kings of Ireland were crowned. It is said not less than half a million persons were present. O'Connell appeared in a cap made something like a crown, and in the course of a violent speech he declared the union to be null—to be only obeyed as an injustice may be obeyed, until it is destroyed; and he promised that, within a twelvemonth, they should have an Irish parliament on College Green. It was announced that another "monster meeting" would be held at Clontarf, near Dublin, at which a party of horsemen was to attend, with the title of the "Repeal Cavalry." Government was alarmed; the intended meeting was prohibited by proclamation; and Mr. O'Connell and other gentlemen arrested on a charge of sedition and conspiracy. They were released on bail, and their trial did not take place until the following year, when Mr. O'Connell was sentenced to suffer a year's imprisonment, and to pay a fine of £2,000. His political associates were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment, and to pay a fine of £50 each. On account of some legal error in the proceedings against Mr. O'Connell, the House of Lords reversed the judgment against him, and he was set at liberty, to the enthusiastic joy of the Irish people, who celebrated his liberation by wild demonstrations of joy. He was carried home from prison in a triumphal car drawn by six horses, and attended by a procession of such a length, that it was two hours in passing over one spot.

Let us return to the corn-laws. Nothing was done in parliament concerning them during the session of 1844. The following year a deficient harvest made the consideration of the subject inevitable; and many Conservative statesmen declared they could no longer uphold the tax on bread. Still the question was carried forward into the session of 1846. Sir Robert Peel had, before that period, become convinced that the corn-laws could not be maintained longer, and that he must abandon his former policy, and yield to the demands of the people. The failure of the potato crop in Ireland added to the necessity. In the cabinet Sir Robert proposed a suspension of the corn-laws; but, as his colleagues would not agree to that arrangement, he resolved on resigning the premiership. His resignation was accepted by the Queen, who confided to Lord John Russell the task of forming a new ministry. This he was utterly unable to do; Sir Robert Peel therefore resumed office, Lord Stanley (the late Earl of Derby) retired from the cabinet, and the other members of it consented that the premier should be allowed to take his own course.

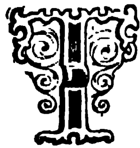
When parliament met in January, 1846, Sir Robert Peel confessed that his opinions on the subject of protection had undergone great change. He did not feel himself humiliated by making that confession; on the contrary, he asserted and claimed for himself the privilege of yielding to the force of reason and argument, and of acting upon his enlarged experience and a more matured conviction. A few days afterwards, the premier proposed the extinction of the corn-laws within three years. The protectionists had formed themselves into a party, of which Lord George Bentinck was regarded as the leader, and Mr. Disraeli the orator; and a great parliamentary contest took place, which lasted for twelve nights. At its close, the majority in favour of a first reading of the bill granting a free trade in corn amounted to ninety-seven. The protection party still opposed the progress of the measure, and four nights more of dreary discussion was raised on the second reading. Three adjournments took place, also, on the third reading; but yet the bill passed. The resistance to it in the House of Lords was rather noisy than powerful, and, on the 25th of June, 1846, it was read a third time, and passed. Resistance to it was, to some extent, disarmed by the Duke of Wellington, who gave up his own convictions, and voted in its favour, to preserve the peace of the nation.

Great was the joy of the people; for it was felt that a commercial revolution had been effected—that an impetus had been given to manufacturing industry, and famine price for food rendered, in future, almost an impossibility. The Anti-Corn-Law League was dissolved; its chairman rewarded by a testimonial of £10,000, and Mr. Cobden with £80,000. Sir Robert Peel, though honoured by the nation, was violently assailed by the party he had deserted. Fierce attacks were made upon him; he was called a traitor, a renegade, and his conduct described as base and dishonest. The protection party sought their revenge in driving him from office: they joined the Whigs in voting against the ministry on a bill for the better protection of life in Ireland; the government was defeated; and Sir Robert resigned the premiership on the 29th of June, 1846. In making that event known in the House of Commons, he delivered a farewell address to power. He exulted in the triumph of the free-trade principle; but generously admitted, that the name which ought chiefly to be associated with that great measure was the name of Richard Cobden. In conclusion, he said — "I shall surrender power severely censured by those who, from no interested motive, adhere to the principle of protection, considering the maintenance of it to be essential to the welfare and

interests of the country. I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist who, from less honourable motives, clamours for protection, because it conduces to his own individual benefit. But it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good-will in the abodes of those whose lot it is to labour, and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow, when they shall recruit their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food—the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by the sense of injustice."

CHAPTER CV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1846—1850.



HE Whigs again came into office in July, 1846, and Lord John Russell became prime minister. The new government, however, was so weak, and so far from possessing the confidence of either parliament or the country, that it could not have stood but for the forbearance of Sir Robert Peel, who declined to lead an opposition against it.

The early proceedings of the new ministers do not possess much interest. But, before the end of the year, the state of Ireland excited universal sympathy, and even awe. The usual wretchedness of that distracted land was fearfully increased by famine—a wide, sweeping, hideous famine, followed by pestilence. The failure of the potatoes and oats, in 1846-'47, caused a loss of food valued at sixteen millions of money. Many of the wretched peasantry, who had been used to living on one meal a day, were often unable to obtain that, and driven to appease the agonies of hunger by feeding on seaweed and wild herbs. The multitude of deaths from starvation was awful, in some places amounting to a tenth of the inhabitants; while Skibbereen, in the county of Cork, was depopulated. It is said that, in the madness of their agony, starving wretches gnawed the emaciated bodies of the dead. The English government made immediate and noble sacrifices for the relief of the sufferers. Not only was instant aid given, but immense sums were voted for the employment of the Irish poor on works of public utility. Nor were the people of England idle in this charitable cause; benevolent contributions were poured out, for the assistance of afflicted Ireland, with a ready and unsparing hand. Before the famine ceased, and the usual state of things was restored, the voluntary contributions amounted to £1,048,246 13s., and the sums advanced by the government to £7,132,286. One-half of the latter sum was to be repaid, in ten years, out of the poor-rates; the other moiety was a free grant.

There are reports that attempts were made to divert the sums thus liberally given from their proper channel; that gentlemen of ample means suffered their labourers and dependents to apply for rations; whilst farmers were known to ask for, and obtain, supplies. Let us hope these rumours are not true. From official reports, it appears that the national bounty was fairly administered by those to whom it was entrusted. Mr. Trevelyan, who was Secretary of the Treasury at the time, says—"It is a fact very honourable to Ireland, that, among upwards of 2,000 local bodies to whom advances were made," under the act passed to facilitate the issue of grants, called "The Temporary Relief Act," "there was not one to which, so far as the government was informed, any suspicion of embezzlement attached." [*Edinburgh Review*, January, 1848.]

While speaking of Ireland, the death of Mr. Daniel O'Connell should not be overlooked. He departed this life on the 15th of May, 1847, in his seventy-fourth year. Since his imprisonment he had become more cautious, and his popularity had greatly declined. Still his death caused an extraordinary sensation throughout Ireland; the whole people mourned for him, and the procession that followed him to the grave was a mile and a-half in length. He was a man of extraordinary talents and eloquence—both, unfortunately, misdirected; his agitation for a repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland being very injurious to the latter country.

A new parliament assembled on the 18th of November, 1847: just before, there had been an extraordinary commercial panic; many great houses failed, and confidence seemed on the eve of perishing. It was attributed chiefly to over-speculation in railways, and to the drain of gold from the country caused by late deficient harvests. Government took the proper steps to restore public confidence, and soon the great stream of trade rolled on again in its usual channels.

Crime had fearfully increased in Ireland during the famine. On the 29th of November, Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, brought in a bill giving the lord-lieutenant power "to proclaim" disturbed districts; to

increase the constabulary force; and to take other measures of precaution to prevent crime; while he was invested with more effective means to punish it. The bill passed, but not without great opposition: other measures followed for the relief of the distress that still existed.

The year 1848 was distinguished by a circle of revolutions in the continental states; only one, however—that of France—requires to be noticed in this history. Louis Philippe had certainly failed to fulfil the expectations of the people, who placed him on the throne by the revolution of July, 1830. His measures caused great discontent; and a strong opposition was formed in the Chamber of Deputies. After the legislature opened on the 28th of December, 1847, debates were raised on the state of the country, which extended over a month; and then it was arranged, that, on the 22nd of February, 1848, a great reform banquet should be held in Paris. This banquet was prohibited by the police, and the committee appointed to make the arrangements, announced that it would not take place. The populace of Paris, however, rose on the 22nd; on the 23rd, there was fighting between it and the soldiers in most of the streets; in the night, barricades were formed in all the principal thoroughfares, the trees in the Boulevards being cut down for the purpose; and eventually the mob was triumphant. Louis Philippe formed a new ministry, substituting M. Thiers for M. Guizot as its chief. This failed to conciliate the populace, who, on the 24th, took possession of the palace of the Tuileries, which they plundered; and the king, in a moment of fright, signed an abdication of the throne in favour of his eldest son, the Count de Paris. But the cry of "*Vive la Republique!*" overbore that of "*Vive le Roi!*" and Louis Philippe and his family, with difficulty, escaped from the capital. On the 3rd of March they landed at Newhaven, on the coast of Sussex. On the 4th, they took up their residence at Claremont, by invitation of Queen Victoria. A republic was from that time established in France; first under the influence of M. Lamartine; then General Cavaignac became dictator; and finally, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the great Napoleon, was elected president, taking the oath of office on the 20th of December, 1848; his term to cease in May, 1852.

This revolution encouraged the repealers in Ireland, and the Chartists in England; and commotions took place in both countries. In the former, a party called "Young Ireland" had been formed in 1842. Its organ was *The Nation*, a newspaper edited by Thomas Davis, Charles Gavin Duffy, and John Mitchell. The leaders of this party went further than O'Connell, who only demanded a repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, and the establishment of an Irish parliament. The "Young Irelanders" demanded national independence; that Ireland should be a separate kingdom, completely independent of England and the English sovereign. This party was very active from 1842 till 1846. During that time differences arose, occasioned by the religious question. Duffy was a Roman Catholic, Mitchell a Unitarian; and whilst the former wished to maintain the spiritual and temporal power of the Roman Catholic priesthood, the latter was opposed to all ecclesiastical interference in civil or political matters. This difference of opinion led to a division of the Young Ireland party; and, in 1846, Mitchell, joined by William Smith O'Brien, a member of parliament, Thomas Francis Meagher, and some others, established the "Irish Confederation;" Mitchell seceding from *The Nation*, and starting a journal called *The United Irishman*, to advocate the views of the new body. When the revolution took place in France, the trio above-named thought it time for action in Ireland. On the 30th of March, a meeting of the confederates was held at the North Wall, Dublin, at which treasonable speeches were made, and an address to the French republic adopted. Mr. W. S. O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, and Mr. R. O'Gorman were appointed a deputation to present this address to Lamartine, with whom they had an interview on the 3rd of April. Their object was, to induce the French authorities to give material aid to an Irish insurrection. Lamartine received the deputation and the address very graciously, but positively refused to extend any assistance to the Irish Confederation. That body, however, persisted in its insurrectionary career. Its agents purchased arms, established a manufacture of pikes, and formed clubs in various parts of the island, which the lord-lieutenant (the Earl of Clarendon) declared illegal. Mitchell, Smith O'Brien, and Meagher were apprehended, and tried for sedition. In the cases of the two latter the juries could not agree, and they were discharged; but Mitchell was found guilty, sentenced to be transported for fourteen years, and was sent to Bermuda. His paper, *The United Irishman*, was, in consequence, discontinued; and another paper, *The Irish Felon*, replaced it.

In July, Lord Clarendon obtained from parliament extraordinary powers, which he had demanded, to enable him to put down the insurrection. Numerous arrests were made; and rewards were offered for the capture of Smith O'Brien, Meagher, and other leaders, who escaped. O'Brien himself, armed with a short pike, and several pistols fastened to a belt, succeeded in collecting the peasantry around him near Ballingarry, on the confines of Tipperary and Kilkenny; and, on the 29th of July, he went, at the head of his force, to the house of a widow, named M'Cormack, on Boulagh

Common, near Ballingarry. The house was occupied by police, whom he summoned to surrender. The answer was a volley of musketry. After a brief struggle, in which the insurgents lost seven killed, and several wounded (the police remaining unhurt), the men who were to have established the independence of Ireland, ignominiously dispersed. A number of arrests were made, including Smith O'Brien and Meagher; the *Nation* and *Irish Felon* were suppressed, and the type and presses seized. There were no further attempts at violence on the part of the members of the "Irish Confederation:" of that body no more was heard. Many of the prisoners were sentenced to brief terms of imprisonment, or discharged on entering into recognizances to keep the peace. In October, four of the leaders—Smith O'Brien, Meagher, M'Manus, and O'Donoghue—were tried for high treason, found guilty, and sentenced to death; but the sentence was mitigated to transportation. After enduring that punishment a few years, they received the Queen's pardon. Gavan Duffy was also arrested, and tried twice for high treason, in January and April, 1849, the jury, on each occasion, not agreeing in their verdict. Mr. Duffy was ultimately discharged on his own recognizance of £1,000 to appear again if called upon. He subsequently emigrated to Australia, where he became a member of the government; and, on a visit which he paid to England in 1866, he appeared to have abjured his former violent and disaffected principles.

In England and Scotland the movements of the Chartists were going on at the same time with those of the Irish Confederation; the object being to obtain the "Five Points," already enumerated. [See *ante*, p. 543.] The first manifestation was made in Scotland, where a complete organisation appears to have prevailed in the manufacturing towns in the west. Glasgow took the lead; an insurrection was to take place there; and, if successful, all the other towns were to follow. In Glasgow, serious riots were committed on the 5th and 6th of March, by numerous bodies of men, amounting to several thousand; who made weapons for themselves out of the iron railings, attacked the shops of the gunsmiths and jewellers, which they pillaged, and did other damage. On the second day, about 10,000 men assembled on the Green of Glasgow, intending to march on the suburb of Calton, and turn out all the millworkers there, who it was expected would join them. They then intended to return to Glasgow, cut the pipes, and thus lay the city in darkness, under the protection of which they meant to break open the gaol, and liberate the prisoners; and then set fire to, and plunder the city. On their way to Calton, they encountered some pensioners escorting a deserter to prison. The rioters attempted to disarm these brave veterans, who, undaunted by numbers, fired amongst them, and killed two of the assailants. This raised the fury of the latter; and, probably, not one of the pensioners would have escaped, had not a squadron of cavalry arrived on the spot just at the moment when its presence was most necessary. The soldiers dispersed the rioters, and Glasgow was saved.

In London, there were serious riots on the 6th of March, lasting from 8 P.M. till midnight. They originated at a meeting in Trafalgar Square, called for the ostensible purpose of petitioning for a repeal of the income-tax. There was much fighting with the police before quiet was restored; and the riots were renewed the next day, when about eighty persons were taken into custody.—At that time, the Chartist National Convention, re-modelled, and comprising only those who were recognised as leaders of the party, was sitting; and held its meetings at a hall in John Street, Fitzroy Square. By that body another (so-called) national petition had been prepared, to which it was stated that upwards of 5,000,000 signatures were attached. The petition was to be presented to the House of Commons on the 10th of April, when a great Chartist demonstration, with Mr. Feargus O'Connor as president, was to take place on Kennington Common; and the men assembling there were to march to Westminster with the petition. The recent convulsion in France caused the ministers to take alarm, and every precaution was taken to preserve the public peace. Bodies of horse and foot police were ordered to be posted on the approaches to the bridges; additional guards to be placed at the Bank, Tower, and other important public buildings; and as many as 170,000 special constables were sworn-in; whilst troops and cannon, under the direction of the aged Duke of Wellington, were in readiness for action in and around London.

On the morning of the 10th of April, the great thoroughfares in the metropolis presented the appearance of Sunday; all the shops being closed, and business suspended. None of the military were to be seen, but the police and special constables were stationed along the route from Kennington to Westminster: Prince Louis Napoleon, who was at that time residing in London, served in the ranks of the latter. Early in the morning, the members of the National Convention assembled at their hall in John Street, from whence they were taken to Kennington in an immense car, drawn by six horses, which had been constructed for the occasion. It was followed by another car, bearing the huge petition, and drawn by four horses. Between 1,000 and 2,000 Chartists accompanied this procession to the common; and other detachments arrived in various directions, till a large number assembled—certainly not fewer than 30,000. The chief com-

missioner of police, Sir Richard Mayne, was at the Horns Tavern, opposite the common; and as soon as the great car arrived (in which Messrs. Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones, a barrister, were conspicuous), he sent for the Chartist leader, and told him that there was no intention to interrupt the meeting if it were conducted peaceably; but that the persons assembled would not be suffered to go in procession, with the petition, to the House of Commons. Mr. O'Connor undertook to see that the meeting dispersed; and he then returned, and assumed his place as chairman. When he explained the result of his interview with Sir Richard Mayne, the greatest disappointment was manifested. Dispersion began immediately. Some fiery orators briefly addressed groups of listeners; who were very emphatic in their threats against the authorities, but did not attempt to carry them into execution. These groups soon left the common; and by 3 P.M. the crowds had vanished, and the metropolis was at peace.

But what became of the petition? is a question which will naturally be asked. As there were numerous rolls of signatures, they were divided, put into three cabs, and so conveyed to the House of Commons when the members assembled. Mr. Feargus O'Connor (who was one of the representatives for Nottingham) presented it, and alleged that it had been signed by 5,706,000 persons. It was read at length by the clerk, and, subsequently, the signatures were examined and counted, thirteen clerks being employed, in addition to the regular staff, to go through that duty. It was then discovered that the number of signatures was 1,975,496—a large number certainly, though it was less than that stated by Mr. O'Connor, by 3,730,504 names. If all the signatures had been genuine, however, a petition so signed would have been entitled to much weight. But many were in the same handwriting; and, therefore, it is doubtful whether they were really attached with the consent of the parties; and others were notorious forgeries. Thus there were found the pretended signatures of Victoria *Rex*, Prince Albert, the Duke of Wellington (affixed thirty times), Colonel Sibthorpe (twelve times), Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and of other persons quite as unlikely to sign such a document. Evidently fictitious names were also affixed; and, in some instances, slang expressions, such as "No Cheese," "Pug Nose," "Flat Nose," &c., were written. These disclosures covered the Chartist cause with ridicule, and contributed to its extinction. Ministers, also, took measures to prevent the agitation from extending to the lengths contemplated by the National Convention. On the 7th of April, Sir George Grey brought in a bill, "for the better security of the crown and government;" which passed both Houses by large majorities, though violently opposed. In the course of the discussion, Lord John Russell contended that it did not contain a single syllable which could be justly said to impair the rights of free discussion. To support those rights, on the 13th of April, fifty-one members of parliament met at 14, St. James's Square, and instituted the Reform League, with Mr. Joseph Hume as chairman, Mr. Cobden as vice-chairman, and Sir Joshua Walmesley as honorary secretary. The object of the new society was declared to be, to advance reform principles throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

The Chartist organisation extended through England and Scotland, the head-quarters of the movement being in London; and that violent measures were contemplated, there can be no doubt. Inflammatory placards were posted, especially in Glasgow. In those displayed on the walls of that city, the multitudes were called upon to rise, and put an end to the vile government of the oligarchy; the soldiers were exhorted to join them; £10 and four acres of land being offered to every one wearing her majesty's uniform, who would turn traitor. Several meetings were held in London after the failure on Kennington Common. They were more frequent in the country, and disturbances took place at several towns in the west, where the police had to interfere. The Irish also formed Confederate Clubs, and joined the Chartists. At length, the government having sufficient evidence to act upon, five of the Chartist leaders—Messrs. Ernest Jones, John Fussell, Joseph Williams, Alexander Sharpe, and G. Vernon—were arrested, and held to bail for sedition. Spies were at work for the government—a course of proceeding that should never be resorted to except in the last extremity, when the public peace and the safety of the nation are at stake. Through the disclosures of those *employés*, it was ascertained that there were nightly meetings of Chartists at the Angel Hotel, in Webber Street, Blackfriars; and at houses in Orange Street, Holborn, and York Street, Westminster. These three places were visited on the night of the 16th of August, and several arrests were made at each. Some of the prisoners wore iron breastplates; and stores of pistols—some loaded to the muzzle—swords, pikes, daggers, spear-heads, and ammunition were found; one of the prisoners having seventy-five rounds of ball-cartridge on his person. Tow-balls were also discovered, by which any building might have been in a few minutes enveloped in flames. —In September, twenty-five of the men thus arrested were tried, convicted, and sentenced to various periods of imprisonment.

There were few events of importance in our domestic history in the year 1848, unconnected with the reform question. Before the year closed, Chartism may be considered to have become extinct; but the Reform

League kept the defective state of the representation, together with its anomalies and injustice, before the public in a more constitutional manner than had been done by the followers of Feargus O'Connor. A thoroughly constitutional step was taken to forward the cause by endeavouring to secure greater interest to the popular party in county elections. In the month of December, public meetings were held at Dudley, Cockermouth, and other places, with a view of establishing freehold land societies; through whose agency land was to be purchased for the purpose of enabling working-men to become 40s. freeholders. The scheme proved successful : ere a very long time elapsed, it gave the Liberals the command of more than one county, owing to the votes which the society had created and distributed. Then the Conservatives, who had had the subject pressed upon their attention, but unavailingly, early in 1849, established the Conservative Freehold Land Society; and the two societies are still actively engaged in promoting the interests of their respective parties, and, as each believes, the cause of the country.

In the autumn her majesty went to Balmoral, where she has a beautiful and attractive residence. During that season, one of the first of those international displays took place, of which we have, subsequently, had several on a larger scale, but not of more interest. On the 25th of October, the Lord Mayor of London gave a reception in the Mansion-house to 300 national guards of Paris, whose commandant expressed his gratitude, and that of the gallant body he commanded, for the hospitable reception they had met with in London.

Since the Afghan war [see *ante*, p. 545], there had been several other wars in the East, besides those with China. The gallant garrison of Jellalabad, which, under General Sale, had, in the words of Lord Ellenborough (who assumed the office of governor-general in February, 1842), "saved the name and fame of the British empire in India," and General Pollock's army, had scarcely returned to the British dominions, than the Indian government was involved in another contest —one with the Ameers of Scinde, an extensive and important province of Western India, so called, probably, from the river Scinde, or Indus. These Ameers, while professing friendship, had behaved most treacherously to us during the Afghan war. Lord Ellenborough had ordered that all such faithless allies should be so signally punished, as to effectually deter others from similar conduct. Sir Charles Napier was sent against the Ameers; but before he fought he tried negotiations. The Ameers of Lower Scinde signed a treaty with him on the 14th of February, 1843; and the very next day the residence of the British commissioners at Hyderabad was attacked by a large force, and those officials were driven out to seek safety elsewhere. Sir Charles immediately advanced to give battle to the Ameers' forces; and, on the 17th, he won the victory of Meeanee, though his force was not more than 2,600 men of all arms, opposed to 30,000 foot and 5,000 horse. The next day six of the Ameers surrendered themselves prisoners; and, on the 5th of March, the governor-general announced, in a proclamation from the palace of Agra, that Scinde was annexed to the British dominions. The Ameer of Meerpoor still stood out; Sir Charles Napier defeated him at Dubba on the 24th of March; and that victory completely annihilated the power of those Indian chiefs. Wars that began with the Seiks in December, 1845, when they invaded the British territory, ended, in 1849, in the annexation of the Punjaub, "an extensive territory on the north-west of India, so called from two Persian words, signifying 'five waters,' the name having reference to five great rivers which flow through it." During the three years the following battles were fought: —Moodkee [December 18], and Ferozeshah [December 21 and 22, 1845]; Aliwal [January 28], and Sobraon [February 10, 1846]; Ramnuggur [November 2, 1848]; Chillianwallah [January 13], and Goojerat [February 21, 1849]. The latter was one of the most decisive victories ever won in India. The English force of 25,000 men, and 100 guns, was under Lord Gough; the Seiks, numbering 60,000 men, with 59 guns, were commanded by Shere Singh, who, at the close of the battle, escaped to the Salt-range hills with only 8,000 men. On the 8th of March, the Seik chief appeared in the British camp, and endeavoured to procure an advantageous capitulation. He was told that nothing but an unconditional surrender would be accepted. On the 14th, the entire Seik force laid down their arms, and surrendered unconditionally; and, on the 29th, the Marquis Dalhousie (then the governor-general) issued a proclamation, announcing that the family of Runjeet Singh had ceased to reign; and that the country of the Five Rivers was incorporated with the British dominions. The results which followed the annexation were most propitious. The army was quietly disbanded; the turbulent soldiery settled down to industrious pursuits, and the amount of crime greatly diminished.

The year 1849 was ushered in with a demonstration made by the Liberal party. On the 10th of January, a large public meeting was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on the subject of financial reform. A few months previously, a society had been established in Liverpool, called the Liverpool Financial Reform Association, with the object of substituting direct for indirect taxation, and of procuring a reduction in the public expenditure. At the Manchester meeting, a resolution, moved by Mr. Cobden, was adopted, pledging

those present to co-operate with the Liverpool Society, "in its efforts to reduce the expenditure to at least the standard of 1835; and to secure a more equitable and economical system of taxation." A resolution, proposed by Mr. Bright, was also adopted, for the formation of an association to extend the franchise by the 40s. freehold qualification, and a careful attention to the registration in boroughs and counties.

The parliament was opened on the 1st of February, by the Queen in person. In her speech her majesty recommended the legislature seriously to consider the navigation laws, with a view to "the repeal or modification of their provisions." The aspect of affairs, she said, would enable large reductions to be made in the expenditure; but she regretted that the state of Ireland called for a continuance of the powers which, in the last session, were deemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity. Commerce, her majesty said, was reviving; and the revenue showed signs of progressive improvement. She referred, "with pride and thankfulness, to the loyalty of her subjects during a time of commercial difficulty, want, and foreign political revolution;" and asked for the divine blessing to favour our continued progress.

During the session debates were raised on many public questions; one of the most important and interesting, which continued through several evenings, being upon the oaths taken by members of parliament. It was introduced by Lord John Russell, who, on the 19th of February, moved that the House should go into a committee to consider those oaths; his object being to procure such a modification in them as would permit Jews to become members of the legislature. After the House had sat in committee, and the question had been discussed, Lord John Russell introduced a bill "for the relief of her majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion;" which passed the Commons by a large majority, but was rejected by the Lords. There were, also, animated debates on the bill for the repeal of the navigation laws, of which Mr. Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade, took charge, and which passed the Commons, on the 25th of April, by a majority of 275 votes to 214.—In the Lords there was a majority, on the third reading, of 13. On the 12th of June, there was an animated debate on a resolution moved by Mr. Cobden—after a speech in which he eloquently expatiated on the expense and horrors of war, and the blessings of peace—in favour of the settlement of international questions by arbitration instead of war. Lord Robert Grosvenor, Mr. Ewart, Colonel Thompson, Mr. Roebuck, Mr. M. Gibson, and Mr. Hume supported the motion: it was opposed by Lords Palmerston and John Russell, Mr. M. Milnes, and Mr. Urquhart. Lord Palmerston moved the previous question, which was carried.

The bill for continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, caused angry discussions; but it was carried through its different stages by large majorities. With respect to Ireland, a vote granting £50,000 for the relief of Irish distress in those unions where, owing to the severity of that distress, a sufficient rate could not be collected, was adopted; and a bill to facilitate the sale of encumbered estates in Ireland, and to enable persons having perpetual and limited interests in land in that country to make grants in fee, or demises for long terms of years, was passed. This act—generally known as the Encumbered Estates' Act—established a board of commissioners, possessing the powers of the Court of Chancery, which could be exercised in a summary manner, with no unnecessary delay, and at little expense.—The act has operated most beneficially for Ireland. It was passed, originally, as a temporary measure; but, in 1858, it was made a permanent enactment, and the three commissioners were constituted a court called the Landed Estates' Court, and were declared to rank with the judges of the law courts. Before the session closed, the Commons, in a committee of supply on the 4th of May, resolved that the government should be empowered to advance a sum, not exceeding £300,000, to facilitate the improvement of landed property in Ireland; and £200,000 to carry out arterial drainage in that country.

The finances and commerce of the country have regularly progressed in the last twenty years, and have attracted more of the public attention than formerly. From this time, therefore, we shall, each year, include the state of our revenue and of our foreign trade in the historical sketch. The financial questions were discussed, in the session of 1849, without any acrimony. The revenue for the year ending January 5th, amounted to £53,388,717 3s. 3d., and the expenditure to £54,185,136 17s. 9d., leaving a deficiency of £796,419 14s. 6d. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir Charles Wood) made his financial statement on the 22nd of June, he estimated the revenue for the ensuing year at £52,252,000; and the expenditure at £52,157,696; leaving a surplus of £94,304. In the expenditure there were reductions, amounting, in the whole, to £1,511,455; and the consolidation of the Excise Board with that of stamps and taxes, caused a saving of £247,000. The actual surplus of revenue, however, was too small to allow of any reduction of taxation.—All the right honourable gentleman's propositions were agreed to, with little opposition; and the two Houses were prorogued, by commission, on the 1st of August. A few days before the prorogation (on the 21st of July), the Liberal members of the House of Commons assembled in one of the committee-rooms, under the presidency of Mr. Bright, and resolved, in

the next session, to pursue a united course of action upon all questions connected with the Irish church, the English and Irish franchise, and the tenure of land in Ireland.

While the session was in progress, the metropolis was alarmed by a report, which soon spread amongst all classes of its inhabitants, that another attempt had been made to assassinate the Queen. On Saturday, the 19th of May, her majesty was returning to Buckingham Palace from a drive in Hyde Park, when an Irish labourer out of employ, named Hamilton, discharged a pistol at her. The fellow was immediately seized by some of the attendants on her majesty, who had great difficulty in preserving him from the fury of the by-standers. He was of course lodged in prison, and was subsequently tried, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to seven years' transportation. The affair was mentioned in both Houses when they met on the following Monday, and an address to the Queen was suggested; but the Marquis of Lansdowne in one House, and Lord John Russell in the other, said the act, though disgusting and odious in the extreme, was too contemptible to call for an address of congratulation; and the subject dropped amidst a general expression of loyal affection for her majesty.

The Queen had, for some time, entertained a wish to visit Ireland, and arrangements were made for her doing so in the summer of 1849. On the 1st of August, the day that parliament was prorogued, her majesty embarked at Cowes, on board the royal packet *Victoria and Albert*, accompanied by Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Alice. The royal party arrived the next day at Cove—a seaport and market town on the south side of Cove island, in Cork harbour—where they landed, and were received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of loyalty. From Cove her majesty went to Cork, and then to Dublin and Belfast; at each place she met with the same hearty welcome; and her presence seemed to imbue the Irish people with a new feeling. To commemorate the royal visit, the name of Cove was, at the request of the inhabitants, changed into Queenstown. It is much to be regretted that the royal family do not oftener visit Green Erin. If they would go a little more amongst them, they would nowhere find a more loyal people than the Irish.

The Queen and royal family left Ireland on the 13th of August; landed at Lough Ryan, on the Argyllshire coast; and proceeded, by Glasgow, to Balmoral; where, on the 26th, Prince Albert's birthday was celebrated by the Highlanders with great festivity. On the 29th of September, the Queen again arrived at another favourite residence—Osborne, in the Isle of Wight. In the following month Prince Albert was in London; and, on the 17th, his royal highness attended a meeting at the Mansion-house, held under his auspices, as president of the Society of Arts, at which the subject of an International Exhibition of Works of Art and Industry was discussed; and it was resolved that such an exhibition should be held in the year 1851, in a building to be erected for the purpose in Hyde Park.

That terrible Asiatic pest, the cholera, again occasioned great alarm in England during the summer of 1849. It first appeared at the close of 1848; increased during the following spring; and reached to its greatest height in July and August. So general and so fatal were its ravages, that, on the 16th of September, by order of the Queen, prayers were offered up in all the churches for its removal. The total number of deaths in London, in the previous week, had been 3,183; the ordinary weekly average being 1,008: the number of deaths from the disease throughout England, in the summer quarter, was 60,492.—On the 13th of October, the cessation of this disease in the metropolis was announced; and it soon disappeared in other parts of the kingdom.—On the 2nd of December, the Queen-Dowager, Adelaide, the widow of William IV., died. Since the death of her husband, Queen Adelaide had chiefly resided at Bentley Priory, near Stanmore, in the county of Middlesex, where she expended a very large portion of her income in works of charity. At her own request she was interred at Windsor, in a private and unostentatious manner. "I die in all humility," said her majesty, shortly before she breathed her last, "knowing well that we are all alike before the throne of God; and I request, therefore, that my mortal remains be conveyed to the grave without any pomp or state. I request not to be dissected or embalmed; and desire to give as little trouble as possible."

During the year, there was an attempt at rebellion in Canada, where the liberal policy of Lord Elgin displeased many of those who are known as the Orange party. The first symptoms of a disposition to revolt against the constituted authorities, was shown on the passing of an act to recompense the sufferers from the rebellion of 1837-'8. At Montreal the state of affairs was, for some time, very threatening; the disaffected gaining the upper hand, assaulting the governor-general in the streets, burning the parliament-house, and destroying the residences of the ministers, after having plundered them of their most valuable contents.—On the 15th of October a meeting was summoned at Bytown, near Montreal, by the supporters of Lord Elgin, to prepare an address to his lordship, approving of his policy. The Orangemen, however, intruded; a fight ensued, which resulted in severe personal injuries to both parties; and, finally, the chairman was driven from his seat, the intruders took possession of the platform, and

resolutions quite opposed to the sentiments of the promoters of the meeting were passed.—Earl Grey was then the secretary for colonial affairs. He sent reinforcements to the governor-general, who was soon enabled to put down the disturbance and restore order; which has not since been interrupted in that colony, where great loyalty to the Queen, and love of the mother country, is evinced.

On the 1st of January, 1850, a paper appeared, which showed the effects of the repeal of the corn-laws. It gave the total amount of corn-duties collected from 1828 to 1848 (both years inclusive), when the sliding-scale was in force; and the amount collected from February 1, 1849, to the close of the year, under the law imposing the 1*s.* per quarter duty. In the twenty-one years the amount was £12,024,578; being an average of £572,599 per annum; in the eleven months of 1849, the sum paid into the exchequer was £615,814; the importations averaging 1,000,000 quarters per month. Other public documents which appeared about the same time, or shortly after, showed that the general state of the country was favourable. The revenue exceeded the expenditure by upwards of £2,000,000. The foreign trade had increased; the exports rising from £48,846,325 in 1848, to £58,848,042 in 1849; whilst the cheapness of provisions and the increase of employment had caused pauperism to decrease materially. On the other hand, the farming interest suffered severely; and in the agricultural districts there was much distress.—Another official paper, that appeared on the 3rd of January, was a proclamation, issued by the Queen, for the purpose of carrying out the proposal first made by her consort, Prince Albert. By this document a commission was appointed to promote an exhibition of the works of industry of all nations, to be held in the year 1851: soon after, the commissioners nominated, with the Prince Consort at their head, entered upon the discharge of their duties.

Parliament assembled on the 31st of January; and during the long session—the prorogation did not take place till the 15th of August—many important bills were passed; and both Houses were the scene of many animated debates. In her opening speech, the Queen dwelt, with pleasure, upon her recent visit to Ireland; and regretted "that the effects of former years of scarcity were still painfully felt" in that country. Her majesty congratulated parliament on the improved condition of commerce and manufactures; and, in allusion to the complaints of the owners and occupiers of land, "lamented that any portion of her subjects should be suffering distress." She expressed "sincere gratification at witnessing the increased enjoyment of the necessaries and comforts of life, which cheapness and plenty had bestowed on the great body of her people."—Several measures which were to be brought before parliament were mentioned; and her majesty concluded by acknowledging the "favour of Divine Providence, in having hitherto preserved this kingdom from the wars and convulsions" which, during the last two years, had prevailed on the continent of Europe.

Of the bills passed this session, one for restraining party processions in Ireland, and the exhibition of any banner, emblem, flag, or symbol, calculated or tending to provoke animosity between different classes of her majesty's subjects, has had a good effect in that country; and would be more beneficial were it impartially enforced. Another act extended the privileges of self-government to the colonies of Australia and Tasmania. A bill was also brought in to abolish the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; but it was dropped without any decision being come to upon it: and though the question of abolition has been several times revived, the office still exists, and is likely to continue.—One act of the session was intended to promote the intellectual improvement of the working classes. It empowers town councils, with the consent of two-thirds of the rate-payers, to establish free public libraries and museums.—"An act for improving the condition of masters, mates, and seamen, and maintaining discipline in the merchant service," has proved very beneficial to the mercantile community.—Of the debates, those on the foreign policy of the government, and on altering the oaths for the purpose of admitting Jews to seats in parliament, excited the most interest. The first arose out of a difference with the Greek government. A Jew named Pacifico (who, however, claimed to be a subject of her majesty by birth), had been assaulted and injured by a mob at Athens, and he made demands on the Greek government for compensation, which that government refused to comply with. Pacifico applied to the English ministry; and Lord Palmerston insisted that he should receive the compensation he demanded; and he also united to the claims of Pacifico those of some other English subjects. As the Greek government continued obstinate in its refusal, his lordship ordered the Mediterranean fleet to blockade the Greek ports—a blockade which commenced on the 18th of January, and was not known to have been raised when the debate took place. The subject had been generally discussed out of doors; and public opinion was against Lord Palmerston, whose conduct with respect to Greece was contrasted with that he had observed towards France and the United States; and he was charged with bullying the weak, and submitting to the strong. On the 17th of June, Lord Stanley (the late Earl of Derby, who had been called to the House of Lords by the former title during the lifetime of his father) discussed at great length the blockade of Greece, censur-

ing the harsh proceedings of the foreign minister. He also entered minutely into the conduct of Lord Palmerston, as connected with our foreign affairs; and moved a resolution strongly censuring his policy. The motion was supported by the Earls of Aberdeen and Cardigan, Viscount Canning, and Lord Brougham. The Marquis of Lansdowne, Lords Ward, Beaumont, and Eddisbury opposed it. The House divided—

Contents ..	Present..	113	Non-contents.	Present .	75
	Proxies..	56		Proxies .	55
		169			130

Majority for the resolution, 39.

When questioned as to what course the government meant to pursue after this dispute, Lord John Russell, on the 20th of June, proceeded to show, by precedents, that an adverse vote in the House of Lords did not render a resignation imperative. He then declared that the vote would not alter the course the ministers had deemed it right to pursue with respect to foreign powers; and said, so long as he and his colleagues continued the government of this country, he could answer for his noble friend, that he would not act as a minister of Austria, or of Russia, or of France, or of any other country, but as the minister of England. Mr. Roebuck then gave notice of his intention to move the following resolution:—"That the principles which have hitherto regulated the foreign policy of her majesty's government, are such as were required to preserve, untarnished, the honour and dignity of this country; and, in times of unexampled difficulty, the best calculated to maintain peace between England and the various nations of the world."—The debate on this motion commenced on the 24th of June, and was continued on the 25th, the 27th, and the 28th. The House divided on the latter day, when the numbers were—for the resolution, 310; against it, 264: majority, 46. After the division, a deputation of nearly ninety members of the House of Commons, headed by Lord Patrick James Stuart, the member for Ayr, waited upon Lady Palmerston, and presented her ladyship with a full-length portrait of the noble lord, purchased with the proceeds of a subscription entered into by the members on the liberal side of the House. It was presented as a tribute to his lordship's public and private character, and as testifying the subscribers' approval of the firm and independent policy with which, as foreign minister, he upheld the honour, and maintained the interests of his country. Her ladyship was much gratified by this presentation; and the same evening, a telegraphic message was received, announcing that the Greek government had complied with the demands of his lordship, and that the blockade was raised.

The discussion on the admission of the Jews to seats in the House of Commons, arose out of Baron de Rothschild's claim to take the oath without repeating the words, "on the true faith of a Christian." At the general election in August, 1847, the baron had been returned as one of the members for London. Lord John Russell's attempt, in the previous session, to procure an alteration of the oaths having failed, the friends and supporters of the baron met at the London Tavern on the 25th of July, and resolved, unanimously, that he should go to the House the next day, and claim his seat as one of the representatives of the city of London. Accordingly, on the 26th, the baron, at a morning sitting, presented himself at the table, and the usual question being put by the clerk, he replied, "I desire to be sworn on the Old Testament." Sir Robert Inglis said he should object to the request; and the baron was desired to withdraw. Sir Robert then moved "that the House refuse its assent to the request of Baron de Rothschild." On the motion of the Right Hon. James Stuart Wortley, the House adjourned without coming to any decision on the subject.—On the 29th, the baron again attended in the lobby; he was called in, and the Speaker asked him, "Why he demanded to be sworn on the Old Testament?" "Because it is most binding on my conscience," was the reply. The baron having withdrawn, Sir F. Thesiger moved, and the Right Hon. James Stuart Wortley seconded, a resolution that he should be recalled, and asked which oath he desired to take—the Protestant or Roman Catholic? After a debate this motion was negatived by 118 to 104 votes. Mr. Hume then moved that the clerk be directed to swear the baron on the Old Testament. After another debate, this motion was carried by 113 ayes to 59 noes. The next day the baron appeared at the bar, and took the oaths on the Old Testament; substituting the words, "So help me God," for "On the true faith of a Christian." He was then about to sign the parliamentary roll, when the Speaker interfered, and said, before he could be admitted to the rights of membership of the House of Commons, that House must decide whether it assented to this mode of taking the oath of abjuration.* Sir F. Thesiger then moved that a new writ issue for the city of London; and Mr. P. Wood moved an amendment, declaring the seats for the city of London to be full. Both motions were negatived; the amendment by 221 to 117 votes, and the original motion without a division.—On the motion of Lord John Russell, the subject was then postponed till the 1st of August. On that day the attorney-general moved two resolutions. The first denied the baron's right to vote or sit in the House till he had taken the oath of abjuration according to law: the second pledged the House, in the next session, to pass a resolution for the relief of

the Jews. These resolutions were carried; and the subject dropped for the present.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made his financial statement very early in 1850—on the 15th of March. He said that such was the improvement in the revenue, that the receipts for 1849 had left a surplus of two millions and a-half over the outgoings, instead of the small sum he had calculated upon. For the coming year, he estimated the receipts (at the then rate of taxation) at £52,285,000; the expenditure at £50,613,582: he might expect, therefore, a clear million and a-half surplus on the year ending April 5th, 1851. He proposed to dispose of that sum by applying £750,000 to the reduction of the national debt; to repeal the brick duty, which produced £450,000; and to make such a reduction of the stamp duties as would cause their produce to be £300,000 less. The surplus on the past year he proposed to keep on hand, so as to enable him to issue loans, to the amount of £2,000,000, to England and Scotland, for the purpose of carrying out drainage, and some other works on the land; to advance £20,000 to Ireland, for land improvements to be effected there; and the remainder to complete works of arterial drainage.—Many members spoke, some approving of, others dissenting from, Sir Charles Wood's views; but, ultimately, the House sanctioned all his proposals.

It seemed as if the just and amiable sovereign of this country was to be exposed to outrages from which many of its greatest tyrants had escaped. On the 27th of June, as her majesty was leaving Buckingham Palace, a lunatic pressed forward, and struck her with a small cane so violently as to draw blood, and cause a considerable swelling. The fellow, whose name was Robert Pate, was the son of a gentleman who had been in the army, but had sold his commission, and led a wild, irregular life. It was considered that, though his mind was unsound, he knew the criminality of his conduct, and he was therefore sentenced to seven years' transportation.

The outrage on the Queen was speedily followed by an event which caused gloom and mourning throughout England. This was the violent and melancholy death of Sir Robert Peel. On the evening of the 29th of June, he called at Buckingham Palace to inquire about her majesty's health, after the violence to which she had been subjected. He was on horseback, and, on returning, the animal became restive, and threw him sideways on his left shoulder. Some gentlemen ran to Sir Robert's assistance: on being raised he groaned heavily, and though at first conscious, was conveyed, in a state of insensibility, to his house at Whitehall Gardens. The accident happened on Saturday evening, and Sir Robert lingered in acute pain until the following Tuesday night, the 2nd of July, when he expired. He had been treated only for a fracture of the clavicle; but, on opening the body, it was found that the fifth rib was broken, and, by pressing upon the lung, had produced the cause of death. The sad event was regarded as a national calamity. Tributes of respect and admiration were uttered, in both Houses of Parliament, by men who had been the right honourable baronet's political opponents; a public funeral was offered by the ministry, but declined, as it was known to be the wish of the departed statesman to be buried without pomp in the parish church of Drayton Bassett. The rank of a peeress was offered to his widow, but that lady answered that she wished to bear no other name than that of her illustrious husband. Another reason probably influenced her; Sir Robert, with a noble pride, desired that none of his family should accept any title or public reward for the services he had rendered to his country.

The death of Sir Robert Peel was followed by that of the venerable and respected Duke of Cambridge, who died at Gloucester House on the 8th of July. He was the tenth child and youngest son of George III.; and having been born on the 24th of February, 1774, was in his eighty-third year. Both Houses sent addresses of condolence to the Queen and the Duchess of Cambridge; and the Commons, on receiving a message from her majesty recommending that provision should be made for the honourable support of the present Duke of Cambridge and the Princess Mary, voted a grant of £12,000 a year to the former, and £3,000 to the latter. Mr. Hume twice moved that the Duke of Cambridge's annuity should be only £8,000 per annum; but was defeated—the first time by 206 to 53 votes; the second, by 111 to 52. Mr. Bright, after this second division, moved to limit the duke's income, from all sources, to £12,000 per annum: this was negatived, only 39 "ayes" being given against 108 "noes."

This year, on the 21st of August, the Queen and Prince Albert embarked at Osborne pier for Ostend, on a visit to the King and Queen of the Belgians. On the 24th, her majesty and the prince returned to England, landing at Portsmouth, and proceeding to Osborne. On the 27th, the royal family left the Isle of Wight for Balmoral, taking Holyrood House by the way.—The amiable Queen of the Belgians (a daughter of Louis Philippe) died shortly after the Queen's visit—on the 11th of October: the royal exile (her father) had died at Claremont on the 26th of August previously.

The Roman Catholic question created immense excitement throughout the country at the close of the year 1850; the cause being a bull, issued by Pope Pius IX. on the 29th of September, reviving the episcopal order among the Roman Catholics of England. That order had long been, among the professors of popery in this country, practically a thing of the past.

Instead of episcopal sees, England was divided into vicariates, under the government of vicars apostolic. Till 1840 there were only four of these vicariates. In that year, the then pope, Gregory XVI., increased the number to eight—viz., 1, London; 2, the Western; 3, the Eastern; 4, the Central; 5, the Lancastrian; 6, the York; 7, the Northern; and 8, the Welsh. In nine years more, Roman Catholicism, it was alleged, had made further advances in this country; and the members of that church, both ecclesiastics and laymen, had a great desire that the episcopacy should be revived. Pius tells us that the vicars apostolic were unanimous in their wishes upon this point; and that petitions for the appointment of bishops "had been presented to him by very many among the clergy, and by laymen, distinguished by their virtues and their birth." Therefore, he continues, "we invoke the most blessed Virgin Mary, mother of God, and the saints who shed the lustre of their virtue on England, that they would aid us, by their intercession before God, in bringing this matter to a happy issue." A passage this, which sets forth two of the unscriptural and superstitious practices of the church of Rome—prayers and invocations to the Virgin (who was the mother of the *man* Christ, not of the divinity with which he was invested) and to the saints—in a forcible light. Besides invoking the Virgin and saints, Pius consulted the cardinals who formed his council—a much more practical method of proceeding. Acting upon their advice, he divided England into one metropolitan and twelve episcopal sees, to which he appointed bishops; creating the Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, who was vicar apostolic of the London vicariate, Metropolitan and Archbishop of Westminster, who was to preside over all his episcopal brethren; and who was also created a cardinal. Deans and canons were likewise appointed; and the entire ecclesiastical system of Rome was introduced into this country.

The bull, accompanied by a pastoral letter from the new cardinal—who styled himself "Nicholas, by the divine mercy of the holy Roman church, by the title of St. Pudentiana, Cardinal Priest, Archbishop of Westminster, and Administrator Apostolic of the Diocese of Southwark"—was circulated throughout England, and it is impossible to over-rate the excitement and indignation to which it gave rise. The power claimed by the pope, of dividing England into bishoprics, and appointing ecclesiastics to preside over them, was considered alike an aggression upon the prerogatives of the crown and the liberties of the people. The 5th of November came quick upon the appearance of the bull; and the ridiculous exhibitions of that day—which have no *good* effect upon any one, and only serve to revive and augment feelings of acerbity and hatred that ought not to be excited by religious differences, and which the good sense and really tolerant spirit of the present generation were causing to fall into desuetude—were never displayed with more gusto. To the effigies of Guy Fawkes and the Pope, usually displayed on that day, that of Cardinal Wiseman was added; the trio were carried about the streets of the metropolis, and in most of our large towns: crowds of grown-up persons accompanied them—not mere boys begging for halfpence, as is mostly the case; and at night they were hanged and burned amidst cheers for the Queen and Protestantism, and execrations against popery and the pope. From the pulpit and the platform, denunciations against the act of papal aggression were alike fulminated; and the Protestant press was also heartily engaged in the same cause. Scarcely a parish in England but had its meeting and its petition against this assumption of a power by the pope which he certainly had no right to exercise; parliament was implored to vindicate the exclusive prerogative of the crown to appoint bishops; and addresses to the Queen, resenting the invasion of her regal privileges, were presented by the city of London, the universities, and by most great public bodies throughout the kingdom. The excitement was, if possible, increased by the publication of a letter addressed, on the 4th of November, by Lord John Russell, who was then in the north, to the Bishop of Durham. In this letter his lordship was very severe on the pope, whose conduct he described as an aggression equally insolent and insidious, and as an assumption of superiority even beyond what was claimed when Roman Catholicism was the religion of the state. He described that religion as a faith that "confined the intellect, and enslaved the soul;" but said there "was a danger which alarmed him much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign"—viz., those practices of a section which he termed unworthy sons of the church of England; practices which, he said, were "openly reprehended by the Bishop of London in his charge to the clergy of his diocese."

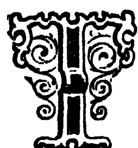
Notwithstanding these manifestations, which were made in all parts of the kingdom, the feeling displayed by them was not universally entertained. Only one section of the church—the Evangelical—took part in them; and a very large proportion of the people stood aloof; for whilst they condemned the act of the pope as one which he had no right to commit, they did not believe that Roman Catholicism would be more effectually propagated or developed by bishops than it had been by vicars apostolic; and they thought it better not to promote an agitation which must have the effect of irritating Roman Catholics and Protestants still more against each other.

Thus the year 1850 closed; and the meeting of parliament was eagerly anticipated by those who take part in

the popular expressions of opinion; as they confidently expected, from the tone of the "Durham Letter"—as the missive of Lord John Russell to the bishop is popularly styled—that an act would be passed positively prohibiting such authority and power as Pope Pius had assumed, from being exercised in England by any foreign priest or potentate whatever.

CHAPTER CVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1851.



HE excitement caused by the pope's bull had somewhat subsided when the year 1851 opened, though meetings on the subject continued to be held. The political economists and financial reformers were also actively at work, promoting agitation, and holding meetings in most parts of the country; their immediate objects being to procure the repeal of the window-tax, and of the paper, newspaper, and advertisement duties.—In Ireland, there were strong expressions of public opinion against the abolition of the office of lord-lieutenant, which had been proposed by the premier in the last session.—Parliament assembled on the 4th of February. The session was opened by the Queen in person; who—after alluding to the state of the continent—to recent measures taken by Brazil for the suppression of the slave-trade—to the satisfactory state of the revenue—and to the flourishing condition of the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom—lamenting, at the same time, the severe distress that existed among the owners and occupiers of land—thus spoke on that topic which was the prominent one in the minds of many of her subjects:—

"The recent assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles conferred by a foreign power has excited strong feelings in this country, and large bodies of my subjects have presented addresses to me, expressing attachment to the throne, and praying that such assumption should be resisted. I have assured them of my resolution to maintain the rights of my crown, and the independence of the nation, against all encroachment, from whatever quarter it may proceed. I have, at the same time, expressed my earnest desire and firm determination to maintain, unimpaired, the religious liberty which is so highly prized by the people of this country. It will be for you to consider the measure which will be laid before you on this subject."

On the 7th of February, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill "to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles, in respect of places in the United Kingdom." There was an animated debate, extending over four nights—Feb. 7, 10, 12, and 14; and ending in the motion being carried by 395 "ayes" to 63 "noes."—The attorney-general produced the bill immediately after the division. It imposed a penalty of £100 for the assumption of any ecclesiastical title, under the papal rescript for any place in the United Kingdom; made void any act done by persons assuming such titles; and declared the endowment of such sees illegal, and all gifts to the holders forfeited to the crown. It was read a first time that evening.—Before the second reading a ministerial crisis took place.

On the 11th of February, Mr. Disraeli had moved a resolution, to the effect, that the severe distress which continued to exist among the owners and occupiers of land, as lamented in her majesty's speech, rendered it the duty of the government to introduce, without delay, measures for their effectual relief. The debate continued through that sitting, and was adjourned to the 13th; when, after another long discussion, the motion was negatived by 281 votes to 267—a majority of 14. On the 17th of February, the House went into a committee of ways and means, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir C. Wood, made his financial statement. The government had long made up its yearly accounts for a term commencing April 6th in one year, and ending on the 5th of April in another, calling the twelve months between the two periods the "financial year." On this occasion, the Chancellor stated, that the income for "the financial year" 1850-'51, ending April 5 in the latter year, would be about £52,656,000; the expenditure, £50,134,000, leaving a surplus of £2,522,000. For the financial year ending April 5, 1852, the right honourable gentleman estimated the revenue at £52,140,000; the outgoings at £50,247,171; the surplus at £1,892,829. He proposed to continue the income-tax and the Irish stamp duties for three years longer; to reduce the window duty one-third; to equalise the duty on foreign and colonial coffee (at that time *6d.* and *4d.* per pound), and reduce it to *3d.*; to reduce the import duty on foreign sawn timber, from *20s.* to *10s.*; and on hewn timber, from *15s.* to *7s. 6d.*;

to make seeds imported for agricultural purposes subject to a mere registration duty of 1s. per cwt.; and to transfer the charges for pauper lunatic asylums from the poor-rates to the consolidated fund. He estimated the loss to the revenue, from these alterations, at £1,280,000. The only vote Sir Charles asked, after making his statement, was that for continuing the income-tax for a further period of three years. This proposition, and the general mode in which the financial minister proposed to deal with the surplus, were received with great dissatisfaction. So numerous were the objections, and so urgently were they pressed, that no determination was come to before the House adjourned.—On the 20th of February, Mr. Locke King, one of the members for East Surrey, moved for leave to bring in a bill reducing the £50 household qualification for the county franchise to £10, the amount required in boroughs. Lord John Russell, on the part of the government, opposed the motion. He did not object so much to the reduction of the franchise as to the time at which it was proposed; as there were many reasons why it was undesirable to bring forward a Reform Bill in that session. If the motion were withdrawn, he would himself, he said, at the commencement of the next session, bring in a bill embodying his views on the subject. Mr. Locke King refused to withdraw his motion; and on a division, it was carried by 100 votes to 52.

In consequence of this defeat, the narrow majority on Mr. Disraeli's resolution, and the dissatisfaction manifested, both in and out of the House, at the financial proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the ministers resolved to resign. On the 22nd of February, Lord John Russell had an interview with the Queen, and tendered the resignation of himself and colleagues, which her majesty accepted, and sent for Lord Stanley, who, on consulting with his friends the next day, found that, although he could undertake to form a ministry, he could not secure the necessary parliamentary support; and he was obliged to decline the commission with which her majesty had entrusted him. Lord John Russell was then requested by the Queen to make the attempt to reconstruct the cabinet; but he also failed; and the Queen sent for the Duke of Wellington, who, on considering the state of parties, advised her majesty to reappoint the late ministry. Her majesty took the advice of his grace; and, on the 3rd of March, the Marquis of Lansdowne in the Lords, and Lord John Russell in the Commons, announced their intention, and that of their colleagues, to remain in office, and continue to administer the affairs of the country to the best of their ability.—The cause of the failure of Lord Stanley to form a ministry, and of Lord John Russell's attempt to reconstruct his cabinet, arose from the position taken up by the Earl of Aberdeen, Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and other members of both Houses, who formed a party called the "Peelites," as they were followers of the late Sir Robert Peel. If the leaders of this party would have accepted office with Lord Stanley, they would have given him a majority in the House of Commons, and enabled him to carry on the government; but they refused, partly from the still-existing protectionist tendencies of the Conservatives, and partly from personal motives, as they did not forget the attacks which had been made on their lamented leader by several of Lord Stanley's party, especially by Mr. Disraeli—attacks which induced Mr. Gladstone to say that he never would accept a seat in a cabinet of which that gentleman was a member.—When Lord John Russell attempted to reconstruct his cabinet, he also requested the Peelites to join him; but they refused, because they could not support the "Ecclesiastical Titles Bill."

On the 7th of March that bill was again brought forward. It was considerably modified; and weak and inefficient as many members considered it at first, it was rendered more deserving of that character by the alterations.—After Sir George Grey, the Secretary of State for the Home Department, had stated the modifications proposed, and explained the purport and object of the measure, the further consideration of the subject was adjourned for one week. It was resumed on the 14th of March. On that evening, the 17th, the 18th, 20th, 24th, and 25th, it formed the subject of debate; and the discussion frequently trenched on the very bounds of moderation, so earnest were most of the defenders and opponents of the measure. The speakers were numerous, and almost each member who addressed the House had some peculiar view of his own; but the bill was defended on the broad ground that it was intended to prevent an assumption of power, and an interference with the royal prerogative, by the pope, which, if permitted to be exercised, would entail dangerous, if not fatal consequences; and it was opposed as an interference with religious liberty, and a violation of the Emancipation Act of 1829. Notwithstanding that all the Peelites, with Mr. Bright, Mr. Roebuck, and a few more of the Radical party, joined the Roman Catholic members in voting against the bill, the second reading was carried by 435 votes against 95.—During the month of April the bill was not proceeded with, and many supposed it was dropped. On the 9th of May, however, the motion was made, that the House should go into committee upon the measure. This motion was before the House on the 9th, 12th, 15th, and 16th of May, being carried, on the latter evening, by 116 to 35 votes. The bill was in committee on the 19th, 23rd,

and 26th of May; the 1st, 2nd, 6th, 20th, and 23rd of June. During the discussion, efforts were made to exclude Ireland from its operation on the one hand, and to render the enactments more stringent on the other. All the amendments proposed were negatived, except three proposed by Sir F. Thesiger, which excluded from the kingdom, not only the bull of the 29th of September, 1850, but all papal bulls and rescripts; subjected persons procuring such bulls, &c., to the penalty of £100, as well as those who assumed ecclesiastical titles; and provided for the recovery of the penalty at the suit of any person, with the consent of the attorney-general. —On the 4th of July, the bill was passed by 263 votes to 46. In the Lords, it was read a first time on the 7th of July, without any division. The debate on the second reading occupied two nights; and, on a division, there were 265 for, to 38 against, its passing through that stage. It passed through committee at one sitting, on the 25th of July; was read a third time on the 29th; and received the royal assent on the 1st of August. The following is an abstract of the measure as finally passed:—

The preamble set forth the assumption, by divers of her majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, of the titles of archbishop and bishops of pretended sees or dioceses, "under colour of an alleged authority given to them by certain briefs, rescripts, or letters apostolical from the See of Rome;" and the clauses enacted—1st. That all such briefs, &c., and any authority they pretended to confer, should be unlawful and void.—2nd. That any person procuring or publishing such bull, briefs, &c., and any person (if unauthorised by law) assuming the style or title of archbishop, bishop, or dean of any city, town, or place in the United Kingdom, should incur a penalty of £100, to be recovered at the suit of any person having the consent of the attorney-general in England or Ireland, and the advocate-general in Scotland.—3rd. That the act was not to apply to the assumption or use of the title by any bishop of the Protestant episcopal church of Scotland.

The proceedings connected with this measure have been given somewhat in detail, because, since the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, no measure that came before them caused so much excitement amongst the English people; and no measure was ever brought forward with so much pretension which has, apparently, so miserably failed. The act has not prevented the assumption of ecclesiastical titles by the Roman Catholic priests; but no penalty has been enforced: and it literally remains a dead letter on the statute-book. It is, however, certain that the events which preceded and attended the passing of that act were not without a beneficial effect. The Roman Catholic episcopacy has, since 1850, been re-established in England; but there have been no other attempts to introduce the papal authority, or to interfere with the prerogative of the sovereign; which there very likely would have been, but for the strong expression of popular feeling, and the large majorities which voted for the bill in both Houses; and the assumption of the episcopal title has not given the priest any *prestige* or power which the vicars apostolic did not enjoy.—In Ireland, the episcopacy was never abolished. But there, as in England, the Protestants consider the archbishops and bishops as merely "titular" prelates: they have no authority, but that spiritual jurisdiction over their followers, which, if not submitted to voluntarily, cannot be enforced; and they take no rank or position from their becoming, nominally, archbishops or bishops. If the "Ecclesiastical Titles Act" is a dead letter, so are the titles themselves; and, in England, no disposition has yet been shown by those on whom they are conferred, to violate the law of the land by an attempt to unite solid power to the mere shadow of dignity which they enjoy.

Next to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, the subject that attracted most popular attention was the financial policy of the government: and, in London, the citizens took great interest in the attempt made during the session to procure the admission of Jews into the legislature.—With respect to the finances, after the army and navy estimates had been voted, Sir Charles Wood, on the 4th of April, brought forward, in a committee of ways and means, a revised budget. He proposed to abolish the window duty entirely; substituting a duty of 9*d.* in the pound on inhabited houses whose rent exceeded £20 per annum; and 6*d.* in the pound on shops, inns, taverns, and farm-houses; thus one object of the political economists and financial reformers —the repeal of the window duty—was obtained. In other respects the right honourable gentleman adhered to his first proposals, and they were ultimately sanctioned by the House, with the exception of that for continuing the property and income-tax for three years. In committee, on the 2nd of May, Mr. Hume carried, by 244 "ayes" to 230 "noes," a resolution that its term should be only for one year, and that it should expire on the 5th of April, 1852. The question of the admission of the Jews was brought forward on the 3rd of April, by Lord John Russell. On that day, his lordship, in a committee of the whole House, carried, by 166 votes to 98, a resolution for considering the mode of administering the oath of abjuration to the people of that nation. The same day he obtained leave to bring in a bill for allowing a Jew who might be elected a member of that House, to be sworn on the Old Testament; and to omit from the oath the words, "On the true faith of a Christian."—On the 1st of May, this bill was read a second time; the votes in its favour being 202; against it 177.—It passed through its other stages, being

strongly opposed, both in committee and on its third reading; but the majority remained in its favour. In the Lords there was a different result: their lordships, on the 17th of July, by 144 votes to 108, refused to sanction the second reading; and the bill was lost.

While the fate of this measure was in suspense, another Jew had been returned a member of the House. After the session commenced, Mr. E. Barnard, one of the representatives of the borough of Greenwich, died; and David Salomons, Esq., an alderman of the city of London, had been elected to fill the vacant seat. On the 18th of July, the day after the bill for the relief of the Jews had been thrown out of the Lords, the worthy alderman presented himself at the table to take the oaths. He was permitted to be sworn on the Old Testament, but refused to repeat the words, "On the true faith of a Christian." The Speaker ordered him to withdraw: instead of doing so, he took a seat on the right of the chair; on being again told that he must leave the House, he removed to a seat behind the bar. During this time the House presented a scene of the greatest excitement; and Alderman Salomons was loudly cheered by those who were anxious for the removal of the Jewish disabilities.—On the 20th, Mr. Salomons again entered the House, and took his seat on one of the ministerial benches, between Sir B. Hall and Mr. Chisholm Anstey.—As he refused to withdraw when ordered by the Speaker, the right honourable chairman appealed to the House to enforce his order. Mr. Bernal Osborne then moved, that Mr. Salomons, having taken the oath according to the form most binding on his conscience, was entitled to take his seat. This motion was negatived by 229 votes to 81; as was a motion that the House adjourn, by 237 to 76: on both motions Mr. Salomons voted. Then the House divided on the motion that "the honourable gentleman be ordered to withdraw." This vote was carried by 231 votes against 81. He would not comply with the order till the sergeant-at-arms approached, and laid his hand on his shoulder; then he left the House. The next day, Lord John Russell moved, "That David Salomons, Esq., is not entitled to vote in this House, or to sit in the House during any debate, until he shall take the oath of abjuration in the form required by law."—On the 28th of July, this resolution was carried by 123 votes to 68.—The day the House came to this decision, the Speaker received a letter from the alderman, informing him that two actions for penalties had been brought against him, for sitting and voting in that House. Those actions were decided against him in the Court of Exchequer, and he was fined £500. He appealed against this decision on a writ of error; but the court, presided over by Lord Chief Justice Campbell, unanimously, in a judgment given after Hilary Term, 1852, confirmed the decision of the Court of Exchequer; decreeing that the words, "On the true faith of a Christian," formed an essential part of the oath; and that Jews could not sit in either House of Parliament.

The two Houses were not prorogued till the 7th of August; but though much business came before them, and numerous bills were passed, few were of historical interest. The most important was "An Act to improve the Administration of Justice in the Court of Chancery, and in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council." By this act, the sovereign is empowered to appoint, from time to time, two barristers, of not less than fifteen years' standing, to be judges of the Court of Appeal in Chancery; the two sitting together to act, or one sitting with the Lord Chancellor. These functionaries, styled Lords Justices of the Court of Appeal in Chancery, take rank after the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and receive salaries of £6,000 per annum. The same act fixed the Lord Chancellor's salary at £10,000 per annum, clear of all reductions; and that of the Master of the Rolls at £6,000.—By another act, the salary of the Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench was reduced from £10,000 to £8,000; and that of the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, from £8,000 to £7,000.

Before the session closed, the great International Industrial Exhibition was opened—one of the most successful undertakings of the age; and for which, as already stated, England was greatly indebted to the late Prince Consort, who acted as president of "The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce," instituted in 1753. That society commenced its career by offering "honorary rewards"—we now call them "prizes"—"for works of merit, inventions, discoveries, and improvements." In 1761, the society held its first exhibition of "works of art and useful inventions;" and, since that period, those exhibitions have frequently been held at the society's rooms in the Adelphi, London. The immediate idea of the great Exhibition of 1851 was derived from the Parisian exhibitions, which, originating in 1797, had been continued, at no stated interval, to the present time. Those exhibitions were confined to "the productions of France in art, science, manufactures, mechanics, and agriculture." One of them was announced for 1849; and M. Buffet, then minister of agriculture and commerce, proposed that it should not be confined to France and Frenchmen, but that all the nations of Europe should have the privilege of sending specimens of their productions in art and industry. The proposal, rejected by the French authorities, was taken up by the president and fellows of the Society of Arts. In 1848, the council of that society had proposed to his royal highness that there should be a permanent quin-

quennial exhibition of works of British industry, to be self-supporting, and under the control of a royal commission. The prince undertook to submit this plan to the government, and promised his support. Before any decision was arrived at on this proposal, the failure of M. Buffet's plan to throw the Paris Exhibition open to all Europe became known. Then Prince Albert suggested that the proposed Exhibition in London should be an international one. The council at once assented; the plan was developed and determined upon on the 30th of June, 1849, when it was resolved that an exhibition of raw materials, machinery, manufactures, and sculpture should be held in 1851; and that it should be open, not only to Europe, but to the world. A royal commission was issued on the 3rd of January, 1850; and, soon after, it was decided that the sum of £20,000 should be distributed in prizes; that the expenses should be defrayed by the receipts and by public subscriptions; and that a guarantee fund should be established to secure the directors from loss. Hyde Park was fixed upon as the locality for holding the Exhibition; and there, between Knightsbridge Road and Rotten Row, on a site extending over eighteen acres, the most remarkable building of modern times was erected, principally of glass and iron, from a design of the late Sir Joseph Paxton, who was then head gardener to the late Duke of Devonshire; for whom he had built the magnificent conservatory which adorns the Devonshire estate at Chiswick: from that building the idea of the beautiful edifice in Hyde Park, known as the "Crystal Palace," was derived. This building was 1,848 feet long, and 456 feet broad. It formed a parallelogram of five aisles. The central aisle was seventy-two feet high, and 120 feet across; the two adjoining, on the north and south sides, were forty-eight, and the outer aisles twenty-four, feet in height; each of the four being seventy-two feet wide. In the centre, the aisles were intersected by a transept, seventy-two feet wide, whose arched roof rose 108 feet from the floor. Galleries ran round each of the aisles and the transept; and—the centre aisle being appropriated to sculpture, painted glass, and models of several large and remarkable buildings—the remainder of the palace was divided into courts, in which the various "nations" exhibited their specimens. In front of each court was displayed the name and banner of the nation to which it was appropriated; and there were very few indeed that did not send contributions.—The effect of this edifice on the eye was wonderful. The colours used in decorating it were blue, white, and yellow; and the roof was shaded with white satin, to exclude the heat. When the sun shone brilliantly, this shade softened and subdued the light, and greatly improved the effect. The palace was built in a remarkably short space of time. The contractors—Messrs. Fox and Henderson—only obtained possession of the site on the 30th of July, 1850; on the 26th of September the first column was raised; and on the 1st of January, 1851, it was handed over to the commissioners; to whom the Queen had previously granted a charter, constituting them a permanent body, it being contemplated to hold a similar Exhibition once in ten years.—It was arranged that season tickets should be issued, at two guineas for ladies, and three guineas for gentlemen. That only the holders of those tickets should be admitted on the opening day; that, on the 2nd and 3rd of May, the fee for admission should be £1; subsequently, 1*s.* on the first four days of the week, 2*s.* 6*d.* on Fridays, and 5*s.* on Saturdays.

The Exhibition was opened on the 1st of May; the Queen, with the Prince of Wales and the Princess Helena, going to Hyde Park in state, attended by the lords and ladies of the household, and a long procession of the aristocracy and gentry of both sexes, in carriages or on horseback. At the palace her majesty was received by the Prince Consort and the royal commissioners, and conducted to a dais erected at the south end of the palace, where a throne and chairs of state were placed; all surmounted by a splendid canopy of crimson velvet. Appropriate prayers were offered up by the Archbishop of Canterbury; an address was read to her majesty by the prince; a selection of chorale music was performed; and the Exhibition was declared, by the Queen, "to be opened." Then her majesty passed through the courts, followed by the royal commissioners, and a long procession of ladies and gentlemen; and great admiration was expressed by all the visitors at the wonders which met the eye. The most distant nations were contributors as well as those which were near at hand; and specimens of everything rich and rare, from all parts of the world, were displayed. Groups of statues; gigantic and glittering fountains; tropical plants; flowers in luxuriant profusion; the beautiful porcelain of China and of France; the fine ceramic ware of our own country; the glass of Bohemia; the velvets, silks, satins, linens, poplins, and cottons of our own and other climes; jewelry; cutlery, and other hardware; cabinet and carved work; metals and minerals, together with drugs, dyes, and perfumes were tastefully arranged in the various courts. Nor was the press forgotten: its productions were collected in a court appropriated for the purpose; and there was seen type of various kinds; whilst the old printing-press stood side-by-side with the modern Stanhope, and the still more novel steam-engine printing machine. Her majesty seemed reluctant to leave, even when she had had a glimpse of all; and she was a frequent visitor during the time the Exhibition continued open.

It was closed on the 15th of October, with great ceremony, by Prince Albert, having been open 144 days. During that time there had been 6,169,016 admissions; the greatest number on one day being on Tuesday, the 7th of October, when 109,915 persons passed the several entrances; and it is computed that 93,000 persons were, on that day, under the glass roof at one time.—The receipts amounted to £505,107; the expenditure to about £350,000; leaving a surplus of something more than £150,000. The guarantee fund amounted to £250,000; that, of course, was untouched. —One event connected with the Great Exhibition ought to be noticed before we dismiss it from our pages. At the close of July, the Lord Mayor of London, the royal commissioners, and numerous other distinguished persons, went to Paris, in consequence of an invitation received from the municipality of that city; and they were *fêted* for several days, the greatest good-feeling and cordiality being evinced.

In the autumn, the Queen again visited Balmoral, leaving Osborne on the 28th of August. Her majesty this year returned to Windsor by the western route. She arrived at Croxteth Hall, the seat of the Earl of Sefton, near Liverpool, on the 8th of October. The next day her majesty visited Liverpool, where the inhabitants were very cordial and enthusiastic. The same evening she arrived at Worsley Hall, on her way to Manchester, which city she visited on the 10th, and was received with great demonstrations of loyal attachment. The royal party arrived at Windsor the next day. Her majesty's uncle, the King of Hanover, and Duke of Cumberland (the fifth son of George III.), died this year, on the 18th of November, in the 81st year of his age. He was succeeded by his son, who ascended the throne of Hanover as George V.

On the 31st of March, 1851, the census of the United Kingdom was taken. The returns gave the number of inhabitants as follows:—

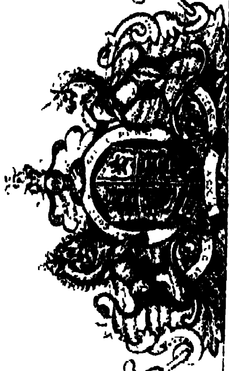
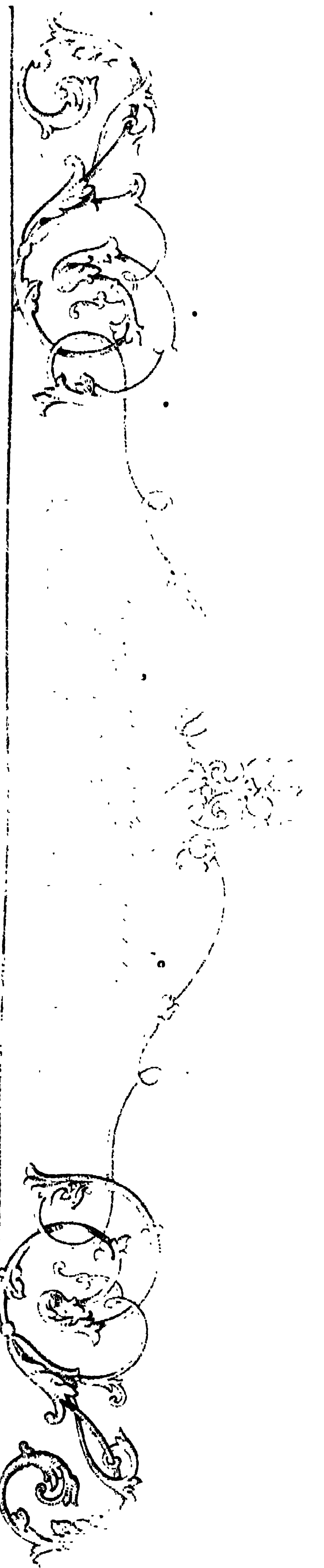
	Males.	Females.	Total.
England and Wales ..	8,762,588..	9,160,180..	17,922,768
Scotland	1,363,622..	1,507,162..	2,870,784
Islands in the British seas	66,511..	76,405..	142,916
Grand Total..........			20,936,468

This was an increase of 2,271,707 since 1841. In Ireland, on the 31st of March, the population comprised 3,176,727 males, and 3,339,067 females: total, 6,515,794. This was a decrease of 1,659,330 in the ten years.

The returns from the Board of Trade showed the foreign commerce of the country to be still increasing; the amount of exports for the twelve months ending January 5, 1852, being £68,531,609.

Our colonies, as a rule, partook of the prosperity of the mother country; and the foundation of Australia's greatness was laid by the discovery of gold, which caused numerous emigrants to leave England, to dig for bullion in the "gold-fields." The first discovery of the ore was made in the vicinity of Bathurst. The governor of New South Wales, on the 22nd of May, issued a proclamation, claiming the precious metals which might be found in the newly-discovered auriferous district; and threatening with punishment all who "should search or dig for gold in and upon such territory," unless they first took out a licence, for which they were to pay 30s. per month. Early in June there were above 20,000 persons at the "diggings;" and the gold was found abundantly in the beds of streams, and in veins of quartz; in grains, in scales, and in lumps of various weights. A despatch from the lieutenant-governor of Victoria to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated the 25th of August, announced that a rich gold-field had also been found in that province.—At the Cape of Good Hope, a war with the Kaffirs broke out early in the year.—At the close of 1850, a new constitution, investing the colonists with self-government, had been drawn up and sent to the Queen by Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Mr. Fairbairn. This affair was scarcely settled when the Kaffirs made hostile demonstrations against the colonists; defeating the troops, who were much inferior to them in numbers, in several instances, and making murderous raids on the villages of the frontier. On the 31st of December, the governor (Sir Henry Smith) issued a proclamation from King William's Town, establishing martial law in the colony, and ordering all males, between fifteen and twenty years of age, to rise *en masse*, in order to defend the frontiers against the savages. The war continued through the year; and the British troops displayed great powers of endurance, their usual bravery, and, as a rule, generosity and forbearance, in dealing with their enemy.

The familiar and friendly intercourse between England and France was strengthened during the year by the laying of a submarine electric telegraph cable between Calais and Dover, and the establishment of the rapid communication between the two countries which that medium affords. The laying down the line commenced in September; on the 25th of that month it was submerged to within two miles of the French coast, when it was found that the cable was too short by about a quarter of a mile. So expeditious were the parties employed in supplying the deficiency, that, on the 27th, messages were sent to and fro across the channel. The line was not declared open, however, for the conveyance of messages by the public till the 13th of November; on which day, as one result of the

modern discovery, guns were fired at Dover, by means of electric sparks communicated from Calais.

In the month of December another change was effected in the constitution of France, by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and his immediate adherents in the army and the national assembly. For some time there had been a strong antagonism between him and the majority of that body. Whilst the latter suspected the president of a design to ruin the republic, his friends spread a report through France—which was repeated in a fierce political article in the Paris paper, the *Constitutionnel*, on the 23rd of November—to the effect, that the majority of the legislative assembly were conspiring against the prince-president, with a view to declare General Changarnier military dictator. The enemies of the prince say that there was no foundation for this report, which was merely got up to afford a colourable pretence for the steps he was evidently prepared to take, when the article in the *Constitutionnel* appeared. That article was followed by the immediate displacing of several ministers and officers. Their places were filled with men devoted to the president. General de St. Arnaud, an officer who had distinguished himself in Algeria, was appointed Minister of War; M. Maupas, who had been a prefect in the provinces, and whose character was far from pure, was nominated Prefect of Police; and General Lawerstine was commander of the national guards, superseding General Perrot. General Magnan, the commander-in-chief of the army of Paris, was disposed to obey any orders he received; and MM. de Morny and de Persigny were kept in attendance on the president to advise with him, and to convey his orders to those who were to put them in execution.—On the 27th of November a number of generals met at the house of General Magnan, for the purpose, said rumour, of learning the nature of the plans they were to assist in carrying out. On the 1st of December, the president had an assembly at the Elysée, the greater part of his guests being ignorant of what was about to take place; and it included all who were likely to have actively endeavoured to thwart his designs. While this assembly was held, the *gendarmerie* surrounded the state printing-office, where the men were compelled to remain, and print several proclamations of the president. In these documents—which were found placarded all over Paris on the morning of the 2nd—it was declared that the council of state and the national assembly were dissolved, and universal suffrage established. The charges of the *Constitutionnel* against the assembly were repeated; Paris was declared to be in a state of siege; and the plan of another constitution, comprising a president elected for ten years, a council of state, a senate, and a legislative body, was submitted to the people.—On the 2nd, M. de Morny, at the head of a body of troops, first took possession of the Hôtel of the Interior, and then made a number of arrests, including MM. Thiers, Changarnier, Bedeau, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and Charras. All the parties arrested were immediately conveyed to prison.

The members of the assembly opposed to Louis Napoleon attempted to meet at the Hôtel de Ville; but, being expelled, they assembled at the *mairie* of the 10th arrondissement, where they agreed to resolutions declaring Louis Napoleon Bonaparte deposed from the office of president, depriving him of all authority, and calling upon the citizens to withhold their obedience. The *mairie*, however, was soon surrounded by troops; all the members assembled there were arrested, and taken to the barracks in the Quai d'Orsay, and the city was occupied by the military. The High Court of Justice also met to denounce the acts of the president, upon whom the judges ordered a notice of impeachment to be served. Whilst they were proceeding to take such other steps as they considered the time required, they were expelled by a corps of *gendarmerie*. On the 3rd, the authorities appointed by the president were taking steps to maintain their position; and the few members of the assembly who were at liberty, endeavoured to engage the Parisians to resist the new *régime*. In the night barricades were thrown up in various parts of Paris, and, on the morning of the 4th, the capital appeared in a state of great excitement. There were large bodies of troops in the streets; and the footpaths, as well as the windows and balconies of the houses, were filled with people; many females appearing in the latter. A few musket-shots, fired from the populace, occasioned a fierce discharge of musketry and cannon from the troops. It did not last long, but the effect was fearful; many being killed and wounded. In the evening, Marshal de St. Arnaud published the following "order of the day:"—"Soldiers! you have, to-day, accomplished a great act of your military life. You have preserved the country from anarchy and pillage, and saved the republic. You have shown yourselves what you will always be—brave, devoted, and indefatigable. France admires and thanks you."

Quiet was now restored; order was soon re-established; a consultative commission was appointed by the president, to act with him; and the French people were called upon to say "Yes" or "No" to the following *plebiscite*:—

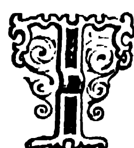
"The French people desire the maintenance of the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, and delegates to him the powers necessary for establishing a constitution, upon the basis proposed in his proclamation of December 2nd, 1851."

The voting took place on the 20th and 21st of De-

cember; and on the 1st of January, 1852, it was announced, in the *Moniteur*, that there were 7,439,216 affirmative, and 640,737 negative votes; 30,820 tickets tendered were annulled as irregular.—That day the prince was installed at the cathedral of Notre Dame, and took up his residence at the Tuileries. The same day a decree appeared, re-establishing the imperial eagle on the French flag, and on the cross of the Legion of Honour. Thus ended the movement since known as "the *coup-d'état* of December, 1851."

CHAPTER CVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1852.



THE events connected with the *coup-d'état* in Paris formed the chief topics of conversation and comment in England during the last few days of 1851, and at the commencement of 1852, especially as it was understood that Lord Palmerston had been dismissed from his office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on account of his having declared, in a conversation with the French ambassador, and without the authority of his colleagues, that the English government approved of the proceedings which had taken place in Paris in the early part of the month of December. Public opinion was divided on those proceedings; but generally the conduct of the president was condemned; and it was confidently predicted that, following the example of his uncle, Louis Napoleon would establish a complete despotism in France.

There was, at that time, throughout England, a very general belief that, ere long, we should be at war with France. It was a popular rumour that the prince-president had frequently declared that "Waterloo and St. Helena must be avenged;" and that in his person the avenger would be found. His accession to supreme power in France, thousands imagined, would be the precursor of an invasion of England; and it was felt that neither our army nor navy were in a condition, at that time, to repel an attack made by such a force as it was anticipated would be sent against us. Our relations with other foreign powers were, also, believed to be so unsatisfactory, that, were the country involved in war, it would stand isolated and alone. In the year just expired, the International Exhibition had been hailed as the harbinger of universal peace; and public speakers and writers contrasted the gloomy and desponding feeling of 1852, with the glowing anticipations entertained in 1851.

A domestic strife was, at the same time, producing a complete stagnation in some most important branches of labour. The progress of many modern works—of railways especially—had contributed very much to the prosperity of the engineers and machinists generally. The nature of the employment in which these classes are engaged compels an attention to intellectual pursuits; they are, therefore, amongst the best educated of our working-men, and receive the highest wages. Soon after Mr. Hume attained that end for which he contended through many successive years—the repeal of the combination laws—the workmen began to enrol themselves into societies for the protection of their interests, or what they conceived to come within that category. The engineers and machinists formed a great many of these societies in the provinces; and a short time before the period of which we are now writing, they commenced those efforts to obtain an increase in their already high wages, and other objects, which ended in the strike of January, 1852. In the progress of the contest with the masters, the managers of that contest imbibed the opinion that it would be most likely to contribute to their success were the provincial societies united into one body, with its head-quarters in London. The "Society of Amalgamated Engineers" was accordingly formed, which represented about 120 local bodies, comprising upwards of 12,000 members, whose contributions formed a large yearly revenue; part of which was devoted to the beneficent object of assisting the aged and infirm, the sick and the destitute members; providing for the burial of the deceased; and also aiding the widows and orphans. The remainder was appropriated to other purposes—purposes which the managers and members thought equally praiseworthy; but on that point public opinion differed greatly. At the close of 1851, the Amalgamated Engineers were pressing their demands for increased wages upon the masters; and they also required the abolition of piece-work—*i.e.*, payment in proportion to the quantity of work performed, instead of for the number of hours employed; and of over-hours. At a meeting held at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle Street, on the 30th of December, it was determined to make these demands on the masters, who

refused to comply with them. The men, accordingly, refused to work, but not generally; certain masters being selected, whose men were to strike; and those who continued at work were to contribute to their support. It was expected the masters would be compelled to yield, and then the strike was to be extended to others. The employers, however, thought they had as much right to combine as the employed. A "Masters' Union" was formed; and, on the 10th of January, 1852, all the large engineering firms closed their works and discharged their men. More than 10,000 men were thus obliged to stand idle; to rely, for the support of themselves and families, upon the accumulated funds of the Amalgamated Society, and upon the contributions of other trades. This contest of "labour with capital," as it was termed, caused a feeling of ill-will between the workmen and their employers to become very generally diffused. Numerous meetings were held in different parts of England, connected with the wages question; and, for a time, the movements of political economists and financial reformers, though not discontinued, were thrown into the background. We may add here, that after remaining out of employment nearly four months, necessity compelled the engineers to succumb to their masters. On the 26th of April, the executive committee of the "Amalgamated Society" issued a manifesto, in which they confessed the inutility of their previous efforts, and the uselessness of continued resistance. In May, the workshops were again reopened. By this strike a very large sum was lost to both masters and workmen; but the result has not had the effect of discouraging trade unions, or causing strikes to be discontinued.

Amidst the general gloom caused by the fear of invasion (which, though ridiculed by many, was generally entertained), and the state of the working classes, parliament met on the 3rd of February, 1852; the two Houses assembling, for the first time, in the new building which had replaced the one destroyed by fire on the 16th of October, 1834. This building, called the New Westminster Palace, is the largest public edifice erected in England for several centuries. It covers eight acres of ground, or 16,000,000 cubic feet; is 870 feet long, from north to south; and contains eleven courts, and 500 rooms. The east front next the river has a very imposing appearance. It terminates, to the north and south, in two projecting wings, with handsome towers, each wing being 120 feet long; a noble terrace runs between them, thirty-three feet wide, and 700 feet in length. The building is in the Tudor style, some picturesque features of the town-halls of the Low Countries being introduced. A magnificent tower, called the Victoria Tower, standing on an area eighty-five feet square, and rising to the height of 340 feet, terminates the edifice on the south. In the centre is a large cupola, or dome, with an open lantern and spire, about 300 feet in height. The clock tower, which rises at the north-west angle, is forty feet square, and 320 feet high. These are the principal exterior features of the building. In the interior, the best artists have been employed in the decorations; and the large halls in which the Lords and Commons meet, are very magnificent. The late Sir Charles Barry was the architect; and the cost, originally estimated at £707,104, has exceeded £2,000,000.

The Queen opened the session in person; and the royal speech did not, on one point, accord with the feeling out of doors, as it spoke favourably of the friendly relations with foreign powers. Her majesty also expressed great satisfaction that the late reduction of taxes, which had contributed so much to the relief and comfort of the people, had not caused a diminution of the national income; and thanked Almighty God for the continuance of peace and order throughout the country. The Queen concluded by recommending the time as a fitting one for calmly considering whether it might not be advisable to make such amendments in the Reform Act of the late reign, as would be calculated to carry into more complete effect the principles upon which that law is founded.

The debates on the address would have been unimportant, but for the explanation which was asked, and given, of the reasons for the dismissal of Lord Palmerston, who was succeeded at the Foreign Office by Lord Granville. Sir B. Hall asked, why the noble lord was dismissed? And Lord John Russell replied, that it was in consequence of the approval expressed by the late foreign secretary, and conveyed to the French government, of the *coup-d'état* of December, contrary to that system of non-interference between the different parties in that country which had been the policy of this government. After that step had been taken, there was no other alternative but that he or Lord Palmerston should retire. The late foreign secretary justified his conduct. He had to decide between the president and the assembly; and whilst the course pursued by the latter must have resulted in civil war or anarchy, the president had the means of establishing a good and permanent government. He also asserted, that the premier and other members of the cabinet had expressed to the French ambassador opinions similar to his own. In the course of the debate in both Houses, several members censured the intemperate language of the press upon the occurrences in France, which was calculated to produce an interruption of our amicable relations with that country. In speaking upon this subject in the lower House, Lord John Russell alluded to some recent discoveries and inventions, which had produced

great effect on the public, though the government appeared to disregard them; and said that some of the letters published, and some of the language used, appeared to indicate, that "two nations so wealthy, so civilised, so enlightened" as England and France, "were going to butcher one another merely to see what would be the effect of percussion-shells and needle-guns." His lordship also noticed the hospitality accorded to political refugees, which was "but pursuing the ancient and known policy of this country;" the apprehensions expressed of an invasion; the inadequacy of our forces; and the necessity of improving and increasing them, as it was "at all times wise to take precautions against contingent and possible danger." At the same time, he declared "that there was no reason to suppose that any danger threatened," as "there was, in fact, no dispute between England and any other power." In both Houses, the addresses as proposed by the government were carried.

On the 9th of February, Lord John Russell called attention to the passages in her majesty's speech referring to parliamentary reform, and introduced his bill on that subject. In taking that course, we learn, on the authority of Earl Grey, then the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that his lordship was opposed to his colleagues, and forced his measure upon them. In that measure, his lordship proposed—1. To disfranchise any small borough against the constituency of which bribery and corruption were proved.—2. To substitute a £5 rated value for the existing franchise of £10 rental in boroughs.—3. To reduce the county household franchise from £50 rental to £20 rated value; and the qualification by copyhold tenures, or long leases, from £10 to £5.—4. To create a new class of voters, in both counties and boroughs, of persons who paid 40s. per annum in direct taxes, and were not otherwise qualified.—5. To extend the boundaries of small boroughs with fewer than 500 electors, by adding places in their neighbourhood.—6. To abolish the property qualification required for members.—7. To abolish the invidious distinctions in the oaths taken by Protestants and Roman Catholics; and the adoption of one form—omitting the words, "On the true faith of a Christian"—to be taken by all members.—8. To render, on the change of office under the crown, a vacation of the seat held in that House, and re-election, unnecessary.—9. To continue the county franchise for Ireland as it then stood; but to reduce that for cities and boroughs from £8 to £5.

Leave was given to bring in this bill, and also another, for the more effectual inquiry into the existence of bribery at elections. These bills were again to be brought forward on the 1st day of March. In the interval, on the 16th day of February, Lord John Russell—to carry out, in part, his declaration in the debate on the address, that "it was wise at all times to take precautions against contingent and possible danger"—introduced a bill for reviving the old constitutional militia force, which had not been called out for some years. In his speech, his lordship used language somewhat stronger than that of his previous address; describing the subject as one of vital importance; war and even invasion being apprehended as the result of the recent occurrences in France. He therefore proposed to enrol a local militia, in the first year, of 70,000 men, at a cost of £200,000; to be increased in the second year to 100,000 men; and in the third and following years, to 150,000; with a proportionate increase of expenditure. The services of the men were to be confined to the counties to which they belonged, and in which the corps was raised; the officers to be appointed—two-thirds by the lord-lieutenant of the county, the rest by the crown; and the qualification of landed property required for the officers, to be dispensed with. The bill was to be confined to England and Wales. A separate measure was to be brought in for Scotland, if considered necessary; but his lordship did not propose to extend it to Ireland.

The introduction of this measure was unanimously agreed to by the House, as it was evident, and indeed undisputed, that the national defences of the country loudly called for some radical improvement. That England, for the time being, had no quarrel with any other power was certainly true; but it being considered that preparation for war is the best security for promoting a permanent state of peace, no radical objection was made to the principle of the bill. Criticising the details, however, Lord Palmerston objected to the militia being local; and gave notice that he should move an amendment to make the force a national one; not for England only, but for all parts of the United Kingdom. He also replied to, and confuted an assertion of Mr. Cobden, that the navy was sufficient for the purposes of defence, by showing on how many points an army might be landed, and that it was impossible to cover them all.—His lordship, accordingly, on the 20th of February, when the bill was before the House, moved his amendment; which was carried by 136 votes against 125. This division, and the coldness with which his Reform Bill was received, caused the premier to announce his determination to resign—an announcement which was followed by loud and repeated cheers.—The Queen sent for Lord Derby (Lord Stanley had succeeded to that title in 1851, by the death of his father, the thirteenth earl), who undertook to form a Conservative government. On the 27th of February, the noble earl announced that he had completed his cabinet; and, at the same time, gave an outline of the system of policy he meant to pursue. His great object would be the

maintenance of peace. A calm and temperate course of conduct would be observed towards other nations, whose independence would be respected, and all intermeddling in their internal affairs avoided, especially with respect to the form of government which each nation had a right to choose for itself. Whilst observing this conciliatory conduct, and deprecating the attempt to create a panic by the alarm of an invasion, his lordship announced his intention to proceed with the Militia Bill; and said, while the navy was never in a better condition than it was at that time, he considered it advisable to place the military force of the country under better organisation and discipline. When alluding to commerce and finance he spoke with caution; and with respect to the much-vexed question of protection, said, he saw no reason why foreign corn should be the only article of import free from duty. He thought the system adopted by the United States, of taxing those foreign articles which came into competition with home production, worthy of consideration. It was a question, however, which "could only be solved by the intelligent portion of the community."—The same evening, in the Commons, Mr. Forbes Mackenzie and Mr. Bramston moved for the new writs rendered necessary through the acceptance of office by several members, and both Houses adjourned to the 12th of March.

Lord Derby's first cabinet was thus constituted:

First Lord of the Treasury and Premier	The Earl of Derby.
Lord High Chancellor	Lord St. Leonards.
Lord President of the Council	The Earl of Lonsdale.
Lord Privy Seal	The Marquis of Salisbury.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	The Right Hon. Benj. Disraeli.
Secretaries of State — *Home Affairs*	The Right Hon. S. H. Walpole.
Secretaries of State — *Foreign Affairs*	The Earl of Malmesbury.
Secretaries of State — *Colonial Affairs*	The Right Hon. Sir J. S. Pakington.
First Lord of the Admiralty	The Duke of Northumberland.
President of the Board of Control	The Right Hon. J. C. Herries.
President of the Board of Trade	The Right Hon. J. W. Henley.
Commissioner of Woods and Forests	Lord John Manners.

Other offices (not of the cabinet) were filled as follows:

Lords of the Treasury	The Marquis of Chandos, Lord H. G. C. G. Lennox, and T. Bateson.
Lords of the Admiralty	Rear-Admirals H. Parker and R. Hornby; Captains Sir T. Herbert, Hon. A. Duncombe, and Alexander Milne.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Right Hon. A. Christopher.
Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	R. Bethell.
Postmaster-General	The Earl of Hardwicke.
President of the Poor-Law Board	Sir John Trollope.
Chairman of the Board of Health	Right Hon. Lord Seymour.
Attorney-General	Sir F. Thesiger.
Solicitor-General	Sir Fitzroy Kelly.
Lord Advocate of Scotland	John Inglis.
Ireland — *Lord-Lieutenant*	The Earl of Eglinton.
Ireland — *Lord Chancellor*	The Right Hon. F. Blackburne.
Ireland — *Chief Secretary and Keeper of the Privy Seal*	Lord Naas.
Ireland — *Attorney-General*	Right Hon. J. Napier.
Ireland — *Solicitor-General*	James Whiteside.

The resignation of the Russell ministry was followed by a numerous meeting of the Manchester free-trade party, held at Newall's Buildings, in that town, at which Mr. Cobden moved the reconstruction of the Anti-Corn-Law League; and Mr. Bright a memorial to the Queen, praying for the immediate dissolution of parliament, in order that the opinion of the country might be ascertained as to the re-establishment of protection. Both resolutions were carried unanimously; and a subscription being opened to defray expenses, in twenty-five minutes names were put down for sums amounting, in all, to £27,520.—The new league carried on its operations very actively; and at a free-trade dinner got up under its auspices, and held at Manchester on the 2nd of November, 3,000 guests were present.

The two Houses reassembled on the 12th of March; and on the 15th, Lord Beaumont in the Lords, and Mr. C. Villiers in the Commons, put the question, whether ministers meant to reimpose a duty on foreign corn? In the upper House, the Earl of Derby replied that it was impossible to remove the uncertainty which existed on this point till after the general election. An appeal to the country, he said, should be made as soon as the necessary business of the session could be got through; and "the next election must decide, at once and for ever, the great question of our commercial policy." Mr. Disraeli's reply was precisely to the same effect; and, on a subsequent evening (the 15th of March), in reply to a question of the Duke of Newcastle, as to when parliament would be dissolved, the Earl of Derby said the next autumn should not pass without an appeal to the nation to pronounce a verdict on the conduct of her majesty's government. With a view that (the people having given their decision) no time should be lost in ascertaining the opinion of parliament, one of the first measures of the Conservative government was "An Act for Shortening the Time required for Assembling the Parliament after a Dissolution thereof." This act reduced the time required by law to intervene between the date of the proclamation for assembling parliament, and the day appointed for the meeting, to not less than thirty-five days.

The ministers proceeded with other useful measures; and they met with general support, though the Whigs and Liberals formed a majority of the House of Commons. We may enumerate, amongst the acts added to the statute-book, chiefly through their efforts, "An Act to Legalise the Formation of Industrial and Provident Societies;" "An Act to Amend the Laws relating to the Certifying and Registering Places of Religious Worship for Protestant Dissenters," which simplified the proceeding and reduced the fee; the Militia Act, as amended by Lord Palmerston; "An Act to provide for the more Effectual Inquiry into the Existence of Cor-

rupt Practices at Elections;" "An Act[3] to grant a Representative Constitution to New Zealand;" a very important "Act to Amend the Process, &c., in the Superior Courts of Common Law at Westminster, and in the Superior Courts of the Counties Palatine of Durham and Lancaster;" another Act equally important, "to Amend the Practice and Course of Proceedings in the High Court of Chancery;" and an Act for "Extending the Jurisdiction of the County Courts." These are only a very few of the "useful measures" of the session; and, on the 30th of June, in a conversation between Lords Lyndhurst, Beaumont, and Brougham and the Earl of Derby, on the immense amount of business transacted since March 12th, the first-named noble lord said that, "during the four months that had elapsed since Lord Derby came into office, bills of greater importance had been passed than in any session since the commencement of that parliament."—Besides passing these bills, several committees were sitting during the session; one of which, appointed on the 19th of April, on the motion of Mr. Herries, "to take into consideration the act of 1833, for the better government of her majesty's East Indian possessions," had not finished its inquiries when the session closed.

The parliament was prorogued on the 1st of July. Since 1848 war had been raging between Denmark and Prussia—arising out of the disputed right of the former to the German duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Peace had been concluded; and on the 8th of May, 1852, a treaty was signed by the five great powers—England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia—which subsequently received the assent of most of the German states of the second and third class, securing the two duchies to Frederick VII. of Denmark and his successors. In the speech, when closing the session, the Queen expressed her satisfaction at "the final settlement of the affairs of Holstein and Schleswig;" little anticipating how that treaty would be violated by two of the powers in after years.—On the 2nd of July, a proclamation dissolving the parliament appeared in the *Gazette*. Writs were at the same time issued convoking a new one, which were made returnable by the 20th of August; and the public immediately became interested in the elections. In consequence of the declarations of the Earl of Derby and Mr. Disraeli, the question of free trade was prominently brought forward, and the opinion of the majority of electors could not be mistaken. It was unequivocally in favour of the doctrines of the political economists; and from that time the question of protection has ceased to be one for the hustings. There were those, however, who still thought that to admit the produce and manufactures of foreign countries, either free of duty or very slightly taxed, into competition with those of England, on which heavy duties still continued to be levied in those very states, however beneficial it might be to capital, did not afford the labour of England fair play.

The elections were scarcely over before England was called upon to mourn the loss of one who was, according to Talleyrand, "the most capable man" in the kingdom; and who, though the heat of political strife rendered him for a brief space unpopular, had, long before this period, regained all his former hold on the respect and affection of the people. The venerable Duke of Wellington—who was regarded not merely as the illustrious military hero, who, in the words of Mr. Disraeli, "had fought fifteen pitched battles, captured 3,000 cannon from the enemy, and never lost a gun;" but also as a statesman to whom length of days had imparted so much wisdom that he had become a sort of connecting link and balance of opinion between parties—was suddenly called away. The hardy veteran was in his eighty-fourth year, and age had for some years been leaving its traces on his iron constitution. He was in the habit latterly of spending a great part of every parliamentary recess at his seat of Walmer Castle, near Dover. There, on Monday night, the 13th of September, the duke retired to rest at about ten o'clock, after having spent the day with more than usual cheerfulness. Kendall, his valet, called him the next morning at half-past six, but the duke did not rise. At half-past seven the summons was repeated; he then seemed restless and unwell, and exclaimed abruptly, "Send for Mr. Hulke." The doctor soon arrived; his patient complained of uneasiness in his chest and stomach, attended with nausea; but Mr. Hulke did not consider the attack as at all serious, and desiring that his grace should take some tea and a little dry toast, promised to send some medicine, and left the castle without any apprehensions. Soon afterwards he was again summoned: the duke had had several fits. Mr. Hulke found him propped up in an easy chair and quite unconscious. Telegraphic messages were sent to London, to Dr. Hume, Dr. Ferguson, and Dr. Williams, but they were all absent from home. Dr. M'Arthur, of Deal, was then called in; but the noble patient was beyond the aid of medical skill. For some hours he remained perfectly insensible, breathing with difficulty. At about a quarter-past three it was discovered that his pulse had ceased to beat; he had expired so tranquilly that his attendants were unable to discern the moment of his dissolution.

Thus, on the 14th of September, 1852, died the illustrious soldier—the hero of India and the Peninsula, and the conqueror of Waterloo;—one who was not only the greatest and most successful warrior of the age, but whose civil career—again to quote Mr. Disraeli—"was

scarcely less splendid and successful." And he died "at the head of that army to which he had left the tradition of his fame." The Queen, who had visited the continent in August, was at Balmoral when the duke died; and her majesty immediately wrote to the Earl of Derby, expressing her desire that his grace should have a public funeral. This occasioned the ceremony to be delayed till parliament could assemble. The corpse was embalmed, and remained at Walmer Castle till the 10th of November, when it was removed to Chelsea Hospital, where it laid in state in the great hall, in a rich coffin of gilt and crimson, placed on a daïs covered by a carpet of cloth of gold, and surmounted by an elegant canopy. It was surrounded not only with the insignia of that mourning which all the nation felt, but with many memorials of the victories gained by the armies under the command of the deceased. Grenadiers of the regiment he had led to victory, now stood, as mutes, at the approaches to the spot where the corpse was deposited. The daïs was inclosed by a silver balustrade, on which the heraldic devices borne by the late duke were displayed; and also the marshal's batons which he had borne. The stars of the numerous orders of knighthood conferred on his grace were affixed to the pall at the foot of the coffin.—On the 11th of November, the Queen, the Prince Consort, and the young princes and princesses visited the hall privately. Her majesty evinced great emotion at the sight of the coffin; and no wonder—the Duke of Wellington having been, since the death of Lord Melbourne, the counsellor on whom she had relied when any difficult question presented itself. After the royal party left, the pensioners living at the hospital, and the troops, were admitted; and, on the 12th, the nobility and gentry, who were supplied with tickets from the Lord Chamberlain. The next day, Saturday, the 13th of November, the doors were opened to the public at large: and so ill-adapted and insufficient were the arrangements for preserving order, and preventing unnecessary crowding, that the greatest confusion took place; and the papers of the day tell us, that there were "struggles for bare life, frightful shrieks, and screams of agony, such as will never be forgotten by those present." Two females and one male were crushed to death in this *mêlée*—sad private calamities, added to the national loss. At length order was restored; and on the Monday and Tuesday it is estimated that about 60,000 persons passed through the hall each day.—In the night of Wednesday, the 17th, the corpse, escorted by a squadron of cavalry, was removed from Chelsea to the Horse-Guards; and on the 18th it was conveyed to St. Paul's, attended by a grand procession, which included the Prince Consort and the officers of her majesty's household; numerous military and civil functionaries; the ministers and officers of state; the judges; the Lord Chancellor representing the House of Lords, and the Speaker the House of Commons; the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the metropolitan clergy; the chief mourner, the present Duke of Wellington, with numerous relatives and friends in his train; and the Lord Mayor and corporation of London, who joined the funeral *cortége* at Temple Bar. In slow and solemn step, the accompanying band playing the *Dead March in Saul*, the procession marched to the cathedral, where 20,000 persons were collected; amongst them a number of the Lords and Commons, who had proceeded there, in steamers, from the New Palace stairs.* When the procession had entered, and the parties composing it had taken the places assigned to them, the sacred service was read, and all that remained of Arthur Wellesley, the first Duke of Wellington, was deposited by the side of the great naval hero, Nelson, under the cathedral dome. While the procession was on its way, and on its return, there were countless multitudes in the streets. The line of route was three miles in length; and, said Earl Derby, addressing the House of Lords on the subject on the following evening—

"When, throughout the whole of that length, not only was a perfect decorum preserved, and a perfect and ready assistance given to the efforts of the police and military, but there was no unseemly desire to witness the magnificent spectacle; no light and thoughtless applause at its splendour; and that the people of England, in the awful silence of those vast crowds, testified, in the most emphatic manner, the sense in which every man among them felt the public loss which England had sustained—I know not, my lords, how you may have looked upon this manifestation of public feeling, and good sense and order; but I know this, that as *I* passed along those lines, it was with pride and satisfaction I felt that I was a countryman of those who knew so well how to regulate and conduct themselves."

The funeral was indeed a sight of which, in every sense, an Englishman might be proud: and a foreigner viewing it could not but feel admiration alike for the warrior who was borne to his last home, and for the people who so well knew how to regulate and control their feelings: and who evinced, on that melancholy occasion, their great love for propriety and order.—The House of Commons subsequently passed a resolution for the erection of a national monument to the duke in St. Paul's cathedral. The present duke, and the tenants, servants, and labourers on the Strathfieldsaye estate, Hampshire, entered into a subscription to raise a memorial to his memory on that estate. It was not completed till July, 1866, being inaugurated on the

31st of that month. It consists of a column of grey Cornish granite, surmounted with a statue of the duke, executed by Baron Marochetti. The column and base, something more than eighty-two feet high, consists of one solid block of granite.

The new parliament had assembled on the 4th of November; and after the members had taken the oaths, and Mr. Shaw Lefevre had been re-elected Speaker, the Queen, on the 11th, again opened the session in person. In her speech, her majesty expressed deep sorrow for the death of the Duke of Wellington; and her reliance that parliament would adopt means to give expression to the sense of "the irreparable loss which the country had sustained by his death."—Amongst other measures, the reappointment of the East India committee was recommended; and a comprehensive scheme for the advancement of the fine arts and of practical science promised.—Ireland was represented as still "insubordinate and turbulent;" but a "liberal and generous policy towards that country" was recommended, in order "to enable her to rally from the depression in which she had been lately sunk."—With respect to the question of protection, her majesty, having congratulated parliament on the results of free-trade legislation to the country in general, and to the working classes especially, continued—

"If parliament should be of opinion that recent legislation, in contributing with other causes to the happy result, has, at the same time, inflicted unavoidable injury on certain important interests, I recommend you dispassionately to consider how far it may be practicable to mitigate that injury, and to enable the industry of the country to meet successfully that unrestricted competition to which parliament, in its wisdom, has decided that it should be subjected."

Though the Earl of Derby declared that, after the opinion pronounced by the country, in the recent elections, on the policy of free trade, he was prepared to bow to its decision in both Houses, the language of the speech, and the declarations of the ministers, were considered unsatisfactory. In the debate on the address, Mr. Villiers gave notice that he should move resolutions on the subject, which he laid on the table on the 17th of November. Those resolutions declared it to be the opinion of the House, that the improved condition of the country, and especially of the working classes, was mainly the result of recent legislation; especially of "that wise, just, and beneficent measure," the act of 1846, which established a free trade in corn: "that the maintenance and extension of the policy of free trade, as opposed to that of protection," would best enable the property and industry of the nation to bear the burdens to which they were exposed; and that the House was ready to take into consideration any measures consistent with the principles of those resolutions which the ministers might bring forward.—On the 18th, Mr. Disraeli laid on the table an amendment which he intended to move, stating that "unreserved competition having been adopted as the basis of our commercial system, the House is of opinion that it is the duty of government unreservedly to adhere to that policy."—When the debate took place, on the 23rd of November, Lord Palmerston, saying that he could see little difference between the original resolutions and the amendment, except in the especial praise awarded to the act repealing the corn duty in the former, moved another amendment, consisting of three resolutions, expressing the same opinion of free trade as those proposed by Mr. Villiers, and the readiness of the House to consider any measures to carry out its principles, but leaving out the words describing the act of 1846 as "a wise, just, and beneficent measure." The debate was adjourned to the 26th; when Mr. Disraeli, having withdrawn his amendment in favour of Lord Palmerston's, Mr. Villiers's resolutions were negatived by 336 votes against 256; and the noble lord's carried by 468 to 53.—On the 3rd of December, in the Lords, the Marquis of Clanricarde laid on the table a resolution he intended to move on the commercial policy of the country. It was met by the following amendment, moved by Earl Derby:—"This House adheres to the commercial system recently established, and would view with regret any attempt to disturb its operations or impede its progress." The noble marquis withdrew his resolution in favour of this amendment, which, on the 6th of December, the peers adopted unanimously. By this decision, the Earl of Derby hoped the question was finally disposed of; and, bowing to the opinion of the majority, the Conservatives have not, since that period, sought to revive it.

On the 3rd of December, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in an able speech which occupied five hours, brought forward his budget; and though none of his propositions were carried, it is only fair to lay them before the reader, that the financial policy of the Conservatives may be thoroughly understood. They were—

1. To relieve the shipping interest of a portion of the dues it paid for the support of lighthouses.—2. To establish the system of refining sugar in bond.—3. To repeal one-half of the malt-tax, and one-half of the hop duty; removing, at the same time, the existing prohibition on foreign malt, and allowing that article to be imported on paying a duty equal to the excise on home-made malt.—4. To reduce the tea duty from 2*s.* 2¼*d.* per pound to 1*s.* 10*d.*; and by a further reduction of 2*d.* in the pound each year, for five years, to bring the duty, by the end of 1857, to 1*s.* per pound.—5. To continue the income and property tax at 7*d.* in

the pound, on real and funded property; on farmers, trades, professions, and public salaries, at $5\frac{1}{4}d$. in the pound; to limit the exemptions of industrial incomes to those under £100, and upon those derived from the funds, to £50 a year; to charge farmers upon one-third of their rent, instead of one-half; and to extend the tax to Ireland, as far as regarded incomes received from the funds and public salaries.—6. To extend the house duty to houses of £10 a year rent; and the existing rates, of 6*d.* in the pound on shops, and 9*d.* on dwelling-houses, to be doubled.

A great opposition was manifested to this financial scheme out of the House. Though the repeal or modification of the malt and hop duties was the natural consequence of free trade—it being most unjust to leave a heavy tax on those articles, when the duty on foreign produce was so greatly reduced; though Mr. Cobden had declared that the repeal of the malt-tax must follow in the wake of free trade; and though the reduction of duty would have also reduced the price of the working-man's beverage—that reduction was opposed by the political economists, and the ultra-liberals generally, as being intended to benefit the landed interest, and not the public at large. The reduction of the duty on tea was also opposed, if it were to be replaced by an increase of the house duty. The latter impost was very unpopular with all parties, and met with an unusual amount of vigorous opposition, large and influential meetings being held in London and elsewhere to denounce it.

The resolution respecting the house duty was brought before the House on the 10th of December. The debate was adjourned to the 16th, when the proposal was negatived by 305 votes to 286. The next day the ministry resigned.—The Queen sent for Lord Aberdeen, who succeeded in forming a coalition ministry from the little band of "Peelites" and the Whigs. The following is a list of the cabinet, and of the principal officials who had not seats in the council; the noblemen and gentlemen with a * affixed to their names being members of the Peel party; those with a † Whigs.

IN THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury and Premier	*The Earl of Aberdeen.
Lord High Chancellor	†Lord Cranworth.
Lord President of the Council	†Lord Granville.
Lord Privy Seal	*The Duke of Argyll.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	*Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.
Secretaries of State — *Home Affairs*	†Viscount Palmerston.
Secretaries of State — *Foreign Affairs*	†The Earl of Clarendon.
Secretaries of State — *Colonial Affairs*	*The Duke of Newcastle.
First Lord of the Admiralty	*Sir James Graham.
President of the Board of Control	†Sir Charles Wood.
Secretary at War	*Right Hon. Sidney Herbert.
Commissioner of Parks and Public Buildings	†Sir William Molesworth.
Seats in the Cabinet without Office	†The Marquis of Lansdowne. †Lord John Russell.

NOT IN THE CABINET.

Lords of the Treasury	†J. Sadleir, *Lord Alfred Harvey, *Lord Elcho.
Lords of the Admiralty	*Vice-Admiral H. Parker, †Rear-Admiral M. F. F. Berkeley, †Hon. Captain R. S. Dundas, *Captain A. Milne, †Hon. W. F. Cowper.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	†Right Hon. E. Strutt.
Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	†Mr. M. James.
Postmaster-General	*Viscount Canning.
President of the Poor-Law Board	†Matthew Talbot Baines.
Attorney-General	†Sir A. J. E. Cockburn.
Solicitor-General	*Sir Richard Bethell.
Lord Advocate of Scotland	†James Moncrieff.
Ireland — *Lord-Lieutenant*	†The Earl of St. Germans.
Ireland — *Lord Chancellor*	*Right Hon. M. Brady.
Ireland — *Chief Secretary*	*Sir John Young.
Ireland — *Attorney-General*	*Right Hon. A. Brewster.
Ireland — *Solicitor-General*	*W. Keogh.

The Houses of Lords and Commons met on the 27th of December, when the Earl of Aberdeen announced, in the former, the circumstances under which the new administration had been formed; and the new writs required being ordered in the latter, both Houses adjourned to the 10th of February, 1853.

During the year, the revenue and the foreign trade of the country again increased. For the twelve months ending January 5, 1853, the amount of the public income was £53,210,071; and the expenditure, £50,792,511 13*s.* 9*d.*; leaving a surplus of £2,417,559 6*s.* 3*d.* — The amount of exports was £71,429,548, being an increase of £2,897,947 over 1851. The imports increased in a larger proportion. Notwithstanding the gloom cast over the industrial world by the strike of the Amalgamated Engineers, which had its effect on most other trades, the social condition of the country also improved rather than deteriorated during the twelve months. In that period, the volunteer movement, which has become so popular, and now extends all over the kingdom, had its origin; taking its rise from the rumours so prevalent for several months, of the probability of an invasion from France. The first rifle corps was formed in Cheltenham, in February. Early in the year there were two terrible events at sea, and great destruction of property on land by the bursting of a reservoir. The first disaster at sea took place on the 4th of January. On that day, the West India mail steam-packet *Amazon*, was destroyed by fire in the Bay of Biscay, about 110 miles W.S.W. of the Scilly Isles. There were 156 persons on board, of whom twenty-one were saved in the life-boat, twenty-five were picked up by a Dutch vessel, and carried into Brest, and thirteen were taken on board a Dutch galliot. The rest perished, either in the flames or by drowning; and all the property on board, as well as the vessel, was destroyed — On the 7th of January, the *Birkenhead* left England

with reinforcements on board for various regiments serving in the Cape Colony. She arrived in St. Simon's Bay on the 23rd of February, where she took on board some horses, and landed several invalids, women, and children. She sailed for Algoa Bay on the 25th; and on the 26th, a long swell setting-in from the shore, the ship struck on a rock, and soon filled with water. The devotion and calm courage and discipline of the soldiers on board the vessel at this trying time, has frequently been made the subject of the highest praise, and most deservedly; for greater heroism never was displayed. They obeyed the orders to go to the pumps; they attended to the word of command as readily as if they were on parade in the field, instead of encountering the raging sea, and being in peril of their lives. Whilst efforts were making to lighten her, and get out the boats, the ship parted nearly in the centre; the women and children having just been placed in a cutter alongside. There were only three boats, and the soldiers could have taken possession of them for their own purposes, had they pleased. But though one-half of the ship had gone down, and the other was sinking, "there was not a murmur or cry," writes Captain Wright, "until the vessel made her final plunge." When she was going down, the commanders cried to the soldiers, "All those who can swim jump overboard, and make for the boats!" "We," says Captain Wright, "begged the men not to do this, as the boats with the women might be swamped;" and "not more than three made the attempt!" There were 630 persons on board the *Birkenhead* when she struck. Of these, 194 were saved, and 436, mostly soldiers, drowned.—The reservoir which burst was that of Bilberry Dam, at Holmfirth, near Huddersfield, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. This accident caused disastrous floods, in which entire families perished; and a vast amount of milk and other property was destroyed.—The provinces were subsequently visited by violent storms and overwhelming floods, causing great damage to houses and crops. —At the close of the year, during the night of the 26th of December, a hurricane, more violent than any that had been experienced for many years, swept over London and a great part of England and Ireland; inflicting vast injury upon buildings and shipping, and occasioning the loss of many lives.

The unhappy disputes between Protestants and Roman Catholics were revived this year, in greater intensity than had prevailed since 1850. The latter had grown bolder since the failure of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act; and had renewed their religious processions in a style so offensive to those who differed from them, that several riots arose in various parts of the kingdom, though they were of no great consequence. On the 15th of June, a royal proclamation appeared, prohibiting Roman Catholic processions in the streets; and also forbidding the priests of that religion from wearing their ecclesiastical habits in public. A few days after this proclamation was issued, some Roman Catholic demonstrations at Stockport caused the Protestants of that town to rise in a body, and considerable tumult and disgraceful rioting prevailed. On the 29th of June, two Roman Catholic chapels were destroyed, the houses of several Roman Catholics gutted, and the contents broken to pieces, and partly burned.

Scotland was very quiet during the year; but in Ireland, the strife occasioned by the religious and land questions continued without intermission.—On New-year's Day, a series of statutes, passed at a Roman Catholic synod held at Thurles in the previous year, was read in all the Roman Catholic churches and chapels in Ireland; they regulated the administration of the sacraments in that country, and prohibited the Roman Catholic clergy from holding offices in the Queen's colleges.—On the 28th of January, a society called the [Roman] Catholic Defence Association, issued a manifesto in Dublin, insisting on perfect religious equality, and the abolition of the established church of Ireland. In September, a Religious Equality Association was formed, for the purpose of procuring that abolition, and the application of the revenues of the establishment to purely secular purposes, leaving all sects to support their own ministers; or, as an alternative, "an equitable apportionment of the church revenues between the several religious denominations of the country." At the first meeting of this association, held in the Rotunda, Dublin, on the 28th of October, a resolution was passed requiring the Irish Liberal members to continue independent of, and in opposition to any government which would not concede perfect religious equality.—With respect to the land question, Mr. Sharman Crawford, of Crawfordsburn, county Down (who, in the parliament that was dissolved in July, 1852, represented Rochdale), brought in a Tenant Right Bill, the object of which was, to prevent a tenant from being ejected from a farm while he continued to pay his rent; and it also provided for tenants being reimbursed by the landlord for any buildings erected, or improvements made, during their tenancy. A society was formed, and numerous meetings were held, to promote this measure, which was opposed by the landlords, as most destructive of their rights and property.—The Protestants generally opposed these movements, and held meetings to protest against the endowment of Maynooth, and the granting of any further concessions to the Roman Catholics. Out of the land question many disputes arose; and several landlords were assassinated during the year.

In 1852, the "gold-fields" of Australia continued to

be very productive; and considerable quantities of gold were brought to England. Some of the towns in the colony were almost depopulated, so many of the inhabitants rushing to the "diggings."—In South Africa, our colony at the Cape was still engaged in the Kaffir war. The government at home, thinking that Sir Harry Smith did not conduct it properly, recalled that officer. He was succeeded by Major-General Cathcart, who appears to have carried on the contest with greater success. On the 13th of May, he issued a proclamation recognising the independence of the emigrant Boers of the Vaal river; by which a free state was raised in the neighbourhood of the English colony, which has not been the best possible neighbour.—We were also engaged in a war with Burmah. It arose out of injuries inflicted upon the commanders of two British vessels, for which redress was demanded in vain. The terms required were, the payment of £990 to the officers, and the reception of a British agent according to the treaty concluded at Yandaboo on the 26th of February, 1826. As these terms were rejected, war was declared. It was carried on with great vigour. A British naval force had arrived before Rangoon—a town of Pegu, situated on a branch of the Irrawaddy—on the 29th of October, 1851, with a view to support the negotiators in their demand for compensation. When war was declared, the Burmese viceroy erected stockades and batteries, with a view of preventing the British vessels from communicating with the shore, or leaving the harbour. On the 4th of January, 1852, the British commodore ordered the batteries to be attacked. They were soon rendered unserviceable, and the stockades were forced. No time was then lost in sending a competent military and naval force to the Irrawaddy, under Major-General Godwin, who knew the country, having been engaged in the previous Burmese war. The first place attacked was Martaban. Her majesty's steamer *Rattler* opened a fire on that town on the 4th of April. Very little resistance was offered, and, on the 5th, the British flag was flying upon the walls. Rangoon was attacked a few days after the fall of Martaban, by a body of troops under General Godwin. On the north side, a pagoda formed a strong defensive post. It was carried by storm on the 14th of April; but not without a considerable loss of officers and men; and the town immediately surrendered. A force was then sent against Bassein—a town situated on one of the main arteries by which the Irrawaddy discharges itself into the sea. This town surrendered on the 19th of May; and with Rangoon and Martaban, formed a base for future operations. Pegu and Prome were next taken—the former on the 4th of June, and the latter on the 9th of July. Both were evacuated soon after; but they were recaptured, Prome on the 9th of October, and Pegu on the 21st of November, and garrisons placed in them. A Burmese force immediately invested the latter place, which was attacked, on the 3rd of December, by the Madras Fusiliers, under Major Hill, and gallantly repulsed.—As the Burmese had been several times tried, and found faithless, and not to be relied upon for the observance of any engagement into which they might enter, the governor-general of India (the Marquis of Dalhousie), in a council held on the 20th of December, resolved to annex the province of Pegu to the British dominions, and we have ever since held it. It extends from N. lat. 15° 49′ to 19° 30′, and from E. long. 94° 11′ to 96° 55′; being 240 miles long, and 170 broad; the number of inhabitants is about 600,000. It was the richest and most fertile of the Burmese provinces, and has greatly improved under British rule. Hostilities were continued; and, early in January, 1853, a small British force, under Captains Nuttall and Sunderland, attacked the stockade of Nariengain, at the summit of the Aeng Pass, a part of the great route leading over the Yoomadoung mountains at Ava, the capital of the Burmese empire. The stockade was captured by surprise on the 7th of January, and was deemed a very gallant action: the capture opened the route to Ava to the British. About the same time the King of Ava was deposed, and his brother mounted the throne. He sent proposals of peace to General Godwin: no further affair of consequence took place between the hostile forces; and, on the 20th of June, the governor-general issued a proclamation announcing the termination of the war.

There were some stirring events on the continent in 1852; but except those which occurred in France, they were not of any great interest to the English people. In that country there had been another *coup-d'état*, and the former prisoner of Ham, whose life was at the mercy of Louis Philippe, became the occupant of the French throne, and had made what appears to be a very ungenerous return to the Orleans family for the lenity shown him in 1840. The events of 1851, previously narrated [see *ante*, p. 569], were followed by a decree from the Minister of the Interior, issued on the 7th of January, 1852, ordering the erasure of the words "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality" from public buildings, monuments, and wherever else they might be inscribed; and the restoration of the old names of streets, &c.—On the 9th, Generals Changarnier, Lamoriciere, Bedeau, and Le Flo, Colonel Charras, and M. Baze, who had been imprisoned in the castle of Vincennes since the 2nd of December, were conducted to the Belgian frontier, and ordered immediately to leave France, and not to return. The next day, eighty-three members of the late legislative assembly were also expelled the country; and 575 persons, arrested for resistance to the troops on the 2nd of December, were sent off to Havre, from whence they

were transported to Cayenne.—On the 12th, the national guard was disbanded, and ordered to be re-organised; the officers to be appointed by the president, and the force to be entirely under the control of the executive.—On the 23rd, a decree of the prince-president appeared, directing the Orleans family to sell all their real and personal property in France within a year. Another decree annulled the settlement which Louis Philippe made upon his family of the property in his possession previous to his accession to the throne in 1830, and annexed that property to the domain of the state. These decrees against the Orleans family, induced the Count de Montalembert and several others to withdraw from the consultative commission. A decree issued on the 25th of December, restored the titles of the French nobility. Another, of the 3rd of February, established the French representative system. It set forth, that deputies were to be elected to a *corps legislatif*, one deputy to be returned for every 35,000 electors; each department to be divided into as many electoral districts as it returned deputies; and if there should be a surplus in the department of 25,000 electors, or upwards, those electors were also to choose a deputy. All Frenchmen, twenty years of age, not disqualified for the possession of civil and political rights, to enjoy the suffrage; candidates must be twenty-five years of age, and the voting to be by ballot. On the 17th of February, a decree was promulgated, abolishing all political anniversaries except the birthday of the Emperor Napoleon I. (August 15th), which was ordered to be the only national holiday in France. The new chamber was installed by the president on the 29th of March: in his address he disavowed all intention of restoring the empire, unless he was compelled by the conduct of the factious. "Let us," he said, "keep the republic; it menaces nobody, but reassures every one."

Whether the factious did set themselves to work, without provocation, against one who certainly appeared to be the "man of the people," by the way in which he was supported by them, and the enthusiasm with which he was hailed whenever he appeared in public, we have no means of knowing. But his friends were not idle. After, apparently, much private whispering and caballing, on the 14th of September a petition to the French senate was published, praying for the re-establishment of "the hereditary sovereign power in the Bonaparte family." At that time the sessions of the departmental councils-general had just closed; and in the usual addresses which each sends to the government at Paris, there was a universal prayer for the stability of the prince-president's power; and the majority expressed a wish for the re-establishment of the empire.—On the 14th, the prince-president left Paris for a tour in the centre and south of France. He was received with the greatest enthusiasm at the places he visited; and at Lyons, where, on the 20th, he inaugurated a statue of his uncle, he was hailed with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*"—At Marseilles, on the contrary, there appears to have been a conspiracy against him; and on the 23rd, an infernal machine, intended for his destruction, was seized by the police in that city. What subsequent intrigues or negotiations took place is not known; but, on the 4th of November, the senate met, summoned by a decree, "to deliberate on a change of government for France." The message of the prince-president, addressed to the senate on this occasion, was rather long. It was decidedly in favour of the re-establishment of the empire; although the prince "did not disguise from himself all that was formidable in accepting and placing on his head the crown of Napoleon." But his "apprehensions were diminished by the feeling, that, representing the cause of the people, and the national will by so many titles, it would be the nation which, by raising him to the throne, would crown itself."—A proposition to modify the constitution, made by ten senators, was assented to by the rest; who resolved that the people should be consulted respecting the re-establishment of the empire; and a commission was appointed to prepare a *senatus-consultum*.—On the 7th, this *senatus-consultum*, calling the prince-president to the empire, was agreed to by eighty-six out of eighty-seven senators present; who all proceeded in full costume to St. Cloud, and placed it in the hands of the president. The result was the issuing a decree, convoking the people, in their *comices*, for the 21st and 22nd of October, to accept or reject the following *plebiscite*:—

"The French people wills the resuscitation of the imperial dignity in the person of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, with heredicity in his direct legitimate or adoptive descendants; and gives to him the right to regulate the succession to the throne in the Bonaparte family as mentioned in the *senatus-consultum* of this day."

Accordingly, on the 21st and 22nd, the people gave their votes in the different districts. The legislative body met on the 1st of December, and reported that the ayes were 7,864,169; noes, 253,145; neuter, 63,326. That assembly and the senate, as soon as the numbers were ascertained, proceeded to St. Cloud, to present the result to the prince-president, who accepted the empire, and took the title of Napoleon III. The next day the establishment of the empire was proclaimed at the Hôtel de Ville, and the new emperor entered the capital in triumph. The senate assembled that day, and voted him a civil list of 30,000,000 francs (£1,200,000): and a few days after, an imperial decree appeared, appointing the ex-king Jerome (the emperor's uncle), and his male heirs, successors to the throne.

CHAPTER CVIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1853.


HE opening of the year 1853 found the people, generally, exulting in the advent to power of a new ministry, which they were told comprised the "first administrative talent" of the country; and great and beneficial results were expected from its measures. Nothing of importance occurred till parliament met on the 11th of February; and it being a continuation of the session of 1852, there was no royal speech.—Lord John Russell, who, though he held no office, was the ministerial leader in the House of Commons, enumerated the principal measures which he and his colleagues meant to bring forward during the session. Several of those measures became law. The most important were—"An Act substituting Stamp Duties, varying from £2 to £100, for Fees on passing Letters Patent for Inventions; and a duty of 2*d.* for every ninety words of office copies of documents."—"An Act to enable the Legislature of Canada to dispose of the Clergy Reserves:" that is, the seventh part of waste lands sold by the crown; which, by an act passed in 1791, was ordered to be kept for the support of the Protestant clergy.—"An Act for the better Regulation of Metropolitan Stage and Hackney Carriages," fixed the rate for the metropolitan cabs at 6*d.* per mile. The introduction of this measure led to a "strike" among the owners of cabs, who for several days withdrew their vehicles from the public streets. Some of its provisions were meliorated, and a clause was introduced, enabling the driver to charge an extra 6*d.* for every person above two the cab conveyed. The strike was then withdrawn; owners and drivers submitted to the law, which has since regulated the cab-fares in all parts of the metropolis.—"An Act to substitute, in certain cases, other Punishment in lieu of Transportation," authorised judges to sentence prisoners to what is termed "penal servitude"—*i.e.*, imprisonment with hard labour, instead of transporting them, when the term awarded would be less than fourteen years. It also empowered the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in cases where the behaviour of the prisoner warranted the adoption of such a course, to grant licences to convicts under sentence of transportation or penal servitude, which, until revoked, were to protect the holder from any imprisonment in consequence of his sentence. These "licences" are familiarly known as "tickets-of-leave," and the holders of them as "ticket-of-leave-men."—Another important act was that "to Extend and make Compulsory the Practice of Vaccination." It imposes a fine of 20*s.* in all cases where an infant is not vaccinated before it attains the age of three months, unless the medical officer certifies that it is not able to bear the operation; and then it must be performed as soon as the health of the child permits. The enforcement of this regulation is intended to prevent the spread of that fatal disease the small-pox, which, when it breaks out in a confined neighbourhood, being contagious, usually causes numerous deaths.

There is no country in the world where there are so many charitable institutions, intended to promote the education of the young, and to render assistance, under nearly every circumstance in which it may be required, to young and old, as England. Great complaints had been made, for many years, of the mismanagement of these institutions; and, in the session of 1853, an act was passed "for the better Administration of Charitable Trusts." By this act, four commissioners, with a secretary and two inspectors, were appointed, and empowered to inquire into the condition and management, and the value of the property, of any charities in England and Wales; and to make such regulations as might be required for the better government of those institutions, and the administration of the property. And as, previously, the Court of Chancery was the only court that had jurisdiction in the affairs of charities, by this act that jurisdiction was given to District Courts of Bankruptcy and the County Courts, as regarded charities where the income did not exceed £30 per annum; and with respect to charities whose incomes were above that sum, the power hitherto vested solely in the Lord Chancellor, was extended to the Master of the Rolls and the Vice-Chancellors.—By "An Act for the Establishment of a Body of Naval Volunteers," the Admiralty was empowered to raise a body of men, not exceeding 10,000 in number, to be called the "Royal Naval Coast Volunteers," for the defence of the coast; who were to be trained for twenty-eight days in each year, when they were not to be sent more than fifty leagues from the shore; and in time of national danger, or great emergency, they are to be called into actual service, but not to be sent above 100 leagues from the

coast.—An act to remove the disabilities of the Jews was passed in the House of Commons; 288 voting, on the 15th of April, for the third reading, to 230 against it. In the Lords, on the 29th of that month, the motion that the bill be read a second time, was negatived by 164 votes to 115. An attempt to pass a bill regulating tenant-right in Ireland also failed.—The question of reform was deferred to the following year.

The religious question, which, unfortunately, agitated society out of doors, was the subject of several animated debates in the House of Commons. The case of a Miss Talbot, who had been improperly, it was said, confined in a convent, increased the prejudice that, in the Protestant mind, always exists against those institutions; and they were denounced as prisons and mad-houses, in which the inmates were subjected to the strictest coercion, and often to cruelty. At length, the subject was taken up in the House of Commons. Mr. Thomas Chambers, one of the representatives of Hertford, moved, on the 10th of May, for leave to bring in a bill "to facilitate, in certain cases, the recovery of liberty;" the cases being those of the inmates in convents and monastic institutions. Lord John Russell condemned the motion; and able and clever speeches were made both for and against it. The proposal in the bill was, that parties who suspected they had friends confined, or otherwise improperly treated, in convents, might apply to a magistrate, and, with him, visit the institution, and personally ascertain what were the real facts. The opponents of the bill denied its necessity altogether. They alleged, that neither coercion nor cruelty existed in the convents, the inmates of which could always see their friends; and it was much better that the female Roman Catholics of England, if they wished to embrace a conventual life, should be enabled to do so at home, rather than be obliged to go to France, or some other Roman Catholic country on the continent; which they would be, if this bill passed. Notwithstanding the opposition of the government, leave was given to bring in the bill by 138 votes to 115. When, however, its second reading was moved, on the 22nd of June, by Sir Robert Inglis, it was negatived by 207 noes to 178 ayes; and the bill was lost.—While this bill was before the House, one of the outworks of the church of England was assailed by Dr. Phillimore, the member for Tavistock; who, on the 26th of May, moved for leave to bring in a bill to alter and amend the law relating to church-rates. Sir William Clay, who sat for the Tower Hamlets, moved as an amendment, that a select committee should be appointed to consider the propriety of abolishing church-rates altogether. Both these proposals were negatived after a long debate; the amendment by 207 votes to 185; and the original motion by 220 to 172.—An attack was also made on the Protestant church of Ireland by Mr. George Henry Moore, one of the members for Mayo; who moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland, and determine how they could best be made applicable to the benefit of the Irish people. The basis for this motion was, that the property of the Irish church, originally intended for the use of Roman Catholics, was entirely diverted from them for the benefit of the Protestants; and its supporters wanted to disendow the established church, and apply its property for the benefit of the population at large. Lord John Russell also opposed this motion; and, in the course of his speech, said, the Roman Catholic clergy, if more power or control, and greater political influence were given to them, were not likely to exercise it in accordance with the spirit of freedom that prevailed in this country. On a division, there were only 98 votes for the motion, whilst 260 were given against it.—In consequence of what was said about the Roman Catholic religion by the ministerial leader of the House, Mr. Keogh, the Solicitor-General for Ireland; Mr. John Sadlier, the Irish Lord of the Treasury; and Mr. William Monsell, Clerk of the Ordnance, resigned their offices the day after Mr. Chambers's motion was rejected; but they soon after resumed them.

The financial scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, this year, included a proposal for reducing the annual charge of the national debt by the voluntary conversion of the stock called Three per Cent. Consols, and the Reduced Three and a-half per Cents.—making together a capital of near £500,000,000—into a permanent irredeemable stock, bearing 2½ per cent. He also proposed to issue exchequer bonds to the amount of £30,000,000, bearing an interest of 2¾ per cent. till 1894, when it would be reduced to 2½ per cent., and be subject to redemption.—These bonds were to be issued to enable the government to liquidate the South Sea Annuities and some minor stocks. The Chancellor's proposals met with great opposition at the time. They, however, obtained the sanction of both Houses, and the royal assent. But the scheme was an utter failure, as Mr. Disraeli and other speakers predicted it would be; for the public would neither take Mr. Gladstone's exchequer bonds, nor transfer their 3 and 3½ per cent. stock into one bearing 2½ per cent., though certain advantages were offered them. After an attempt to carry it out through three or four years, the scheme was suffered to drop, and no more was heard of it.—In introducing his budget on the 18th of April, Mr. Gladstone said, the income for the year ending on the 5th of that month, was £53,089,000; the expenditure, £50,782,000; the surplus, £2,307,000. The estimated

revenue of the current year, 1853-'4, was £52,990,000; the expenditure, £52,183,000; the surplus, £807,000. His propositions were—

1. To continue the income-tax till 1860, including all incomes between £100 and £150, and extend the tax to Ireland.—2. To extend the legacy duty to real as well as personal property.—3. To increase the duty on Scotch spirits from 4*s.* to 5*s.* per gallon; and on Irish spirits from 3*s.* to 3*s.* 8*d.* per gallon.—4. To abolish the duty on soap.—5. To reduce the stamp duties on life insurance to 6*d.* per cent.; on receipts, to a uniform rate of 1*d.* on all sums exceeding 30*s.*; on advertisements, to 6*d.*, and on newspapers, to 1*d.*—6. To reduce the tea duty immediately to 1*s.* 10*d.* per pound, and to still further reduce it every year, till, in 1856, it stood at 1*s.* Several minor alterations were also proposed in other custom duties, and in the excise. The duty on licences to brewers, maltsters, dealers in tea, coffee, tobacco, and soap, was increased.

By his various reductions the right honourable gentleman estimated that the public would be relieved to the extent of £5,315,000; whilst the duties imposed or increased would raise £2,500,000: the clear gain to the public, therefore, would be £2,815,000.—The right honourable gentleman's resolutions were adopted with little opposition; but in the passage of the bills founded on them through the House, it was resolved to abolish the advertisement duty entirely. Soon after the last of the financial measures was carried, on the 20th of August, parliament was prorogued.

The royal family was increased this year by the birth, on the 7th of April, of a prince, the youngest son of Her Majesty and the Prince Consort, who was baptised on the 28th of June, by the names of Leopold George Duncan Albert. The kings of Belgium and Hanover were his royal highness's godfathers; the former appearing by proxy, the latter in person; having arrived, with the Queen, on the 16th.

For some time the state of the army had occupied the attention of ministers; and to render the troops more effective if called into active service, it was resolved to accustom them to camp life. The first camp of 10,000 men, infantry and cavalry, was opened at Chobham, in the county of Surrey, on the 14th of June; the common at that village affording ample space for the tents and parading-ground. Those troops which first took possession of the encampment, after going through a course of strict discipline, were replaced by others; and before the camp was broken up, on the 19th of August, most of the regiments at that time in the kingdom had served their term of camp life. On the 21st of June, the Queen, Prince Albert, the King and Queen of Hanover, the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, who was also in England, with a numerous and splendid attendance, went to Chobham, where the troops were reviewed, not fewer than 100,000 spectators being present. All the evolutions prescribed for the day were gone through most efficiently; and, says an eye-witness, "It may be fearlessly asserted, that there is no country in the world, from whose army, however large, 9,000 men could be brought together, that, either in height, size, strength, vigour, health, or appearance, would bear comparison with those who passed before Queen Victoria on that occasion on Chobham Common."

The same cause that led to this temporary encampment—viz., the differences between Russia and Turkey, which appeared to be then tending to a culminating point, and which, it was apprehended, would involve Europe in war—also led to the assembling of a fleet at Spithead, to go through naval evolutions. There were nine ships of the line, one of them the largest vessel then constructed—the screw-steamer *Duke of Wellington*, carrying 131 guns—and sixteen frigates; twenty-two out of the twenty-five being steamers, and three sailing vessels; the complement of horse-power was 9,780; the number of men, 10,825; of guns, 9,780; and the total amount of tonnage, 44,146. Besides these vessels, there were at Spithead, nine men-of-war steamers; eleven yachts and steam-tenders; with some smaller vessels—making a grand total of more than fifty; all of which were collected off Spithead on the 11th of August. On that day, the Queen and Prince Albert, with their household, arrived from Osborne in the *Albert and Victoria* steamer, which anchored in view of this large fleet. The lords of the Admiralty, the two Houses of Parliament, and the *corps diplomatique*, having been conveyed from London by rail, repaired to the "wide sheet of waters" in steamers provided for them, to witness the naval evolutions that took place. The day was fine; and, says a popular chronicler, "the *coup d'œil* was one which no language can convey, for it was instinct with motion—teeming with energetic life." The evolutions were effective, and gone through admirably. The Queen remained afloat until all was over, at seven o'clock, and then returned to Osborne. The Lords, Commons, and ambassadors were landed, and proceeded to London; and, by all present, the spectacle of that day was often spoken of as one of the most brilliant ever seen, and one which no other nation could produce.

There were a few other domestic events of the year which deserve a brief mention. A "Society for Improving the Dwellings of the Working Classes" had been formed, under the auspices of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and other philanthropists.—On the 12th of April, the foundation-stone of the first model lodging-house erected by this society was laid by the Duke of Cambridge, in New Street, Golden Square.—In that month,

an expedition, consisting of the *Phœnix* steam-ship, and another vessel, under the command of Captain Ingerfield, was despatched in search of Sir John Franklin, who, on the 24th of May, 1845, sailed with two ships—the *Erebus* and *Terror*—on a voyage of discovery in the Arctic seas, and never returned. Lieut. Bellot, a French officer, volunteered to join Captain Ingerfield. The expedition was unsuccessful in its search; and the gallant Frenchman was, on the 18th of August, blown into a deep crack of the ice, where he perished.—On the 4th of November, a meeting was held in Willis's Rooms, St. James's Street, London, at which it was resolved to raise a memorial to his honour. This resolution was carried out by the erection, on the north side of the Royal Hospital, Greenwich, of a handsome obelisk, dedicated to Bellot.

Since the passing of the Municipal Reform Bill in 1835, there had been many complaints made that the corporation of London was left untouched, and in possession of all those powers which certain parties represented as being so much abused. Very little way was made in the city, however, by the corporate reformers, as most of the Liberals of London were in favour of preserving their municipality—now the only one existing of the old institutions of that class. Gradually, however, the innovators grew stronger; they formed a "City of London Municipal Reform Association;" and had influence enough to procure the issuing of a royal commission, directing an inquiry to be made into the state of the corporation of London. The commissioners—the Right Hon. Mr. Labouchere, Sir J. Patteson (a retired judge), and Mr. Cornewall Lewis—held their first meeting on the 1st of November, to receive oral evidence on the subject. The inquiry produced no result; and the corporation of London still remains "unreformed."

During the year, the provinces were again agitated with the "strikes" of workmen; which at Preston—where, on the 17th of October, 30,000 operatives assembled—and at Wigan assumed, at one time, an alarming appearance. In the night of the 28th of October, there were desperate riots in the latter town, in which a large amount of property was destroyed, but no lives were lost. The mob extinguished the gas-lights; and for four hours employed themselves in breaking open houses, and breaking-up the furniture, and other effects, of those who were obnoxious to them.—On the 31st, the riots were renewed at the coal-pits at Haigh, the property of the Earl of Balcarres. The rioters beat off the police, and the military had to be called out. They fired upon the mob, seven or eight of whom were wounded, and the rest fled. Quiet appears to have been then restored.

In 1853, the Scotch people, usually very quiet, except at election times, entered the arena of agitation, and formed a "National Association for the Vindication of Scotch Rights." Conservatives and Liberals were enrolled as members, under the presidency of the Earl of Eglinton; the objects sought to be attained being, the appointment of a Scotch Secretary of State, and a larger number of representatives in parliament: complaints were also made of the injustice inflicted on Scotland by its exclusion from the advantages of participating in the public expenditure. The first public meeting of this society was held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on the 2nd of November, the noble president in the chair; when some able speeches were delivered. The association was not very long-lived; and it did not excite much attention beyond the boundaries of North Britain.

In Ireland, the Tenant-Right League, and the Religious Equality Association, continued their efforts to enlist the public in support of the objects for which they were contending; and they succeeded in spreading ill-will amongst the Irish people, and in increasing discontent with the government, but failed to produce any good effect. These societies were not entirely under Roman Catholic influence; for there were a few Protestants mixed up with the Tenant-Right League, and many dissenters joined the association for obtaining religious equality—the great object being to procure the downfall of the Irish church. This year, another society, exclusively Protestant, appeared on the scene, called "The Irish Church Missions," which held its opening meeting at Dublin, on the 16th of September in the old quarters of the Roman Catholic Defence Association. The great aim of this society is proselytism; to induce the members of the Romish church to abandon its errors and superstitions; and to embrace the truths of the Bible. Much of the attention of the public was drawn from these societies by the attractions of the great "Industrial International Exhibition," which was opened at Dublin on the 12th of May. It was preceded by an "Exhibition of Arts and Industry," held at Cork, from the 10th of July to the 11th of September, 1852. This Cork exhibition was well conducted, and gave great satisfaction. It was, however, little more than a local display; and, before it opened, a move had been made to hold one in the Irish capital, of a more comprehensive character. Dublin boasts its Royal Society, of which many eminent men have been, and are, members. It had, for the last quarter of a century, held a triennial exhibition of Irish art and manufactures at Dublin. The year 1853 was the time for holding the ninth of these exhibitions; and, on the 24th of June, 1852, Mr. Dargan, an eminent railway contractor, wrote to the society, offering to place in its hands the sum of £20,000, provided it would make the exhibition of the following year available for the manufactures of the three kingdoms. Whether Mr. Dargan

was to be repaid, depended entirely upon the success of the undertaking: if it failed, that gentleman was to lose his money; if it succeeded, he was to take what it might produce beyond the expenses: should that sum however, exceed £20,000 and interest from the time it was advanced, the surplus, whatever it might be, was to remain in the hands of the society. The offer was accepted; and as the necessary preparations progressed, the council of the society resolved to make the exhibition, like the London one of 1851, open to all nations; and to include in it paintings, which were excluded from the English exhibition, that it might not interfere with that of the Royal Academy, which was open at the same time. The building was erected on the lawn of the Royal Society. It consisted of a central hall 425 feet long, 100 feet wide, and 105 feet high, with smaller halls, both as wings, and attached to the sides. Its exterior appearance was considered by many to be unfavourable; but in the interior, it was not only artistically fine, but admirably suited to its purposes.—Before it was completed, Mr. Dargan had advanced £50,000 to the society.—The contributions to this exhibition were very numerous and very valuable; and it was opened on the 12th of May, by the lord-lieutenant, upwards of 15,000 persons being present. In August, the Queen resolved to visit the exhibition. Her majesty left Holyhead very early in the morning of Monday, the 29th of August, and arrived in the Bay of Dublin that evening. The next day her majesty proceeded to the building, accompanied by the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, and Prince Alfred. The royal party entered the building by the great central door, "amidst a tremendous chorus of human voices," and the "waving of handkerchiefs and hats." The committee, headed by their chairman, Mr. George Roe, preceded the Queen to the daïs prepared to receive her; and when her majesty reached it, and looked around, "she stood in evident admiration of the magnificent scene before her."—The principal features of the exhibition were carefully examined; and the royal personages expressed themselves pleased and delighted with all they saw. On retiring, the Queen was as loudly cheered as when she arrived. With that gracious urbanity for which her majesty is distinguished, before she re-embarked she visited Mr. Dargan at his own house, and expressed to him her sense of the disinterested munificence of his conduct in advancing the funds necessary for the preliminary expenses of the undertaking. The exhibition remained open nearly six months, till the 31st of October, when the lord-lieutenant again attended, and it was closed in the presence of one of the most numerous assemblies that had been seen in the building—about 22,000 persons being then collected there. His excellency made a brief, but highly appropriate address; and concluded by calling for "three cheers for Mr. Dargan," to whom Dublin was indebted for the brilliant display then terminated; and knighting Mr. Cusack Roney, who had been the hard-working and indefatigable secretary of the committee. At the opening, his excellency had knighted Mr. Benson, the architect; the same honour was offered to Mr. Dargan, but declined.—On the 21st of November, the exhibitors entertained that gentleman and the executive committee at a grand banquet, held in the King's Room of the Dublin Mansion-house. Six hundred guests were present, amongst whom, the peerage, the professional classes, the merchants, and the traders of Ireland were represented; and a pleasanter evening could not be spent than was experienced, apparently, by all present on that occasion. On the 15th of December, the Great Hall, cleared of the peculiar adornments prepared for the exhibition, and properly furnished for the occasion with a fine shrubbery, and beautiful plants and flowers, was opened as a *Jardin d'Hiver*, with a grand ceremonial, in which the lord-lieutenant and the Countess St. Germains participated.—The receipts, during the time the exhibition was open, very little exceeded the expenditure, and Mr. Dargan lost nearly all the money he advanced. He was subsequently honoured by the foundation of the "Dargan Industrial College," for the instruction of young men of talent, but of limited means, in the practical arts of industry.

Another memorable event of 1853, was the return to England, on the 9th of October, of Lieutenant Creswell, of H.M.S. *Investigator*, which, under the command of Captain M'Clure, had left England in 1850, with a view to discover the "North-west Passage," or communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, through Baffin's Bay to Behring's Straits, by the north of the American continent. It was to find this passage that the Cabots sailed from England in 1496, having had a patent granted to them by Henry VII. to effect settlements in any land they might discover in the Arctic Ocean. From their day the attempt to discover this passage was repeatedly made; and, in the first half of the present century, several expeditions for that purpose were sent out by the British government; the most memorable being that of Sir John Franklin, who, in May, 1845, sailed from Sheerness with two ships—the *Erebus*, commanded by Captain Fitzjames, and the *Terror*, Captain Crozier. From this expedition not one man returned: all perished in the vast Arctic wilderness. Several vessels were sent in search of them; and it was ascertained, at last, that after being blocked up there twenty months, Sir John Franklin had died at King William's Island, in 1847: and that the crew abandoned the vessels in the spring of 1848, their aim being to reach the Hudson's Bay territories

by the Great Fish River. Some did reach Montreal Island, which lies at the mouth of that river; but no European ever encountered any of them; and what is known as to their fate was derived from some papers found on the two islands, and from the accounts of the native Esquimaux, who appear to have treated kindly the wanderers they fell-in with.—The *Investigator* was sent on one of these expeditions. It left England in January, 1850; and in the course of the following year, the fact of a communication existing between the two rival oceans was established; Melville Sound, Barrow's Strait, and Lancaster Sound, being the connecting links between Baffin's Bay and the Arctic Ocean. Behring's Straits divide Asia from America, and fall into the Arctic Ocean.—The arrival of Lieutenant Creswell with the news that the passage had been effected, occasioned almost as much excitement amongst commercial men as did the laying of the Atlantic cable a few years after. When Captain M'Clure arrived, he was duly honoured; nor was the officer who preceded him with the intelligence forgotten. The expected commercial advantages from the discovery of the passage have not, however, been realised; and except that it solved a geographical problem, the good effected by the discovery of the north-west passage—an object that had been pursued for three centuries and a-half, and on which so much money was expended, and so many lives lost—has been *nil*.

There was little in our colonial affairs that require notice during 1853, except in connection with the Cape Colony and the island of Jamaica.—In the former, on the 22nd of February, the submission of the Kaffir chiefs, Macomo, Sandilli, and Kreili, and the virtual termination of the war which had so annoyed and harassed the colonists, were announced. On the 9th of March, a conference was held between General Cathcart and those chiefs near King William's Town, and the terms of peace were ratified, the Kaffirs retiring across the Kei.—In June, the impoverished state of the island of Jamaica was brought prominently forward; and it occasioned serious disputes between the governor and his council and the House of Assembly; as the latter, on the ground that it was impossible to pay the same salaries as were attached to offices in the days of slavery and protection, passed a bill reducing all those salaries 30 per cent. It also passed an import duties bill, with appropriating clauses; and a bill laying a duty on rum, for the support of hospitals, the prisons, and the police. The council rejected these three measures; and the governor, siding with that body, prorogued the assembly. —This state of things did not continue long; economy, at last, was established; but Jamaica appeared still to decline, and exhibited no symptoms of prosperity.

The interest of the foreign news of 1853, and of the two following years, was chiefly connected with the Crimean war, of which a connected account will be given in a subsequent chapter.—In France, the people appeared to acquiesce cheerfully in the restoration of the empire; and the emperor's marriage, on the 30th of January, to a Spanish lady, Madlle. de Montijo, Duchess of Teba, was hailed with great satisfaction. It was followed, on the 4th of February, by a decree pardoning 4,312 persons who were in prison for political offences. On the 28th of the same month, a deputation, headed by Sir John Duke, one of the representatives of London, had an audience of the emperor at the Tuileries, to present an address, signed by about 4,000 merchants of the metropolis, expressive of the desire of themselves and their fellow-citizens for continued friendship with France.—On the 5th of July, several persons were arrested at Paris, on suspicion of being engaged in a conspiracy to assassinate the emperor on his return from the Opera Comique. The performances that evening took place under his majesty's command, and were attended by him and the empress. The trials of the prisoners commenced on the 7th of November, and continued till the 15th, thirty-three appearing before the Court of Assize. All were found guilty: ten were sentenced to transportation for life; the rest to be imprisoned for terms varying from three to ten years.—On the 6th of February, an insurrection broke out at Milan, instigated by Mazzini, an Italian insurgent; and Kossuth, a Hungarian, who in 1849 had been at the head of a revolution in his native country, which Austria required the aid of Russia to suppress. The movement in Milan was promptly put down; injuring none but those concerned in it. A similar movement at Rome, through the agency of Mazzini, had the same result; the conspiracy being detected; and all the leaders were arrested on the 15th of August.—Across the Atlantic, at New York, an exhibition, which it was confidently anticipated would far excel that of London of 1851, was opened on the 14th of July. There was little ceremony on the occasion; "the proceedings of the hour being," according to a New York paper, "in harmony with the simplicity of republican manners."—It was kept open several months, though the receipts did not pay expenses; and it closed abruptly at last. The articles sent by English exhibitors were so carelessly packed when sent back, as to be rendered nearly worthless; and the owners had, contrary to the agreement made with them, to pay the carriage, the directors having no funds.—The connection of England with South America was, in 1853, improved and strengthened by the conclusion of treaties of commerce with Peru, Ecuador, and Paraguay. The king of the Sandwich

Islands also consented to sanction a similar treaty with this country.

In the year 1853, the failure of the harvest increased the price of food, and caused much distress amongst the poor; but it was borne nobly and cheerfully; and notwithstanding this drawback, the revenue and commerce of the United Kingdom were again greatly augmented. For the year ending the 5th of January, 1854, the public income amounted to £54,430,344 9s. 6d.; the expenditure to £51,174,839 14s. 11d.; leaving a surplus of £3,255,504 14s. 7d.—For the same twelve months, the exports reached the then unprecedented sum of £87,357,306; being £5,982,240 in excess of 1852. The home trade and industry of the kingdom also improved; and would have been still more prosperous but for the bad harvest, and if the strikes in several trades had not put a stop to labour in no inconsiderable degree.

CHAPTER CIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1854, 1855.

IN the years 1854 and 1855, the war in the Crimea occupied a great share of the public attention; and it must form the prominent feature in any history of the period. A brief sketch of the home and colonial history of those two years, in this chapter, shall therefore precede a connected narrative of the war.

As the question of reform had not been taken up in the session of 1853, but was deferred till the following one, the reformers had pursued their system of agitation, by meetings and through the press, during the recess; and soon after 1854 opened, two important assemblages took place—at Sheffield, for the West Riding of Yorkshire, on the 19th, and at Manchester, for the county of Lancashire, on the 24th, of January. Most of the leading men of the party were present; and eloquent speeches advocating reform, and urging the people to persevere in pressing that subject on the attention of the government, were made by Lord Goderich, Messrs. Bright, Cheetham, Cobden and others. The Conservatives, also, had their associations in many of the large towns; but they took little or no share in the public agitation of the question, thinking their interests were best attended to in the Registration Courts.

Parliament was opened on the 31st of January. The Queen was present, and, in her speech, expressed regret that her efforts to settle the differences between Russia and Turkey, made in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, had failed.—Her majesty alluded to the unsuccessful harvest, and the prosperous state of commerce and the revenue; praising the poor for the patience they evinced under the former.—The principal measures which government intended to bring forward were enumerated; amongst them being bills "for checking bribery and corrupt practices at elections, and giving more complete effect to the principles of reform adopted in the last reign."—The debate on the address in both Houses was very animated. Independent of the policy of the government—which was, as usual, criticised by its foes, and defended by its friends—a personal question connected with the Prince Consort was raised; and gave additional interest to the discussion in both Houses. His royal highness had been distinctly charged, in some of the Radical publications of the day, with an improper interference in the foreign policy of the country; and also in the patronage of the army, and the transaction of business at the Horse-Guards. Explanations were demanded and given; and it was the general opinion that the character and conduct of the prince were triumphantly vindicated.

Although the two Houses sat till the middle of August, and passed upwards of 100 public bills, there were only a few of those measures which, having a general and permanent effect, require notice. One of these bills was introduced by Mr. Cardwell on the 3rd of February, and was passed on the 23rd of March. It threw open the coasting trade of the United Kingdom to foreign vessels, which were to be subject to the same laws and rules as British ships.—Another act provided, that any person under sixteen years of age, convicted of an offence against the laws, may, after the expiration of his sentence, be sent, for not less than two, nor more than five years, to one of the reformatory schools for juvenile offenders, which are established, by voluntary contributions, in various parts of Great Britain; the expense to be defrayed by the Treasury. The effect of this act has been to rescue many a boy and girl from the paths of vice, and to render them capable of becoming good and valuable members of society.—"An Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to Bribery, Treating, and undue Influence in Elections of

Members of Parliament," was introduced by Lord John Russell on the 10th of February; and the third reading was carried, on the 28th of July, by the narrow majority of 107 to 100. In the Lords it was considered as a case of urgency; and the standing orders were suspended, to allow it to be passed without delay. It subjects every voter convicted of taking bribes, or of accepting meat and drink, to the loss of his vote; treating by a candidate is forbidden under a fine of £50; the use of force or coercion to voters is visited with the same penalty; and persons guilty of these offences are to be struck out of the list of voters; no cockades, or other marks of distinction are to be given, nor bands engaged; and voters are not to serve as special constables during an election. All bills for election expenses are to be sent to the candidate within three months after the election, and to be referred to the election auditor; and no payments are legal that do not receive his sanction. Candidates guilty of bribery are to be incapable of sitting in the parliament to which they may be elected. This act has done very little to prevent bribery, which is always found to prevail to a certain extent; and when party spirit runs high, immense sums are spent in the corruption of voters.

On the 13th of February, Lord John Russell moved for leave to introduce the bill alluded to in her majesty's speech, as tending "to give more complete effect to the reform principles of the last reign." As it is interesting, and of some importance, to know what the different ministers have proposed on this subject, we subjoin the heads of his lordship's measure:—

1. The disfranchisement of small boroughs containing less than 300 electors, or 5,000 inhabitants.—2. The subtraction of one member each from places with less than 500 electors or 10,000 inhabitants; by which sixty-two seats would be gained.—3. The West Riding of Yorkshire and South Lancashire to be severally divided into two electoral districts, each returning three members; all counties and towns having more than 100,000 inhabitants to return three members instead of two; to create Birkenhead, Barnsley, and Staleybridge into electoral boroughs, returning one member each; to constitute Kensington and Chelsea into an electoral district, returning two members; to give an additional member to Southwark; to confer the electoral privilege on the inns of court, which were to return two members; the London and Scotch universities to return one member each.—4. To make provision for the representation of minorities, in districts returning three members, by giving each elector two votes only, so that any section, comprising not fewer than two-fifths of the gross electorate, would secure the return of their candidate.—5. To confer the franchise, in boroughs, upon all residents who received a salary of £100 a year, paid quarterly; or £10 per annum in dividends; or who paid 40*s*. yearly to the income-tax or the assessed taxes; or who possessed £50 in a savings' bank for three years uninterruptedly; also on graduates of universities.—6. To reduce the borough franchise to a £6 rating.—7. To abolish the right of voting by freemen (as such), after the expiration of existing interests.—8. To repeal the statute of Anne, by which a member vacates his seat on accepting a government office.

These propositions were embodied in a bill, which the noble lord obtained leave to bring in. It was read a first time on the 16th of February; and the second reading was fixed for the 13th of March. All parties, however, were found to be either so indifferent or so opposed to the bill, that the second reading was postponed to the 27th of April. Before that day had arrived, however, on the 11th of the month, Lord John Russell, finding that, from various causes, the measure would meet with such a sturdy opposition that there would be no chance of success, announced his intention to withdraw it. In making this announcement, his lordship was evidently labouring under great emotion; and he shed tears over the fate of his measure.

Before the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced his budget Sir J. Graham, on the 24th of February, laid the navy estimates upon the table, which amounted to £7,487,948, being an increase of £1,202,455 over the previous year. The number of seamen was raised from 31,000 to 41,000; and that of marines from 10,500 to 15,500. The army was increased from 102,283 men to 112,977; and the estimates from £6,025,016 to £6,287,486. Mr. Gladstone made his financial statement on the 13th of March. The revenue for the current financial year, estimated at £52,999,000, had actually produced £54,025,000; the expenditure had been only £51,174,000, instead of £52,183,000, as estimated; making the financial position of the country better by more than £2,000,000 than he had ventured to anticipate.—For the year 1854-'55, the estimated ways and means amounted to £53,349,000; the expenditure would be increased in a larger proportion, being estimated at £56,189,000; thus there would be a deficiency of £2,840,000, instead of a surplus of £1,660,000, which the right honourable gentleman calculated upon, had the peace of Europe remained undisturbed. He proposed to supply the deficiency, not by increasing the indirect taxes, but by doubling the income-tax for the first half of the financial year. He calculated this would add £3,307,000 to the revenue, and leave a surplus of £467,000.—There was no difficulty in carrying the Income-Tax Bill, which was read a third time in the House of Commons on the 30th of March, and

passed the House of Lords on the 2nd of May. But a week after, owing to the almost certainty of the country being involved in war, which had caused additional votes for the army, navy, militia, and ordnance, amounting, in all, to about £6,000,000, the Chanceller of the Exchequer had to make a supplementary financial statement.—After enumerating the additional votes, he said he also had to ask for £850,000 for incidental expenses; making a gross sum of £6,850,000 to provide for. This he proposed to do by—

1. Providing that the income-tax should be doubled to the end of the war.—2. By laying a further duty on Scotch and Irish spirits, or 1*s.* per gallon on the former, and 8*d.* on the latter.—3. By readjusting the sugar duties, making the duty equal on all sugars, irrespective of their origin, and fixing the tariff at 11*s.*, 12*s.*, 14*s.*, and 16*s.* per cwt., according to the quality of the articles.—4. By increasing the malt-tax from 2*s.* 9*d.* to 4*s.* a bushel.

These different items of increased taxation, the right honourable gentleman estimated, would produce the amount required; but as he could only expect to realise about £2,840,000 in the current financial year, he proposed to create £4,000,000 of exchequer bonds, and £2,000,000 of exchequer bills; and thus he calculated the government would be enabled to pay all charges, and leave £3,500,000 in the exchequer.—Mr. Gladstone carried all his propositions—the only opposition being made to the increase of the malt duty. Two motions were made, on the 9th and 15th of May, with a view of preventing this increase; but on the first the numbers were 224 to 143, and on the second, 303 to 195, in favour of the original motion. A proviso was, however, introduced, that the increase of the duty should cease with the war, which was declared against Russia on the 27th of March.—After the bills authorising these financial measures had been carried, Lord John Russell, on the 24th of July, obtained a vote of credit for £3,000,000.

The prime minister made another effort, in this session, to alter the oaths taken by members of parliament. On the 6th of February, the House, on the motion of the noble lord, went into committee in order to consider that subject. After an historical review of the oath question, Lord John, contending that the operation of the words, "On the true faith of a Christian," in excluding Jews from parliament, was most unjust, said he should frame an oath which all members might take, whether Protestant, Roman Catholic, or Jew.—At that sitting a resolution was passed, on which to found a bill; and was introduced and read a first time; but, on the second reading being proposed, on the 25th of May, an amendment, that it should be read a second time that day six months, was carried by 251 votes to 247.—The religious question as between Roman Catholics and Protestants was raised several times during the session. First, by Mr. T. Chambers moving for a select committee, to inquire into the increase of conventual and monastic establishments. Though the government opposed this motion—Lord John Russell saying the proposed committee would be both useless and offensive—it was carried by 186 to 119 votes. When the House proceeded to name the committee, however, there was so much opposition to several of the members proposed, and so much disturbance created, that on the 18th of May, Mr. T. Chambers moved that the order for appointing the committee should be discharged; which was carried; 100 "ayes" being given, and only a solitary "no!"—Next, in committee of supply, on the 12th of June, when the vote for the expenses of prisons and convict establishments was taken, Mr. Spooner moved that the miserable sum of £550, proposed to be appropriated for Roman Catholic chaplains, should be omitted; and he carried his motion by 158 votes to 136.—His attempts, however, to remove the grant to Maynooth from the consolidated fund, failed. He made a motion to that effect on the 3rd of July, which was rejected—ayes, 90; noes, 160.—The enemies of the established church in England and Ireland were also active during the session. On the 23rd of May, Sir William Clay, by 129 to 62 votes, obtained leave to bring in a bill for the total abolition of church-rates. On the motion for the second reading, on the 21st of June, Mr. Goulburn opposed the measure as a commencement of a severance of church and state, and he carried an amendment, that the bill should be read a second time that day six months, by a majority of 27—ayes, 209; noes, 182.—With respect to the Irish church, Mr. Shiel, on the 13th of June, moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the law relating to the temporalities of that establishment. The debate was twice adjourned; and, on the 18th of July, leave to bring in the bill was refused by 117 votes against 31.—On the 13th of June, Mr. H. Berkeley made his usual motion for leave to bring in a bill directing the votes at elections to be taken by ballot: the House refused to grant leave by 194 to 157 votes.

Many other subjects came before both Houses; but those enumerated are all that it is necessary to mention. They either embody the views of the government, or develop the principles of the different parties in the state; and with them it is necessary the reader of history should be familiar. Most of the other topics debated, though exciting, many of them, great attention at the time, had no permanent interest attached to them. All were not disposed of till near the middle of August, the prorogation not taking place, till the 12th of that month.

While the legislature was sitting, some alteration took place in the *personnel* of the ministry. The two offices of Secretary of State for the Colonies and Minister of War were held by the same person. The duties of each had, for some time, been greatly upon the increase, till it became quite impossible that a single individual could perform them. In May the offices were divided; Sir George Grey took the colonial department; and the Duke of Newcastle, being allowed his choice, retained that of Minister of War. There was a Secretary at War, but that minister had really little or nothing to do with war measures; his duties were chiefly confined to the financial administration of the army. The office was subsequently abolished, and the war minister is now termed Secretary of State for War. About the same time Mr. Strutt retired from the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster; and Lord Granville took that office, vacating the presidentship of the council, which Lord John Russell accepted. The Marquis of Lansdowne still retained a seat in the cabinet without office. The Irish lordship of the Treasury had been previously vacated. Mr. Sadlier was charged with most improper proceedings respecting a bank with which he was connected in Ireland: he resigned his office; and soon after was found dead on Hampstead Heath. He was succeeded by Mr. C. S. Fortescue. There was also a change in the Board of Admiralty; Captain Peter Richards becoming one of the naval lords, in the place of Vice-Admiral H. Parker.

The strikes which had such an evil effect upon industry in 1853, were continued in 1854. In Lancashire, the factory operatives congregated in great numbers at Preston and Blackburn—30,000, at least, assembling in a field near the former town on the 5th of March, to receive delegates from distant places, who brought money to support the strike. The weekly expenditure of the strike committee in Lancashire at that period exceeded £3,200. The number of the unemployed was increased on the 17th of April, when above 10,000 operatives declined to work at Stockport, their masters having reduced their wages 10 per cent. Masters and men were at length tired of this state of things, which was ruinous to both; and mutual concessions brought about an agreement, after both had sustained great losses; the effect on the employed being infinitely more deleterious than it was upon the employers. The privations which many of the families of the former suffered may be imagined better than they can be described.

A much pleasanter subject to revert to than the strikes is the opening of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. This beautiful "palace," erected on as pleasant a spot as can be found in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, owes its origin to the exhibition of 1851. Great regret was felt and expressed at the demolition of the building in which that exhibition was held. An attempt was made to retain it for the public, but the government declined to interfere. On the 29th of April, 1852, Mr. Heywood, one of the representatives of South Lancashire, moved, in the House of Commons, that the building should be purchased with the public money; but only 103 members supported that motion to 221 against it. A company, however, was formed, for the purpose of purchasing the materials, and transferring them to another locality; there to raise a second Crystal Palace, in the midst of extensive grounds in which a park and garden could be formed; with a view that this "palace for the multitude" should be the means of raising the character of "the enjoyments and amusements of the English people; and especially to afford to the inhabitants of London, in wholesome country air, amidst the beauties of nature, the elevating treasures of art, and the instructive marvels of science, an accessible and inexpensive substitute for the, sometimes, injurious and debasing amusements of a crowded metropolis." — The first column of the new building was raised on the 5th of August, 1852; on the 28th of January, 1853, a royal charter was granted to the "Crystal Palace Company;" and on the 10th of June, 1854, the palace was opened by the Queen, who was accompanied by the Prince Consort, the King of Portugal, and the Duke of Oporto, who were, at the time, visitors at Buckingham Palace; the Prince of Wales and Prince Alfred; the Princesses Royal and Alice; the Duchesses of Kent and Cambridge; several Indian princes, who were then in England; the Duke of Cambridge; the members of the royal household; the *corp diplomatique;* the members of both Houses of Parliament; and officers of the army and navy. Numerous distinguished foreigners, representing, as commissioners, foreign governments, were also present. The ceremony was a most imposing one; and from that day "the Crystal Palace at Sydenham" has been one of the most popular places of resort in the kingdom, and it is unequalled in the world.

The revenue for the year ending January 5th, 1855, considerably exceeded that of the previous year; the net sum being £56,737,132 18*s.* 3*d.*: but the expenditure exceeded that amount by £3,209,059 4*s.* 5*d.*; the sum required for all the services being £59,946,192 2*s.* 8*d.* This was owing to the increased expenses for the army, navy, and ordnance, which the war rendered necessary.—The commerce of the country continued still further to develop itself; the total declared value of British and Irish produce exported in 1854, being £97,092,308. The imports were also proportionately augmented.—Notwithstanding the increased prosperity

of the people, a universal feeling of gloom and depression prevailed throughout the land at the close of the year, owing to the accounts from the Crimea: but that feeling passed away as the aspect of affairs improved; and it is to be hoped that similar causes will never more exist, to carry sorrow and anguish of heart to so many families.—In the course of the summer, the cholera, which had visited England partially in 1853, broke out with great violence.—The number of deaths from the disease was returned as 26,722; those in the metropolis amounting to 11,777. As winter approached, the violence of the disease subsided; and, before the year closed, it disappeared altogether.—On the 6th of October, a terrible event occurred near Newcastle-on-Tyne, which caused deep and long-felt distress. A fire broke out in a hosiery manufactory at Gateshead, attended by a terrible explosion of gaseous materials, by which nearly fifty people were killed, and many more severely injured. The fire extended over a vast area, and destroyed property to a large amount.

Little of moment occurred in our colonial history in 1854. Perhaps the most important event was the conclusion of a treaty at Washington, by Lord Elgin, governor-general of Canada, with the United States, by which the British American coast fisheries were thrown open to the fishermen of those States; the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and the Canadian lakes was guaranteed to their merchants; and the products of those States and of British America (with the exception of sugar and tobacco) were reciprocally admitted duty free. This "Treaty of Reciprocity," as it was termed, was signed at Washington on the 7th of June. It was productive of the best effects; for it not only put an end to frequent disputes between the colonists and the authorities of the United States, caused by the encroachments of the fishermen of the latter upon the Canadian waters, but it gave a great impetus to the trade of each country, to the profit of both.

When the year 1855 opened, the coalition ministry was at the height of unpopularity, owing to the unfortunate events in the Crimea, which will be narrated in a subsequent chapter. But the war was not unpopular, as Mr. Cobden ascertained. He attended a meeting of his constituents of the West Riding of Yorkshire, at Leeds, on the 14th of January, and addressed them with his usual ability, but not with his usual success. He denounced the war, defended the conduct of the Russian emperor, and strongly advocated a return to peace. He was listened to impatiently; and, at the close of his address, a resolution, in favour of the continuation of hostilities, and calling upon the government to prosecute the war with vigour, was carried.

Parliament, which met on the 12th of December, 1854, and adjourned on the 22nd for the Christmas holidays, reassembled on the 23rd of January; and most of the debates and proceedings were intimately connected with the events that took place in the Crimea. Of course that war had a great effect on the finances; and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his financial statement, he had to announce a large deficiency in the revenue, which had to be supplied, partly by new taxes, partly by a loan, and partly by an issue of exchequer bills and bonds. The right honourable gentleman "opened his budget" on the 20th of April. The revenue for the financial year 1854–'55, ending on the 5th of that month, had produced £59,494,144; which sum, by the issue of exchequer bills and bonds, had been increased to £66,621,000; the expenditure was about £1,000,000 less.—For the financial year 1855–'56, the army, navy, ordnance, and civil service estimates amounted to £50,675,000; the interest of the debt to £27,947,000; making a total of £78,622,000. But a loan which had been promised to Sardinia, and other extraordinary items, raised the grand total to £86,339,000. The year's revenue was estimated to produce £63,339,000; leaving £23,000,000 to be provided by other means. To raise this sum, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed—

1. To increase the duty on tea from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* per pound; when peace was concluded, to reduce it to 1*s.* 3*d.*; and, at the end of twelve months, to 1*s.*—2. To raise the income-tax 2*d.* in the pound.—3. To increase the sugar duty 3*s.* per cwt.; that on coffee, 1*d.* per pound; and the spirit duties, by 1*s.* 10*d.* per gallon on Scotch, and 2*s.* on Irish spirits.—4. To raise £16,000,000 by way of loan.—5. To issue exchequer bills to the amount of £3,000,000.

These various items, the right honourable gentleman estimated, would produce a larger sum than the deficiency amounted to; and he carried all his propositions, except that respecting the income-tax, which was slightly modified; the duty being increased by 2*d.* in the pound on all incomes above £150 per annum; and on those between £100 and £150, only by 1½*d.*—The taxes mitigated were—the mileage duty on stage carriages, which was reduced from 1½*d.* to 1*d.* per mile; and the charge for each supplementary licence, from 5*s.* to 1*s.*; the stamp duty on newspapers was also entirely abolished, except on those passing through the post, on which a stamp with a 1*d.* duty was still retained, or a 1*d.* postage-stamp had to be affixed to an unstamped sheet. A newspaper with the tax-office stamp could be sent backwards and forwards, any distance, by virtue of that stamp, for fifteen days after the date of publication; but if a postage-stamp was applied, that would only pass it once through the post-office.—The army and navy caused the great increase of expenditure. A

foreign legion and a corps of Bashi-Bazouks had been added to the former; and the total number of additional men voted was 793,595.

Out of the House, a movement had been made by some independent Liberals in favour of what they called "administrative reform;" and an "Administrative Reform Association" had been instituted in the metropolis, at the head of which were some of the most influential men in London and the metropolitan districts. They professed to care nothing for party; to set at nought the distinctions of Conservative, Whig, and Liberal; and contended, that the most clever working-men, no matter what party they might belong to, should have the "administrative" or the "executive" office placed in their hands. In their programmes and manifestoes this association promised to effect great things for the people, by introducing good management and the utmost economy into every department: the public were for a time inclined, from the high respectability of many of the men engaged in the movement, to place reliance upon their pretensions and promises; and, to forward their views, Mr. Layard, on the 15th of June, moved the following resolution in the House of Commons:—

"That this House views, with deep and increasing concern, the state of the nation; and is of opinion, that the manner in which merit and efficiency have been sacrificed in public appointments, to party and family influences, and to a blind adherence to routine, has given rise to great misfortunes, and threatens to bring discredit upon the national character, and to involve the country in grave disasters."

This resolution found few supporters; most of the speakers contending that the failures and disasters of the last few months were attributable entirely to an incapable and divided government, and not to the system. The resolution was negatived, on the 18th of June, by 359 votes to 46; the amendments moved by Sir E. B. Lytton and Mr. Disraeli were dropped; and soon after, the "administrative reform" movement, though supported by many able and influential men, collapsed.

A few of the acts passed during the session may be briefly noticed. The act "to provide for the Education of Children receiving out-door relief," is important, as it allows the guardians of the poor to grant relief to poor persons, to procure education for any of their children from four to sixteen years of age, at any school approved of by the said guardians.—An "Act to Consolidate and Amend the Laws relating to Friendly Societies," was intended, according to her majesty's speech at the close of the session, to "encourage habits of industry and thrift among the labouring classes of the community." It provides for the security, judicious regulation, and good management of such societies; which may be instituted for securing annuities; granting relief to the aged or sick or infirm, in money or kind; and for the payment of a sum of money on the death of a member: no annuity to be contracted for a sum exceeding £30 per annum; nor any sum secured to be payable after death, to exceed £200. By one of the acts of the session, the acts of William and Mary and George III., which prohibited assemblies of Protestants for religious worship in private houses, if they consisted of more than twenty persons beyond the members of the family and servants, were repealed; and also the Act 15 and 16 Victoria, cap. 36, as far as it applies to religious assemblies. Religious meetings may now, therefore, take place in a private dwelling-house, without any limitation as to number; and congregations or assemblies may be held for religious worship, and conducted by the clergyman of the parish, or by dissenting ministers. Roman Catholics and Jews are placed, for the purposes of this act, upon the same footing as Protestant dissenters.—"An Act for Limiting the Liability of Members of certain Joint-Stock Companies," provides that shareholders in such companies shall not be liable to creditors beyond the amount of their shares: if a company becomes insolvent, and the amount of the shares is not paid up, process may issue to enforce payment of the deficiency.—The "Act for the better Local Management of the Metropolis" is very important, as far as that large and populous district is concerned. It provides for the establishment of the Metropolitan Board of Works, composed of members elected by the rate-payers, and who are, themselves, rated to the relief of the poor at not less than £40 per annum; unless the assessment to that amount should, in the district they represent, be less than one-sixth of the whole number, then the qualification is to be a rating of £25. To this board is entrusted the local government of the entire metropolis, except the city of London, as far as the sewerage, lighting, cleansing, paving, draining, and improvement of the streets are concerned. Under its auspices, the drainage of the metropolis and the embankment of the Thames have been effected, besides other less important improvements; and, although it has expended large sums of money, it has unquestionably effected much good.

Several bills, respecting which agitation was excited outside of the House, were lost: amongst them a bill to open the British Museum on Sundays; and one to abolish church-rates. The attempts to abolish the vote for Maynooth, and to introduce the ballot, were also defeated; as was a tenant-right bill for Ireland.—In June, Lord Robert Grosvenor introduced a bill to prevent the shops in the metropolis from being opened on Sunday, and to put down the open-air markets which

are held in several parts of the metropolitan districts on the morning of that sacred day. Violent demonstrations were made against this measure. On Sunday, the 24th of June, many thousand persons assembled in Hyde Park, resorting more especially to the "Drive," where they offered every possible insult to the ladies and gentlemen who were riding or driving there; the windows of the houses belonging to some of the supporters of the bill were also broken.—On the following Sunday, the 1st of July, it was calculated that 100,000 persons collected in the park, for the purpose of manifesting their disapproval of Lord Robert Grosvenor's measure. They had the vast arena almost entirely to themselves, very few carriages appearing in the "Drive." Upon the inmates of those few the popular displeasure was vented. There were several encounters between the police and the crowd, and many persons received injuries, but none were serious. Above 10,000 persons collected in Greenwich Park the same day, also to protest against the measure.—After the first meeting, Lord Robert Grosvenor, in reply to a question put to him in the House on the 28th of June, said he should press the bill; but, on the 2nd of July, he consented to withdraw it. This concession did not terminate the assemblages and riots. On Sunday, the 8th of July, most disgraceful outrages took place, the mob again assembling by thousands, and making indiscriminate attacks upon the houses in Belgrave Square, Eaton Square, and the adjoining streets. Great damage was done; and the rioting was with difficulty suppressed.—These tumultuous assemblages first caused the question to be discussed—have the people a right to hold large meetings in the royal parks? A commission was appointed to inquire into and consider the question; and that commission reported—

"That it was fit that measures should be taken to enable all persons to ride and drive in the parks uninterrupted; and that warning should be issued, that such proceedings as had recently taken place were illegal, as being novel, and not sanctioned by usage; Hyde Park not being a proper arena for large assemblages of persons for political discussions."

There was, during the year, an interchange of amenities between the Queen of Great Britain and the Emperor and Empress of the French; the latter making the first advance by coming over to England. Their imperial majesties arrived at Windsor Castle on the 17th of April; and, on the same day, the prefect of the Seine, accompanied by members of the university of Paris, arrived in London, on a visit to the Lord Mayor.—On the 19th, the emperor and empress came to London, on the invitation of the Lord Mayor and the corporation, by whom and by the citizens their reception was most enthusiastic. They received addresses from, and were fêted by, the civic body; being entertained with the usual magnificent hospitality of the city.—On the 20th, the Queen, the Prince Consort, and their illustrious guests, visited the Crystal Palace at Sydenham; and it was the general remark, by those who saw them there, that four happier-looking faces never were seen. The Queen leaned on the arm of the emperor, and the empress took that of the Prince Consort, as they promenaded over the grounds and through the building; and when they presented themselves in the balcony, above the entrance to the centre transept of the palace, the cheering was tremendous. During this short personal acquaintance with a portion of the English people, the Empress Eugénie, from her beauty, and her cordial, yet elegant manners, became quite a popular favourite; and her name was a standing toast long afterwards. Their majesties left England on the 21st of April, being accompanied to Dover by the Prince Consort; and they expressed themselves, before leaving, as highly gratified with their visit. Before he left, her majesty conferred the Order of the Garter upon the emperor.

On the 3rd of July, the King of the Belgians, the Princess Charlotte, and the Count of Flanders, arrived at Buckingham Palace; and they were followed by the King of Portugal and the Duke of Oporto. Soon after the departure of the latter royal personages, the Queen, accompanied by the Prince Consort, returned the visits of the Emperor and Empress of the French. It was the 18th of August when they arrived at Paris, where they spent several days; a magnificent *fête* and ball being given in their honour by the municipality on the 23rd.—On the 24th, there was a grand review of 50,000 men in the Champ de Mars, by the emperor, at which the Queen and Prince Albert were present. The men assembled on this occasion were smart soldiers; they marched well, and went through their evolutions without a fault; but they wanted the dash and the noble appearance of the English soldier, which makes him the first in the world.—In the evening of the 25th, there was a grand ball at the palace of Versailles, with a display of the magnificent fountains, illuminations, and fireworks.—On the 26th, the Queen and her husband accompanied the emperor to the resting-place of Napoleon I., and paid a visit to his tomb—a striking sign of the cessation of that hostile feeling which the name of the exile of St. Helena once gave rise to in every English breast.—On the 27th, the royal party embarked at Boulogne for England, having been accompanied to that port by their imperial host. Before she left Paris, her majesty conferred the Grand Cross of the Bath on Prince Napoleon and General Canrobert.—On the 6th of September, the court went to Balmoral, where their arrival is always hailed with the greatest

joy by the peasantry in the vicinity.—The Queen and royal family returned to London on the 17th of October; and, on the 30th of November, Victor Emmanuel, the King of Sardinia, arrived on a visit to our court. He was not then known as *Il Re Galantuomo*, the epithet applied to him in subsequent years; and he attracted much less notice than our imperial visitors had done. The intent of the journey to England of this prince was, to strengthen the alliance which had been recently concluded between England, Sardinia, and France—an alliance calculated upon, to enable Victor Emmanuel to carry out those plans he was then forming with his minister Cavour against Austria; plans which finally ended in the expulsion of Austria from Italy, and the recognition of the King of Sardinia as the sovereign of the Peninsula, "from the Alps to the Adriatic." Before his departure—which took place on the 6th of December, the Prince Consort accompanying him to Folkstone, where he embarked—Victor Emmanuel, like the Emperor Napoleon, was invested with the insignia of the Garter; and he partook of a splendid civic banquet given by the Lord Mayor of London—David Salomons, a Jew, then filling that office; the first time that a member of the Hebrew race, and a professor of the Hebrew religion, had sat in the civic chair, and presided at the Mansion-house.

An event of 1855, which deserves mention, was the closing of Smithfield cattle-market, which had, for so many years, been frequented by cattle-dealers from all parts of England. It was the work of some philanthropists, at the head of whom was the Earl of Shaftesbury, who contended, that the area of Smithfield was too contracted to receive the number of cattle which the increase of the population now required to be brought there; that this caused the animals to be treated with great inhumanity; whilst their being driven through the streets was, in many ways, offensive to the inhabitants. The corporation of London, to whom Smithfield belonged, had a plan prepared for enlarging the market: nothing, however, would satisfy the opponents but its removal. They had influence enough to obtain an act of parliament for that purpose; and the requisite buildings for a new market were erected on a large space of ground in the parish of Islington, called Copenhagen Fields.—Smithfield was closed on the 11th of June, and on the 13th the new market was opened. A grand *déjeuner* was given on the occasion, in a magnificent marquee, erected on an area left between two buildings, palatial in size, intended for taverns; but for which the corporation was not able to find tenants. The Prince Consort presided at the *déjeuner*, at which the Lord Mayor and corporation, and most of the eminent men of the city and their families, were present. Amongst the toasts, "Prosperity to the new market" was heartily pledged. It has, however, been a losing concern to the corporation; and, whilst the accommodation for the cattle is much superior to that which Smithfield afforded, the scenes in the streets from the over-driving and ill-treatment of the cattle still occur, the locality being somewhat changed. The removal ruined most of the tradesmen then living in the neighbourhood of Smithfield; who, of course, regarded those who had been its promoters with an evil eye.

Two statesmen whose names had been constantly before the public for many years—Mr. Joseph Hume and Sir Robert Inglis—died in 1855; the former on the 20th of February, the latter on the 24th of April. The first, who represented the Montrose district of boroughs at his death, was a distinguished economist. His constant aim was to reduce the public expenditure; and some say that great benefits were derived from his exertions, whilst others describe him as "penny-wise and pound foolish;" and attribute to his perseverance many of those reductions in the military department which were the basis of the privations and misery the British soldiers were subjected to in the Crimea.—Sir Robert Inglis was of a very different school. He was no advocate of extravagance, but the reverse. Unlike Joseph Hume, he was a staunch Conservative, and, as a representative of Oxford University, always opposed those innovations which he deemed injurious to church or state—On the 21st of July, a statue, erected by the city of London at the west-end of Cheapside, to commemorate the services of another statesman—Sir Robert Peel—was uncovered. It is the work of Mr. Behnes, an eminent sculptor of the day; is eleven feet high; and stands on a noble pedestal of Peterhead granite, twelve feet in height.

There was a striking disproportion between the revenue and expenditure for the year ending December 31st, 1855. The former produced a larger sum than was anticipated—£63,364,605 2*s.* 8*d.*; but the latter amounted to £84,505,788 10*s.* 9*d.*; leaving a deficiency of £21,141,183 8*s.* 1*d.*; which had to be provided for by a loan, and the issue of exchequer bills and bonds.—Our foreign trade fell off during the year—the natural effect of war; but not so much as might have been expected. The total declared value of British and Irish produce exported in the twelve months ending December 31st, was £95,669,380; which was £1,422,928 less than in 1854. The imports also showed a decrease of £8,741,668; the real value having reached the large sum of £152,591,513 in 1854, and fallen to £143,850,505 in 1855. Notwithstanding this decrease, our foreign and home trade appeared to be in a satisfactory state; and the workmen were industrious and quiet for the greater part of the year. The winter was very severe, the month of February being the coldest on record, and

large bodies of labourers were in that month thrown out of employ. They paraded the streets of most of the large cities and towns, with a view to excite compassion; and in Liverpool, on the 19th, and in London on the 22nd, there were serious riots, which were suppressed without loss of life, but not without injury to person and property.—In the autumn, the price of bread and flour being advanced—the result of the war—there were, on the 14th of October, and several succeeding Sundays, tumultuous meetings in Hyde Park, the police being unable to prevent the gatherings. On the 28th, the mob became outrageously violent. Many windows were broken, and property damaged in other ways to a considerable extent. But the firm conduct of the police at length suppressed the riots, and the populace became more peaceable; though they could not reconcile themselves to "dear bread," which they supposed the repeal of the corn-laws was to render a thing unknown. This was a mistake; the *average* price of corn for a series of years being higher than it was for a corresponding series, when those laws were in existence.

One of the first responses to the free-trade measures of the British government was made early in the year by Prussia. On the 16th of January, a bill passed the legislature of that power, admitting to its coasting-trade, upon an equality with the native craft, the vessels of those nations which extended the same privileges to Prussian ships.—Towards the close of the year, a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, between Great Britain and Chili, was duly signed and exchanged at Santiago.

As the year progressed, accounts were received of great loss of life and destruction of property abroad, from natural causes.—On the 1st and 2nd of January, more than half the city of Hamburgh was inundated by the Elbe, the waters of which were driven back by a high north-west wind; and the tide rose to the extraordinary height of twenty feet and one inch. Very serious damage was the result of this calamity.—On the 28th of February, the city of Broussa, in Asia Minor, was nearly destroyed by an earthquake; and about 2,000 lives were lost. There were 125 mosques in the city, and nearly all were injured. The shock was also felt at Constantinople, where its violence caused great alarm, but did little damage.—In Holland, as in England, the winter was very severe; and the sudden breaking up of the ice, on the 25th of March, caused all the rivers and dykes to overflow, carrying away houses and trees, cattle and people, in great numbers. Many of the latter, whose lives were saved, had to take refuge in churches till their houses were restored. The telegraph was destroyed; the railway injured; and the distress occasioned prevailed for some time before it was thoroughly relieved.—On the 25th of July, about 1 P.M., a violent shock of earthquake was felt all along the east coast of France, from Valence to Metz. It extended to Italy, Switzerland, and Germany; the oscillation, in several places, having the effect of shaking windows, ringing bells, and stopping clocks: in the department of Doubs, houses were shaken, walls cracked, and chimneys tumbled to the ground. The next day the shocks were renewed in the Valais: they were more violent than on the 25th; masses of rock were rolled down from the hills; and the villages of St. Nicholas, Viègo, and Stalden destroyed.—On the 22nd of October, New Zealand was visited by an earthquake, which ruined several buildings at Taranatki.

Paris, in 1855, had its "exhibition of the manufactures of all nations," the result of the English exhibition of 1851, which the Parisians were resolved to surpass. A "Crystal Palace" was raised in the great square of the Champs Elysées, to receive the various articles from the exhibitors; and much the same arrangements were adopted as were seen at Hyde Park. The exhibition was formally opened on the 15th of May, by the emperor and empress, in the presence of about 8,000 spectators, the ceremony very much resembling that of 1851. After their imperial majesties had taken their seats on a handsome daïs erected for the occasion, an address, setting forth the origin, progress, and character of the undertaking, was read to them; to which the emperor briefly replied, saying, at the close of his speech—"In inviting all nations hither, I have desired to open here a Temple of Concord." The display was scarcely equal, as a whole, to that at Hyde Park; still it was very satisfactory, and very attractive. Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort visited it during their sojourn at the Tuileries; and the Lord Mayor of London crossed the Channel, on the invitation of the prefect of the Seine; and also inspected the really beautiful show in the Champs Elysées. The exhibition continued open till the 15th of November, when it was closed, with the most imposing ceremonies, by the emperor; who, on that occasion, was accompanied by the Duke of Cambridge, then on a visit to the Tuileries. As a commercial speculation, it was not so successful as that of England; but it was another proof of the great progress made by art and industry in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER CX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA—"THE EASTERN QUESTION."—A.D. 1825—1853.



HE Crimean war—the only European contest in which England has been engaged since the signature of the treaty of Vienna in 1815—was the result of Russian ambition mixed up with a dispute respecting the right of the Greek and Latin Christians to the "holy places," as the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and that of the Nativity at Bethlehem, are called. The Russian empire—that vast territory on the north of Europe, which extends into Asia, and comprises also a large tract of North America—has been increasing in power since Peter I., towards the close of the seventeenth century, laid the foundation of its greatness. There is no doubt, that a document said to be the "Will" of that monarch—first published in 1836, in the *Memoirs of the Chevalier D'Eou*, who professed to have discovered it when residing in Russia from 1752 to 1758, on a mission confided to him by Louis XV.—lays down a policy which has been that of Peter's successors; all of whom have endeavoured to extend the boundaries of the empire; and most of them succeeded in the attempt. "It is expedient," the great czar is represented as saying in the document referred to, "to draw as near as possible to Constantinople and the East Indies: whoever rules in these two countries is the sovereign of the world." And, when not engaged in war with some European power, Russia has constantly been advancing her frontiers to the east. Even the present emperor, Alexander II.—certainly the least aggressive of any monarch who ever filled the throne of St. Petersburg—has his armies actively employed in that direction. — There is good reason to believe that this alleged "Will" is a forgery: a Saxon nobleman, Count C. F. Vitzthurn, having discovered, in 1866, among the diplomatic papers of Herr von Pezold, a Saxon statesman of the early part of the seventeenth century, a document, said to be Peter's recommendations and instructions to his successor; which, in many points, especially with respect to Poland, prescribes a policy directly the reverse of that recommended in the alleged "Will." But whether true or false; whether the policy of the Russian autocrats has been based upon the "Will," or that paper has been drawn up to impress the world with a belief that the course they have taken is the one prescribed by their famous predecessor, or for what other purpose it has been forged, if forged it is—it is certain that it faithfully sets forth Russian policy, both of the past and the present; and that, when Nicholas I. was taking those steps which terminated in the Crimean war, he was following the advice given, and the rules laid down in the so-called "Will of Peter the Great."

The Emperor Nicholas, who succeeded his father, Alexander I., in December, 1825, found disputes existing with Turkey when he came to the throne. They were ended by the treaty of Ackermann, signed on the 9th of October, 1826. It was a humiliating treaty for the Porte. A subsequent war was ended by the treaty of Adrianople, concluded on the 14th of September, 1829. By this treaty the czar surrendered most of his conquests, and thus assumed the appearance of moderation. But, by the terms of the 7th article, Lord Aberdeen (then foreign minister of England), in a letter to Lord Heytesbury, the English ambassador to Russia, declared the independence of the Ottoman power was utterly subverted; and Count Nesselrode, the Russian chancellor, in a letter to the Grand Duke Constantine (brother to the emperor), written in February, 1830, said, "the provisions of the treaty of Adrianople have consolidated the power of Russia in the East;" and the Ottoman monarchy, "reduced to exist only under the protection of Russia," must "henceforward listen only to her desires." Though greatly reduced, Turkey was not sunk quite so low as this; but Nicholas appears never to have given up the idea of becoming the real master of Turkey, while the grand seignior remained its nominal sovereign.

In 1844, Nicholas visited England, arriving on the 1st of June. Sir Robert Peel was then premier; and the Earl of Aberdeen, who was a personal friend of the emperor, was the foreign secretary. There were long and confidential interviews between the imperial visitor and the noble earl, at which the affairs of Turkey were discussed. There is no record of what passed on these occasions; but if Nicholas urged his right acquired by treaty, to make Turkey listen only to his desires, he was apparently met by calm but firm remonstrance on the part of the English minister, which caused him, for a time at least, to veil his real designs under the mask of friendship and forbearance. This appears from a "memorandum," which was drawn up by Count Nesselrode, of the results of these interviews, in which we find the following passage:—

"Russia and England are mutually penetrated with

the conviction, that it is for their common interest that the Ottoman Porte should maintain itself in the state of independence and of territorial possession which, at present, constitutes that empire; as that political combination is the one most compatible with the general interest and with the maintenance of peace."

Whilst, therefore, the two powers were to respect that independence, they mutually agreed, "that, if anything unforeseen occurred in Turkey," they "would previously concert together as to the course they should, in common, pursue;" and that, if they foresaw the empire "must crumble to pieces," they would "enter into previous concert as to everything relating to the establishment of a new order of things, intended to replace that then existing." That Russia had her own views, however, and meant to pursue them, even if necessary to do so by war, appears from a letter, written by Prince Lieven, about the time—certainly not long after —the "memorandum" just quoted was drawn up. In this letter, the prince says—

"Our policy must be to maintain a reserved and prudent attitude until the moment arrives for Russia to vindicate her rights, and for the rapid action which she will be obliged to adopt. The war ought to take Europe by surprise. Our movements must be prompt, so that the other powers should find it impossible to be prepared for the blow that we were about to strike."

Several years passed away, and then an opportunity was afforded for Russia to throw off her "prudent reserves," and to put forth her claims to exert a power and authority in the sultan's dominions, which would soon, had she been permitted to exercise it, have put Turkey in chains at her feet. The dispute which had so long prevailed about the right to the holy places at Jerusalem, gave this opportunity, of which the czar, unfortunately for Russia, was not slow to avail himself.—The site of the nativity, and that of the crucifixion, had been venerated by Christians from the earliest ages of the church. Pilgrimages were made to them; and churches were erected over the spots which, according to tradition, the manger and the sepulchre once occupied; that over the sepulchre being erected in the fourth century, by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, the first Christian emperor. As the followers of the blessed Saviour became divided into sects, a priority and a paramount possession of these churches began to be contended for. We find the monks quarrelling about those places as far back as the time of the caliphs, when there were eight different orders established at the holy city of Jerusalem—viz., the Latins, or Roman Catholics; the Copts, or Egyptians; the Nestorians, or Syrians; the Greeks; the Abyssinians; the Armenians; the Georgians; and the Maronites of Mount Lebanon. After the Saracens had conquered Jerusalem (A.D. 636), the Caliph Omar is said to have placed, by a grant or charter, "the holy sepulchre and its dependencies under the control of the Greek patriarchs; and the other rites and religions were made subject to them in this respect." This is doubtful; as the Saracens appear to have been willing then, as the Turks are now, to permit all Christians to worship, upon terms of equality, on the site of the Saviour's interment (there are great doubts if it be the real one). But whether Omar made the grant to the Greeks or not, the quarrels amongst the members of the different churches continued; and from the era of Charlemagne, the Latins (they are sometimes also styled Franks) began to gain the ascendency—an ascendency which was increased and confirmed by the crusades, undertaken by the followers of the pope. The only church which could offer any determined opposition to the Latins was the Greek; and, as time progressed, France became the protector of the former, and Russia of the latter, as those powers are at the present day. As early as 1604, we find a treaty concluded between Henry IV. of France and the Porte; in which, for the first time, the Turks engaged to respect national rights; to protect the French and their allies when arriving as pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre; and to allow the monks to repair the church when necessary. In 1673, this treaty was confirmed by another, concluded between the Sultan Mahomet IV. and Louis XIV. In 1690, the Latins had sufficient influence to get the church at Jerusalem assigned to them; and though other Christians were permitted to worship there, the Roman Catholic was the only service allowed to be performed.—Another treaty was concluded, in 1740, between Louis XV. and Mahomet V., which secured new privileges to the Latins, and confirmed all they previously possessed. Under that treaty the French sovereigns considered themselves authorised to vindicate the rights of that church when assailed, as they frequently were, by the Greeks, who, in 1757, obtained a decided ascendency in Palestine. Dissensions between the followers of the two churches caused a very serious disturbance of the public peace at Jerusalem in that year. The Turks had to interfere to put a stop to the quarrels between Christians; and the ministers of the Sultan Osman III., believing the Latins to be in the wrong, that sovereign issued a hatti-scheriff, ordering them to be expelled from the Church of the Tomb of the Virgin, and the Church and Grotto of the Nativity, at Bethlehem; and putting the holy places under the protection of the Greeks. That church, supported by Russia, in later days also obtained firmans from the Porte, which invested it with privileges inconsistent with the rights the Latins contended the treaties conferred upon them. In 1808, a fire destroyed a great

part of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: it was rebuilt by the Greek-Sclave population of Jerusalem, by permission of the Turkish authorities; and, from that time, the Greek priests more persistently asserted exclusive rights and prerogatives.

In 1819, France and Russia sent commissioners to Palestine, to inquire into and report upon the claims of the rival churches, both governments being, at that time, disposed to adjust them amicably. In the following year, M. Marcellus, the French commissioner, drew up a report, which entered at some length into the subject, and asserted the rights and prerogatives of the Latin church, as derived from the treaty of 1740. No attempt was, however, made to enforce them; and though the holy places continued, on the recurrence of the feasts and festivals, frequently to be made the scene of most unholy contentions, still there were no alarming symptoms connected with the quarrel till, in 1850, the president of the French republic—for what reason, and with what view, has never been satisfactorily ascertained; but probably trusting, by that step, to ingratiate himself with the priesthood and the pope—instructed General Aupick, the French ambassador at Constantinople, to demand of the Porte that the Latin church should be reinstated in all the rights and privileges conceded by the treaty of 1740. The Greeks, of course, were extremely unwilling to resign those privileges which hatti-scheriffs and firmans had conferred upon their church, and which they had enjoyed for many years: and the sultan and his ministers were equally unwilling to withdraw them. Russia was opposed to their withdrawal; while the Roman Catholic governments (Austria included), supported the demands of General Aupick. The British ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, saw at once what must be the consequence if those demands were enforced. Writing to Lord Palmerston, the minister for foreign affairs, in May, 1850, his excellency, after mentioning the subject, remarked—

"General Aupick has assured me that the question in dispute is a mere question of property and of express treaty stipulations. But it is difficult to separate such questions from political considerations; and a struggle of general influence—especially if Russia, as may be expected, should interfere in behalf of the Greek church—will probably grow out of the impending discussion."

As long as General Aupick remained at Constantinople, he carried on the discussion temperately; M. de Titoff, the Russian ambassador, being instructed to defend the claims of the Greeks. The former, however, was, in 1851, succeeded by M. de Lavalette, who used somewhat stronger language in his correspondence with the sultan's minister for foreign affairs, which led to similar retorts from M. de Titoff. But though the latter threatened to leave Constantinople, with his legation, "if the *status quo* of the sanctuaries was in any way unsettled"—and M. de Lavalette said, if that *status quo* were persevered in, the Dardanelles would be bombarded with a French fleet—terms were agreed upon, and the dispute was supposed to be arranged, "by the concession to the Latins of the right of officiating at the shrine of the Virgin near Jerusalem," and allowing them "keys to the Church of the Nativity, at Bethlehem." This concession being granted, and, as was generally supposed, an amicable arrangement arrived at, M. de Lavalette, the French ambassador, left Constantinople for a short time. On his return, he found that, during his absence, M. de Titoff had been again enforcing the claims of the Greeks; putting forward, in support of them, the grant of the Caliph Omar to the Greek patriarch of his day: and the Sultan Abdul-Medjid, who appears to have been unstable and infirm of purpose, had issued a firman, declining to confirm the concessions made to the Latins. This firman was sent to Jerusalem, but is supposed never to have been communicated to the parties interested there; "and there is," says an historian of the Crimean war, "altogether much doubt and mystification on this part of the subject."—M. de Lavalette was greatly displeased at the conduct of the sultan in issuing this firman. He renewed the demands for the Latin privileges; and they were again conceded, with some additions. Thus, with respect to the church at Bethlehem, the Latins were not only permitted to retain the key, but to replace in the Grotto of the Nativity a silver star, bearing the French arms, which the Greeks had removed in 1751. This star was replaced by the Latin patriarch on the 22nd of December, 1852, with all the pomp and ceremony the position of the church in Palestine permitted him to display. Thus, "to the indignation of the whole people following the Greek ritual, the church of Bethlehem was made over to the Latins." So wrote Count Nesselrode to the Baron Brunnow, then the Russian ambassador at London, on the 14th of January, 1853; adding, "the mischief is done: it is now necessary to remedy it." Whilst negotiations for this purpose were going on, the count intimated that precautionary measures would be adopted, in order to support them, and "to neutralise the effect of M. Lavalette's threats." Accordingly, Russian troops were immediately sent to the frontiers of the Danubian provinces; and other corps were ordered to be concentrated as a reserve; the whole force amounting to 144,000 men.

When these measures were in progress, Sir Hamilton Seymour, the English ambassador at St. Petersburg, in an interview with Count Nesselrode, stated the apprehensions to which these military movements must give

rise. The count expressed pacific sentiments and intentions, and his hopes that the unpleasant affair would be settled by negotiations; but contended that it was necessary the diplomacy of Russia should be supported by a demonstration of force. This necessity was attributed to the conduct of France; who, said the Russian chancellor, "moves its squadrons about, without opposition, in all parts of the Mediterranean," and "presents its least demand at the cannon's mouth." The French government, however, had certainly afforded no grounds for those statements; and it now recalled M. Lavalette, whose intemperate zeal frequently irritated both Turks and Russians, and sent M. de la Cour to Constantinople. M. Turgot, the French foreign minister, who had urged the propriety of sustaining the French legation at the Turkish capital by sending a French squadron to the Dardanelles, was removed, and replaced by M. Drouyn de l'Huys, who, immediately on his appointment, wrote to General Castelbajac, the French ambassador at the court of Russia, instructing him "to use the most conciliatory language to the ministers of the czar;" and to assure them that France "had not thought of withdrawing from the Greek church the right of enjoying advantages which time had consecrated in their hands;" its sole object being "to raise the Catholic religion from a state of inferiority as unworthy of that religion as it was of France." The English ambassadors at Paris, St. Petersburg, and Constantinople, confined themselves to giving friendly advice, taking part with neither side: but Lord Cowley bears testimony to the pacific intentions of the French emperor, who, he says, in pressing the claims of the Latin church upon the Porte, subequent to the recall of M. de Lavalette, "resisted having recourse to anything like a threat, because he felt the peril of provoking a collision in that part of the world."

A quarrel between Turkey and the Montenegrins—the inhabitants of an obscure and rugged country, situated between 42° 10′ and 42° 56′ N. lat., and 20° 22′ E. long; against whom Omar Pasha was despatched, with a large force, to punish several outrages committed upon the neighbouring Turkish province, the Herzegowina—would, it was expected, raise a new phase in the "Eastern question." Montenegro was, nominally, a dependency of Turkey; the vladika, or prince, acknowledging the sultan as his suzerain, or feudal lord: but it was really independent, and both Austria and Russia were desirous that its independence should be preserved. When Omar Pasha's army advanced, therefore, and a Turkish fleet was sent to blockade the Albanian coast, Austria first collected a large body of troops on her Dalmatian frontier, and then despatched Count Leiningen to Constantinople, with a peremptory demand for the recall of Omar Pasha and his troops.—Nicholas, who always represented himself to be in perfect accord with Austria upon the policy to be pursued with respect to Turkey, resolved to support that demand, and to despatch an ambassador extraordinary to the Porte, "who was to declare, that a refusal to withdraw Omar Pasha's forces from Montenegro, would be regarded by the czar as a ground of war between him and the sultan." It is thought that the government of the sultan obtained some information as to the intentions of Nicholas; for Count Leiningen's demand was at once complied with, and the threatening message of the czar was not delivered. By the recall of Omar Pasha, peace in the Montenegrin quarter was restored.

Whilst this question was on the *tapis*, the czar, from the 9th of January to the 21st of February, 1853, held some important secret conversations with Sir Hamilton Seymour. They related to Turkey, and left no doubt as to the intentions of the Russian autocrat. The first interview took place at a party given at the palace of the Archduchess Helen. There his imperial majesty accosted the ambassador, and, after a few complimentary words, abruptly introduced the subject of Turkey, dwelling upon the necessity of himself and the English government being on the best terms, as "when they were agreed, he was quite without anxiety as to the rest of Europe." He hinted, that "Turkey was in a critical state, and might give them all a great deal of trouble;" and would then have closed the conversation, had not Sir Hamilton Seymour expressed his wish, that "his majesty would add a few words, which might tend to calm the anxiety with respect to the affairs of Turkey, which passing events were so calculated to excite in the minds of her majesty's government." The czar, after saying that Turkey "seemed to be falling to pieces;" that it was "very important that England and Russia should come to a perfectly good understanding;" and that "neither should take any decisive step of which the other was not apprised;" added—

"We have on our hands a sick man—a very sick man; it will be, I tell you frankly, a very great misfortune if, one of these days, he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements were made."

On the 22nd of January, Sir Hamilton had an audience of the czar, when his majesty recurred to the subject; first declaring, that "it would be unreasonable in him to desire more power or more territory than he possessed;" and that the "great, perhaps the only danger," of Russia was, "that which would arise from the extension of an empire already too large." His majesty spoke at some length; but the substance of his observations was, that Turkey was in such a state, that "the man might suddenly die upon their hands." They "could not resuscitate the dead;" therefore "it was

better to be provided, beforehand, for a contingency, rather than incur the chaos, confusion, and the certainty of a European war." On Sir Hamilton's observing, that "England would not be inclined to dispose, by anticipation, of the dominions of an old friend and ally," the emperor admitted that "the rule was a good one:" but still dwelt upon the importance of England and Russia understanding each other, and "not allowing events to take them by surprise." Adding, that he "would not allow England to establish herself at Constantinople;" and "he was equally disposed to take an engagement not to establish himself there, as proprietor that was to say; for as occupier he did not say."—On the 20th of February, Sir Hamilton Seymour was at a party given by the hereditary grand duchess. The emperor was also present; and, taking the ambassador aside, he said to him—

"If your government has been led to believe that Turkey contains any element of existence, your government must have received incorrect information. I repeat to you that the sick man is dying, and we can never allow such an event to take us by surprise. We must come to some understanding."

The next day, the emperor sent for Sir Hamilton Seymour, purposely to develop his plan for the division of the Turkish empire. After some preliminary observations, his majesty said—

"The principalities [of Wallachia and Moldavia] are, in fact, an independent state, under my protection: this might so continue. Servia might receive the same form of government. So again with Bulgaria: there seems to be no reason why this province should not form an independent state. As to Egypt, I quite understand the importance to England of that territory. I can, then, only say, that if in the event of a distribution of the Ottoman succession upon the fall of the empire, you should take possession of Egypt, I shall have no objection to offer. I would say the same thing of Candia: that is land might suit you, and I do not see why it should not become an English possession."

These conversations were communicated by the ambassador to his government, which did not concur in the anticipations of a sudden collapse of the Sublime Porte, and positively refused to enter into any secret engagement in anticipation of that event. At the time, these communications, verbal and written, were carried on under the veil of the strictest secrecy; and probably they would never have been divulged, during this generation at any rate, but for a subsequent indiscretion of the court of St. Petersburg.

Though he could come to no understanding with the English government, Nicholas did not abandon his design upon Turkey; and, in pursuance of a declaration of Count Nesselrode, "that further and energetic steps" would be taken at Constantinople, it was resolved to despatch Prince Menschikoff to that capital, as an ambassador extraordinary, on a special mission; and to support that mission by sending more troops to the Turkish frontiers, and a naval force into the Black Sea. The prince left St. Petersburg in February, 1853, and arrived at Constantinople on the 28th of that month; entering the city with great pomp. In his entire demeanour, both then and subsequently, he appears to have had the intention of conveying to the ministers of the sultan, and others with whom he came in contact, the impression that he bore the mandates of a master who was determined to be obeyed, having the power to enforce obedience if his will were resisted. During an interview with the grand vizier on the 2nd of March—in which he refused to visit Fuad Effendi, the foreign minister who had always been opposed to Russian policy—Menschikoff convinced the Turkish minister that he was sent "to win some important right from Turkey, which would destroy her independence;" and that the czar sought to "trample under foot the rights of the Porte, and the independence of her sovereign."

As the Russian ambassador refused to hold intercourse with him, Fuad Effendi resigned his office of minister of foreign affairs, to which Rifaat Pasha was appointed; who, though a clever and able statesman, was not equal to his predecessor. Prince Menschikoff had an interview with the new minister on the 14th of March, when he only alluded to the holy places as the object of his mission. With respect to them, he demanded—

"1. A definite firman, securing to the Greek church the custody of the key of the church at Bethlehem; of the silver star, pertaining to the Grotto of the Nativity; of the Grotto of Gethsemane (with the admission of Latin priests there for the celebration of their rites); and the joint possession, by the Greeks and Latins, of the Garden of Bethlehem.—2. An immediate order, on the part of the government, for the repair of the cupola of the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre, to the satisfaction of the Greek patriarch.—3. A guarantee for the maintenance of the Greek church in the East, and of those sanctuaries already in the exclusive possession of that church, or shared by it with others."

These demands, supported as they were by the advance of the Russian troops to the frontiers of the Danubian principalities, and by the presence of the czar's fleet in the Black Sea, caused a panic to pervade both the Turkish government and the people. They apprehended a hostile attack, which they had no power to resist; and the grand vizier went to Colonel Rose—who, in the absence of Sir Stratford Canning in England, was left at the Turkish capital as *chargé*

d'affaires—and requested that he would order Admiral Dundas, the commander of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, to bring his squadron to Vourla Bay. The order was given; but the admiral refused to obey without orders from home; and Lord Clarendon (then minister for foreign affairs) approved of his conduct. His lordship declined ordering the fleet to pass the Bosphorus, as "the circumstances did not, in the opinion of her majesty's government, render it necessary." A similar request was made to the French government, whose fleet was ordered to take up its station in the Bay of Salamis.

The expected arrival of a British fleet cheered the public mind at Constantinople; and, on the 5th of April, before it was known that the Aberdeen government refused to allow Admiral Dundas to obey the summons of the *chargé d'affaires*, the English ambassador returned to the embassy; having, while in England, been raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. No diplomatist ever acquired so much influence at the Turkish capital as his lordship —an influence exerted in behalf of all the Christian subjects of the Porte, as well as in the interests of his own country; interests, however, which he never sought to promote at the expense of Turkey. His lordship's arrival inspired the Turks with confidence; they immediately applied to him for advice; and he told them to "endeavour to keep the affair of the holy places separate from the ulterior proposals, whatever they might be, of Russia." Those proposals—made to the grand vizier under a pledge of secrecy at first, but gradually becoming known—were, that the Porte should enter into a treaty with Russia, by which the czar should be invested with the protectorate of the Greek church in Turkey. With respect to the holy places, the advice of Lord de Redcliffe was followed; and this question was advancing to a solution, whilst the other remained in abeyance till the receipt of a despatch from St. Petersburg, written after it became known there that the French fleet was ordered to Salamis. This despatch has not been published; but, from Prince Menschikoff's subsequent conduct, it is supposed to have instructed him to be firm and imperative in his demand relative to the protectorate; and to leave Constantinople, taking all the members of the legation with him, if it were not conceded. The prince did make the demand, and pressed it urgently upon Rifaat Pasha: but it was calmly declined; as such a treaty, said the Turkish foreign minister, "would be giving to Russia an exclusive protectorate over the whole Greek population, their clergy, and their churches."

On the 22nd of April, the question of the holy places —which the czar had admitted was the only "grievance" he had against the Porte—was settled by firmans being sent to Jerusalem, embodying the following terms of agreement, to which M. de la Cour, by the influence of Lord de Redcliffe, had been induced to accord the assent of France:—

The key of the church at Bethlehem to be left in the hands of the Latins, and the silver star to remain in the Grotto of the Nativity; but no new rights to be conferred on the members of that church by those concessions. The door-keeper of the church to be a Greek priest; but the right to enter the building to be accorded to all sects. The Greeks to assemble for worship at the Tomb of the Virgin every morning, immediately after sunrise, the precedence being given to them (as represented by Lord de Redcliffe to M. de la Cour, to induce him to assent to this arrangement), on account of the early hours of prayer common in the Oriental churches. The Armenians to follow, and then the Latins; each church having an hour and a-half granted for the purpose. The Convent Gardens at Bethlehem were to remain under the joint care of the Greeks and Latins; and the Cupola of the Holy Sepulchre (which was greatly decayed, and the Greeks and Latins were quarrelling as to which party should restore it) to be repaired by the sultan, the form being preserved; and if altered, the Greek patriarch to have a right to interfere.

The adjustment of this question was solely owing to the judicious counsel of the English ambassador, who received the thanks, not only of the sultan and his ministers, but of both Prince Menschikoff and M. de la Cour.—The question of the protectorate still remained. —On the 19th of April, after the receipt of the despatch from St. Petersburg, Prince Menschikoff sent to the foreign minister a diplomatic note, couched in angry terms; and stating that, "in consequence of the hostile tendencies manifested, for some years past, in whatever related to Russia, she required, in behalf of the religious communities of the orthodox church, an explanatory and positive act of guarantee." Three days later the differences respecting the holy places were settled; and, on the 24th of April, the grand vizier and the Reis Effendi had an interview with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe respecting the demand for the protectorate. By his advice, they were courteous but firm in their reply; and the prince found himself baffled at every step.

On the 1st and 2nd of May, the Russian ambassador received fresh instructions from St. Petersburg, even more peremptory than the last; and written about the same time when, in a memorandum delivered to Sir Hamilton Seymour by the czar, that sovereign and his ministers were represented as uniting with the English government in condemning "the practice of harassing the Porte by overbearing demands, put forward in a

manner humiliating to its independence and its dignity." In consequence of these new orders, on the 5th of May the prince addressed another note to the minister for foreign affairs, inclosing the draft of a *sened*, or convention, between the two sovereigns—the czar and the sultan—confirming, by the sanction of a treaty, the arrangements made in favour of the Greek church with respect to the holy places; securing to the Greek Christians in Turkey all the rights and privileges they absolutely enjoyed, or which might have been demanded for them; and also the extension to them of any privileges or immunities that might be granted to any other Christian church: it also provided for the irremovability of the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, and the provincial bishops, and for the adjudication of all their complaints by the Russian emperor. An answer was required within five days; "any longer delay," Prince Menschikoff said, he "could consider in no other light than as a want of respect towards his government, which would impose upon him the most painful duty." Lord de Redcliffe was again consulted; and he had a written correspondence with the prince, and an interview with the sultan, on the subject, being introduced to the latter by the foreign minister. His lordship's letter to the Russian ambassador was conciliatory and courteous, whilst he reminded his excellency that he was departing from the justice and moderation which had hitherto marked the foreign policy of his sovereign. To the sultan—whom he saw on the 9th of May, after his ministers and council had resolved to concede all they safely could, but to consent to nothing which would injure the independence and dignity of their sovereign—he expressed his approval of that decision. He added, though the ambassador might depart, and the Danubian principalities might be occupied, he did not apprehend a declaration of war, nor any other act of open hostility; and pointed out "the true position to be maintained by the Porte," as "one of moral resistance to such demands as were really inadmissible." The sultan assented; and, amongst other things, professed himself "perfectly prepared, in the exercise of his own free will, to confirm and to render effective the protection promised to all classes of his tributary subjects, in matters of religious worship, including the privileges and immunities granted to their respective clergy." Before he left the sultan, Lord de Redcliffe stated, that he had authority to summon the Mediterranean squadron to the Black Sea, in case of imminent danger.

On the 10th of May, assent to the proposed convention was courteously refused by the Turkish government, at the same time that a firm intention to maintain, unimpaired, the rights of all the tributary subjects of the empire, was expressed.—On the 11th, Prince Menschikoff announced, in a note to the foreign minister, that, if this determination were persisted in, his mission would be at an end; and he requested the final answer of the Porte in three days.—On the 13th, the prince, without the knowledge of the ministers, succeeded in obtaining a private audience of the sultan; which had no effect upon that sovereign's previous determinations; but the audience being granted without the knowledge of his ministers, caused them to resign, and Redschid Pasha became the foreign minister, his colleagues being all adverse to the concession of the czar's demands. This change led to an extension of the time allowed for a reply to the last note of Prince Menschikoff.—On the 18th of May, the question was discussed in the divan, or great council; which body determined to continue the course already adopted, only three members out of forty-five dissenting. This determination was communicated to Prince Menschikoff by Redschid Pasha, in a personal interview on the 18th. In that interview certain concessions were promised, which, the minister said, the sultan would embody in a firman; and he was willing to sanction all things conceded with respect to the holy places by a convention but not to grant the protectorate to a foreign potentate over a large portion of his subjects. After this interview, on the same day, the prince addressed a formal note to the foreign minister, announcing that his mission was at an end, and that he should quit Constantinople, taking with him the whole staff of the legation, except the director of the commercial department.—On the 19th, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe assembled the representatives of France, Austria, and Prussia at his residence; and all agreed with him as to the justice of the course pursued by the Turkish cabinet, and assented to the soundness of the views adopted. Before they separated, the envoy of Austria was deputed to see Prince Menschikoff, and ascertain whether a friendly understanding between Russia and the Porte was yet impossible. The interview took place the same day, and the prince appeared to be immovable. On the 20th, he received a note, formally enumerating the concessions Redschid Pasha had promised in the personal interview, which were immediately rejected. In the evening, however, the prince made a concession. He wrote to the minister, stating that the emperor would be satisfied if the terms demanded in the proposed convention were conceded in the form of a diplomatic note, a draft of which he enclosed.—Redschid Pasha sent this note to Lord Stratford, who immediately summoned the representatives of the other three powers, and communicated its contents to them. His lordship had ascertained that the Porte considered the demands made in the proposed form were as objectionable as in any other. With this opinion all the ambas-

sadors coincided: but "upon a question which so deeply touched the freedom of action and the sovereignty of his majesty the sultan," they declined to advise what course should be taken, thinking Redschid Pasha the best judge of that question. That minister and his colleagues refused their assent to the last demand of Prince Menschikoff, who, on the 22nd of May, left Constantinople, and the arms were removed from the front of the Russian embassy. Before his departure, having heard that the sultan intended to guarantee, by a hatti-scheriff (issued on the recommendation of Lord de Redcliffe), the spiritual rights of the members of the Greek church throughout his empire, his excellency addressed a note to the minister for foreign affairs, protesting against the adoption of this course, which he said must be regarded as "hostile to Russia and her religion." He also informed Redschid Pasha, that "the refusal of his demands would impose upon the imperial government the necessity of seeking a guarantee by its own power." The hatti-scheriff was issued on the 7th of June, and solemnly delivered to the patriarch of Constantinople, in the presence of the leading clerical and lay members of the Greek church then at that city.

During the time that Prince Menschikoff was at Constantinople, the military preparations of Russia were progressing in Bessarabia, and throughout the provinces that bordered on Turkey and the Danubian principalities; whilst at Nicolaieff and Sebastopol, orders had been given by the Admiralty to "have everything that could swim ready for sea." In taking these steps, the czar had calculated, not only upon the complete neutrality of Austria and Prussia—if indeed they did not extend to him active support—but also upon the forbearance of England. The czar and Lord Aberdeen, as before remarked, were personal friends: and immediately on the accession of the latter to power as the first minister in this country, the former proceeded to carry out those plans which he had long formed with respect to Turkey; and which, from his conversations with the noble earl in 1844, and Sir Hamilton Seymour in 1853, it is evident, aimed at the dissolution of that empire. A sincere member of the Greek church, he thought, no doubt, that he was doing good service in asserting her rights; and he evidently intended to make his exertions in the spiritual cause contribute to the success of his temporal ambition. Many persons regard the appointment of the coalition ministry as the main cause of the war between Russia and Turkey, followed by the contest in the Crimea, as it tempted the czar to culminate his previous efforts by taking up a position from which he could not retreat without disgrace. Among those persons was the late Mr. Cobden, who publicly declared, that he very much regretted the vote he gave in the division which defeated Lord Derby's ministry in 1852, as that defeat was the cause of the Crimean war. It was the czar's reliance on Lord Aberdeen's friendship for him personally, and the noble earl's known abhorrence of war, that induced him to send Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople, and to make those demands on the Porte which he could not retract. But whatever the prime minister's private sentiments, he soon found that public opinion, as well as that of most English statesmen, was decidedly opposed to the Russian policy; and that they were determined, if necessary, to resist it even by war. The tone of the ministry was taken accordingly. On the 31st of May, the Earl of Clarendon thus wrote to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe:—

"No sovereign, having a proper regard for his own dignity and independence, could admit proposals so undefined as those of Prince Menschikoff; and, by treaty, confer on another, and more powerful sovereign, a right of protection over a large portion of his own subjects. However well designed it may be, yet the fact is, that, under the vague language of the proposed *sened*, a perpetual right to interfere in the internal concerns of Turkey would be conferred on Russia; for, governed as the Greek subjects of the Porte are, by their ecclesiastical authorities, and looking, as these latter would in all things do, for protection to Russia, it follows, that 14,000,000 of Greeks (*i.e.*, members of the Greek church) would henceforward regard the emperor as their supreme protector, and their allegiance to the sultan would be little more than nominal, while his own independence would dwindle into vassalage."

In these sentiments the French emperor and his ministers completely coincided: both governments recorded their opinion that the Porte did right in refusing to accede to the extraordinary demands of the czar; and they entered upon that combined line of action which led to the defeat of the Russians, and the restoration of the "sick man" to a healthy state, with every appearance of longevity.

These details will enable our readers to understand the complicated "Eastern Question," of which they will frequently hear and read; and save them the toil and trouble of wading through several volumes of state papers to make themselves masters of it.

CHAPTER CXI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA—WAR BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.—A.D. 1853, 1854.



HE negotiations and other events noticed in the preceding chapter had not passed without remark in the British parliament. The pretensions put forth by the czar were several times alluded to; apprehensions of war were expressed; and the unprepared state of the country pointed out. In both Houses the ministers expressed themselves confident of the continuance of peace. They censured Colonel Rose for summoning Admiral Dundas to the Dardanelles; and blamed the departure of the French fleet for Salamis; Lord Cowley being instructed to express, "non-officially," the regret of the Earl of Aberdeen and his colleagues at that step, "as it was premature, and might raise the susceptibility of the czar."—On the 25th of April, Lord Clarendon declared in the House of Lords, that, "as regarded Turkey, there was no danger of the peace of Europe being disturbed;" nor "of the unanimity which prevailed between England and the other great powers of Europe, as to the necessity of maintaining the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire, being interrupted."—Events, however, were moving in a direction quite opposite to that indicated by the foreign secretary; the mission of Prince Menschikoff being then in progress; and after its failure, the withdrawal of the Russian legation from Constantinople took place.

Prince Menschikoff left the Turkish capital, as already stated, on the 22nd of May, 1853; on the 31st, Count Nesselrode, who was himself favourable to peace, but was obliged to give way to the violent temper of Nicholas, wrote to Redschid Pasha, expressing regret that the mission had failed; dwelling on the "moderation of the demands of Russia;" and the "serious offence offered to the emperor by opposing to his intentions, always so friendly and so generous, a distrust for which there was no cause, and refusals for which there was no excuse:" and requiring that the draft note left in his hands by Prince Menschikoff, should be signed in a week at the latest, and transmitted to the prince at Odessa. If this request were not complied with, the emperor's troops would, "within a few weeks, receive orders to pass the frontiers of the empire," not "to make war," the chancellor declared, but in order that his imperial majesty might "possess material guarantees," until such time as the Porte would "give those moral securities which Russia had in vain demanded for two years, first by her representatives at Constantinople, and then by her ambassador." The next day the chancellor wrote to Baron Brunnow, and announced the determination of the emperor to occupy the principalities, if the Porte, within one week, did not accept the Menschikoff note. The Porte refused to accept it, and the threat was carried out.

About this time the French emperor disclaimed the desire imputed to him, of wishing to demand or exercise a protectorate over the Roman Catholics in the East; and announced his intention, in consequence of the hostile demeanour of Russia to the Porte, of ordering the French fleet to Besika Bay, a small inlet of the Ægean Sea, on the western coast of the Troad, as the plain round the ancient site of Troy is called; and about four miles south of the entrance to the Dardanelles, the modern name of the ancient Hellespont. The English fleet received orders, on the 2nd of June, to join the French squadron; and, on the 13th of June, five days after Baron Brunnow had communicated to the English foreign secretary the decision of the czar to send an army into Wallachia and Moldavia, the Earl of Clarendon addressed a circular to her majesty's ministers at foreign courts, announcing the complete accord between the English and French governments with respect to the "Eastern Question;" and informing them that "the English and French fleets, which had been ordered to approach the Dardanelles, would act in concert, under the orders of the respective ambassadors of the two countries."—On the 20th, Count Nesselrode sent a circular to the Russian ambassadors, explaining and defending the policy of the czar; and explicitly declaring that the determination of his imperial majesty to send his troops to the Danubian principalities, was taken, because "the western powers had sent their fleets to the neighbourhood of Constantinople."—The reader will notice the dates given of the different transactions, and he will see that the determination of the Porte to occupy the principalities as a "material guarantee," was taken and announced before the orders were given to the English and French; and that the two western governments were perfectly aware of it. Those orders were the result of that hostile resolution of the czar; and were given in anticipation of an event which soon after took place.

The Menschikoff note having been returned, unaccepted the orders for the Russian troops to cross the Pruth the river that divides Bessarabia from Wallachia

—were issued on the 25th of June. On the 2nd of July, from 70,000 to 80,000 men, under the orders of Prince Gortschakoff, entered Moldavia. Leaving 5,000 men in that province, under General Aurep, the prince advanced to Wallachia, and established his head-quarters at Bucharest. Little Wallachia—the south-western part of the province, was also occupied; and garrisons were placed at Kalafat, Karakal, Rowssvede, and Oltenitza; the Wallachian militia was called out, and compelled to do duty on the left bank of the Danube; and although Prince Gortschakoff, on first entering the principalities, sent forth a proclamation enjoining the inhabitants to follow their occupations, and "to be obedient to the laws and established authorities," the latter were soon displaced, the revenues were seized, and the entire administration of public affairs was taken into the hands of the Russians. The czar justified the seizure of the principalities in a manifesto, issued on the 26th of June. The step had been taken, he said, to protect the rights and privileges of the orthodox church, based on the treaty of Kainardji; rights of which he and his predecessors had made themselves the guarantee. [The treaty of Kainardji, concluded on the 10th of July, 1774, does not give the slightest authority for any of the pretensions put forth by the czar respecting the protectorate of the Christians of the Greek church in Turkey; and its provisions were certainly not violated by the then sultan, if they had been by his predecessors.] The movement of the troops, he added, would be immediately stopped, "if the Ottoman Porte engaged to observe, religiously, the integrity of those privileges." This was quite an unfounded pretence, as that integrity had not been violated by Abdul-Medjid; and the privileges were further secured by the hatti-scheriff of June 7th, which perfectly satisfied the patriarch and the clergy of the Ottoman empire.

The "passage of the Pruth" was known at Constantinople on the 7th of July. Acting under the advice of the ambassadors of the western powers, who admitted that the act was a complete cause of war against Russia, the Porte did not declare war, but, on the 14th of July, issued a protest against the occupation, and in justification of the Ottoman policy. This protest had been previously submitted to the ambassadors, and approved by them. But, though no immediate overt step was taken, the Turkish forces, both in Asia and Europe, were reinforced; the command in Anatolia being given to the Seraskier Pasha, and in Bulgaria to Omar Pasha—an Austrian by birth, who had distinguished himself on several occasions as a military commander. An army, comprising from 90,000 to 100,000 infantry, twelve regiments of cavalry, and forty batteries of artillery, with Egyptian and Albanian contingents, was gradually distributed along the Danube; extending from Widdin, on the west—a strongly-fortified town on the Danube, about twenty miles from the western frontier of Bulgaria—into the desolate tract of the Dobrutscha, on the east. The head-quarters of the left wing, commanded by Ismail Pasha, were stationed at Widdin. Those of the centre, under Mustapha Pasha, were fixed first at Rasgrad, and then were pushed on to Silistria. The right wing, under Halib Pasha, with its head-quarters at Karasu (a small place on the Danube, near Trajan's Wall), had some of its regiments cantoned in the Dobrutscha. The head-quarters of the commander-in-chief were established at Shumla, an important town of Bulgaria, situated in a gorge on a range of the Balkan mountains. It was considered one of the keys of the Turkish empire. There was also a reserve at Aitos, forming a rear-guard.

When the crossing of the Pruth was reported at Vienna, the foreign minister of Austria held frequent meetings with the ambassadors of England, France, and Prussia, to consult upon the threatening aspect of affairs. These meetings were called "The Conference of Vienna;" and the result was, the drawing-up of a note, to be submitted to the czar and the sultan; which it was imagined would be a sufficient guarantee for all the former required, whilst both sovereigns could sign it without compromising the independence of either. This document, known in history as the "Vienna Note," was framed upon one transmitted from Paris by M. Drouyn de l'Huys. When adopted by the conference, it was submitted to the four governments, and also sent to St. Petersburg; but no attempt was made to ascertain whether it was agreeable to the Porte. It was considered unobjectionable by the neutral powers; and when read by the Chancellor Nesselrode to the czar, was at once accepted by the latter. And well it might. The three ambassadors and the Austrian foreign minister did not observe, that in a reference made to the "maintenance of the immunities and privileges of the Ottoman Greek church," the subjects of dispute raised by Prince Menschikoff were again opened out, and that in a way which permitted of their being settled as desired by Russia. When the note—finally adopted by the conference on the 31st of July—was sent to Constantinople early in August, it was also sent to St. Petersburg for the formal assent of the czar, which was at once accorded. The ministers of the Porte, however, discovered its tendency, and the sultan was advised to refuse his signature unless certain modifications were adopted.—When these modifications were submitted to the czar, he declined to accept them, on the ground that, the note being the *ultimatum* of the four powers, which he had accepted without alteration, he ought not to be

called upon to assent to alterations made by the Porte, those powers being of opinion that the sultan could affix his signature without compromising his interests or his honour. Thus the Porte was, apparently, in the wrong. But, in a despatch to Baron Mayendorf, the Russian ambassador at Vienna, Count Nesselrode explained the note precisely in the sense entertained at Constantinople, averring that it gave the czar all Prince Menschikoff demanded. The conference no longer pressed the note on the Porte; and on the 6th of September, the manifesto of that power appeared, rejecting the document.

On the 23rd of September, the Emperors of Austria and Russia, and the King of Prussia, met at Olmutz, in Moravia, where the czar endeavoured to induce Francis Joseph, the young Emperor of Austria, then in his 24th year, to join in a campaign against the Turks; but in vain: his neutrality, however, was secured; and the King of Prussia was not likely to engage in hostilities against Nicholas, who had married his sister. Indeed, there is reason to believe, that, if he could have induced any of the other powers to have joined him, he would have entered into the contest on the side of the czar: but Prussia and Russia alone could not have stood against the rest of Europe; and therefore neutrality was adopted.

The Turkish manifesto, rejecting the "Vienna Note," caused a commotion at Constantinople, where the ulemas and students demanded that war should be declared against Russia. The great majority of the Mohammedan population also called for war; and Redschid Pasha entertaining fears for the safety of the Christians in the Turkish capital, the English and French ambassadors, on the 10th of September, ordered three frigates from each of the squadrons in Besika Bay to ascend the Sea of Marmora, and anchor at the entrance of the Bosphorus.—The *émeute* at Constantinople continued, though no violent outbreak took place; and quiet was restored, on the 26th of September, by the divan deciding—

"1. That the system of negotiations was exhausted. —2. That all measures necessary for the last preparations of defence were regulated.—3. That the moment had arrived for making the declaration of war against Russia."

On the 4th of October, the sultan's declaration of war appeared: on the 7th it was read to the people in the mosques; and, on the same day, forwarded to all foreign courts.—In Constantinople it produced the greatest joy; both sexes and all classes offered their money and jewels to the government; and the men tendered their personal services. At that time men were not wanted, the armies being effectively organised both in Europe and Asia: if recruits had been required, such was the popular enthusiasm, that, writes a gentleman from Constantinople on the 6th of October, "I do not think one would have refused to quit; and the city would have been deserted for the camp."—The first step taken by the government after the declaration of war, was to request the presence of the English and French fleets in the Black Sea, that they might cruise against the Russians. Admirals Dundas and Hamelin were accordingly instructed by the ambassadors to leave Besika Bay, which they did on the 14th of October; and the two squadrons took up their position near the island of Marmora, in the sea of that name, about half-way between the entrance to the Dardanelles and the Golden Horn: but as neither England nor France were at war with the czar, the request that they might cruise in the Black Sea could not be granted.

Simultaneously with the declaration of war, instructions were sent to Omar Pasha to demand that Prince Gortschakoff should immediately evacuate the Danubian principalities. This demand, made on the 9th, was replied to on the 10th of October. The prince, in his letter to the Turkish commander, said that his master was not at war with Turkey, but he had orders not to leave the principalities till that moral satisfaction the emperor had demanded was obtained. If that were given, he should withdraw immediately; in the interim, if attacked, he should defend his positions. At this period the Russians were suffering greatly from the climate; the desertions had also been numerous; and it is doubtful whether the prince could have mustered 85,000 able-bodied men. The Turkish army was more numerous; but it was posted along a line 300 miles in extent, and could not immediately act on the offensive. The English and French ambassadors wished a little time to elapse after the demand was made upon Prince Gortschakoff to evacuate the principalities before hostilities commenced; and the sultan despatched orders to Omar Pasha not to begin fighting till the 1st of November. He, however, sent 12,000 men across the Danube on the 27th of October, who occupied Kalafat, then a small village opposite Widdin, expelling the Russians. Omar himself, with 35,000 men, arrived, at Turtukai, between Silistria and Rustchuck, on the 31st of October. Between the 1st of November and the 4th, three divisions of his troops crossed the river, one being established at the quarantine station, near Oltenitza, a fortified village of Wallachia. Here the Turks were attacked on the 4th, by a division of the Russian army, consisting, according to Omar Pasha's despatch, of "twenty battalions, three regiments of cavalry, one of Cossacks, sixteen mounted batteries, and sixteen on foot." The fighting lasted four hours, from about twelve at noon till near 4 P.M. The Turks were supported by the batteries at Turtukai, whose fire was

effective crossing the river; and the infantry fought well with the Minié rifle. The Russians, who had expected an easy conquest, found that the "sick man" had wonderfully recovered his strength. They were beaten, and compelled to retreat, leaving 800 dead bodies on the field. The Turks, who lost 106 men, found, strewed over the site of the battle, 500 muskets, with numerous cartridge-boxes, equipments, &c. After this affair—known as the battle of Oltenitza—Omar's men succeeded in establishing themselves on two islands in the Danube, and, in several skirmishes, beat their antagonists. The Russians were astounded; they had no conception that the Turks would be able to maintain their ground; and Prince Gortschakoff was terribly mortified at the disasters which befel his troops. Reinforcements arriving from Bessarabia, his highness resolved again to attack the Turks at Oltenitza; but, before his arrival, in consequence of instructions from Constantinople, the principal corps had withdrawn from that town to the right bank of the river, having recrossed the Danube on the 13th of November. A few patroles remained, and there were repeated skirmishes till the 27th, when the Turks were all again in Bulgaria, with the exception of the corps that occupied Kalafat, and that which held the island of Mokan in the Danube. The former strongly intrenched themselves; and the latter, after the island had been taken and retaken several times, succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay.

November closed with one of the most terrible tragedies of the war. The Turkish fleet was divided into two squadrons. Both were cruising in the Black Sea; and, on the 27th of that month, one of these divisions, consisting of seven frigates, three corvettes, and two steamers, under Osman Pasha (whose principal object was to keep up a communication between Constantinople and the army in Anatolia), was obliged, by stress of weather, to take shelter in the harbour of Sinope, on the Asiatic coast, about midway between Constantinople and Trebizond. The vessels were seen, soon after they had entered the port, by the lookers-out on board of one of three Russian men-of-war, commanded by Admiral Nachimoff. The little squadron was reconnoitred by the Russians; and the admiral, having sent to Sebastopol for reinforcements, which augmented his force to six ships of the line (four of 120, and two of 84 guns each), and four steamers, attacked the Turkish vessels in the port on the 30th of November; Osman Pasha having, to a summons sent in by a flag of truce, refused to surrender unconditionally. The Turks defended themselves vigorously; and a fire from some batteries on shore was kept up with great spirit. But the superior force of the assailants rendered all valour unavailing, and the end was a massacre rather than a battle. The firing ceased on the part of the Turkish ships in about two hours and a-half. One of their ships had caught fire and was burnt; two were blown up by the captains, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy; and the remainder were so disabled that the victors burnt them the next day. The total number of men on board, when the fighting began, was 4,140: of these—120, made prisoners; 219 wounded, brought off by the English steamer *Retribution*, and the French frigate *Mogador*, which were sent to Sinope as soon as the action was heard of; and about 400 officers and men, who got on shore unhurt—making a total of 759—were all that escaped. The Russians lost one officer and thirty-three sailors killed, and had 230 wounded. It was their only *success* since the fighting began; and when the intelligence reached St. Petersburg, there were great rejoicings; the *Te Deum* was sung in the churches; the capital was illuminated; and the czar sent an autograph letter of thanks to Prince Menschikoff, who commanded at Sebastopol. Admiral Dundas was at Constantinople when the news of the sad catastrophe reached the city. He proposed that the allied fleets should immediately proceed in pursuit of the Russians, in the hope of falling-in with them before they returned to Sebastopol. General Baraguay d'Hilliers, who had just succeeded M. de la Cour as the French ambassador, would not consent to this proposition: and, for some time, both English and French were very unpopular at Constantinople; as it was said, if the request that the allied fleets might cruise in the Black Sea had been complied with, the melancholy affair at Sinope would not have happened. Those fleets did enter the Black Sea on the 3rd of January, 1854, at the renewed request of the Porte. The Russian vessels had returned to Sebastopol before the close of the year, where they remained, and did not offer to leave its well-fortified harbour again.

The fighting in Wallachia continued in December; the Russian army in the provinces having received large reinforcements; but the Turks maintained the superiority of their arms. As a diversion, General Luders, in the night of the 12th of December, sent a force across the Danube, which, the next morning, attacked Matschin, a town situated in the *embouchure* of one of the arms of the river, opposite the Wallachian port of Ibraila, then occupied by the Russians. The assailants were defeated with great loss; after which fighting ceased, and the two armies were encamped for the winter, Omar Pasha's head-quarters being at Shumla, and Prince Gortschakoff's at Bucharest.

In Asia, the Turks were aided by the Circassian chief Schamyl, who kept the Russian forces in Circassia and Georgia continually on the alert, capturing several of their forts. The Turks also captured five forts on the

frontiers of Georgia; and took by storm, at midnight on the 28th of October, the fort of St. Nicolai, at the mouth of the Shefketil—the most southerly fortress the Russians held on the coast. Five times the Russians attempted to retake St. Nicolai, and were repulsed; the last attack being made on the 17th of November, when the assailants lost 400 men killed and one cannon. Selim Pasha then, after being repulsed in an attack on Sofa, near St. Nicolai, besieged Akhalzikh, situated on an affluent of the Kur, 103 miles west of Tiflis. Prince Woronzoff arrived on the 24th of November, with a considerable force to raise the siege. On the 26th he attacked and defeated the Turks in their intrenchments, with the loss of 1,000 killed, 120 prisoners, and a number of cannon, muskets, flags, and stores.—On the 2nd of December, the Turks, under Abdi Pasha, were again defeated at Baschkady-Lar, by the Russians under Prince Beboutoff, losing a number of men and twenty-four guns. They fought desperately, and the victors had 1,500 men killed and wounded. These victories were, of course, made much of by the Russians; but the Turks retained all the places they had captured, having abandoned the open country; and fighting ceased for the season.

In November there was another peace conference at Vienna, the plenipotentiaries present being the Earl of Westmoreland, Baron Borqueney, and Count Arnim, the ambassadors of England, France, and Prussia; and Count Buol, the Austrian minister.—These plenipotentiaries drew up a note, as the basis of a treaty; which, however, was not presented, it being forwarded to the ambassadors of the four powers at Constantinople, who had, simultaneously, been conferring on the same subject, and had also drawn up a note which they considered more suitable to the existing circumstances; and it was substituted for that agreed upon at Vienna. It provided for the evacuation of the principalities; the renewal of ancient treaties; the security of the spiritual privileges of all the subjects of the Sublime Porte, not being Mohammedans; and the definite adoption of the arrangements respecting the holy places. The Porte agreed to accept this note as the basis of a treaty, but declined to treat for an armistice till the principalities were evacuated. The acceptance of the note occasioned more riots at Constantinople; but the czar, irritated at the recent events, refused to admit of any mediation between himself and Turkey, or to send a plenipotentiary to any neutral place to meet one from the Porte. If the sultan wished to treat, said Count Nesselrode, he must send a plenipotentiary to St. Petersburg.—So this renewed effort to put a stop to the war failed, and quiet was restored at the Turkish capital. —The year closed with the publication of a manifesto from M. Drouyn de l'Huys, dated the 30th of December, in which he declared that the four courts of England, France, Austria, and Prussia had solemnly recognised the territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire as one of the conditions of their political equilibrium; and described the occupation of Wallachia and Moldavia as a fresh attack upon that integrity.

The fighting was renewed in Wallachia early in 1854. On the 5th of January, to prevent an attack on that place, a Turkish force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, marched from Kalafat, under Ismail and Mustapha Pasha; and advanced to Csitate, in and near which village the Russians were posted in great strength. Fighting began on the 6th of January, and was continued for the next four days. Both sides suffered great loss; the greatest being on the side of the Russians, who were cleared out of the neighbourhood, and the attack on Kalafat prevented.—The disasters in Wallachia made the Russians determine to attack the Turks in Bulgaria. In March, a considerable force crossed the Danube, and took possession of the Dobrutscha, the north-eastern extremity of Bulgaria, in which there was some skirmishing, and where the invaders suffered greatly from the climate and the nature of the country.—Another division of the army, with a splendid park of artillery, crossed the river in April, under Prince Paskievitch, and invested Silistria, attacking the outworks on the 28th. The first bombardment began on the 11th of May, and the siege continued for six weeks; the small garrison making a most heroic defence against a force greatly superior in strength. Two British officers—Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasmyth—assisted the governor, Mussa Pasha, in the defence; and the narrative of the siege is one of the most interesting passages in the history of the war. There were numerous attacks and sorties; the beseigers having generally the worst of the *mêlée*; and after a fierce bombardment on the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of June, in which great damage was done to the town, the besiegers retreated in the night of the 22nd, the bombardment having been resumed after dark, and kept up till 3 A.M. on the 23rd, to cover the movement. —Of this siege the Turks may well be proud. The Russians had, at one time, 60,000 men on the right side of the Danube, with sixty guns in position, and threw upwards of 50,000 shot and shell, besides innumerable discharges of small shot, into the town. They also constructed more than three miles of approaches, sprung six mines, and left the fortifications ruined, indeed, but in the possession of their original defenders. The gallant Englishman, Captain Butler, who did so much to animate the besieged, was twice wounded, and died of exhaustion before the siege was raised.

The Russian commanders had, by this time, become

convinced that they could not hold the principalities, and their troops had began to retire from the positions they occupied. Early in July the evacuation of the Dobrutscha also commenced; and the Turks crossing, at the same time, to the left side of the Danube, defeated the enemy at Giurgevo on the 8th of July. On this occasion, as at Silistria, the Turks were led on and inspired by several young English officers.—Captain Bent and Lieutenant Burke, of the royal engineers; Lieutenant Meynell, of the 75th regiment; Lieutenants Ballard, Hinde, and Arnold, of the Indian army: Behram Pasha, who held a command under Omar Pasha, and was engaged in the Giurgevo affair, was also an English officer—Colonel Cannon; and another Englishman, Colonel Ogilvy, was his aide-de-camp. After the battle, Cannon induced Hassan Pasha, the Turkish commander, to consent to occupy and fortify the Slobenskie heights; and, at the time, another English officer, Lieutenant Glyn, R.N., came up from the *Britannia* with some gun-boats and a few British seamen, and aided Captain Bent in throwing a bridge of boats across the main stream of the Danube. On the 11th of July, Prince Gortschakoff appeared on the scene with from 60,000 to 70,000 men, intending to drive the Turks from the position they had taken. When, however, he saw its strength, and that a communication was opened by the bridge with the force at Rustchuck, he determined to retreat, perhaps aware that the Austrians had a large body of troops on the frontiers of Little Wallachia; and doubtful whether, as they had called upon the emperor to evacuate the principalities, they might not cross the border, and commence hostilities if the evacuation were delayed. Instead of fighting, therefore, the Russians retired rapidly: and the Austrians, by virtue of a convention with Turkey, signed on the 14th of June, sent an army to occupy the provinces till the conclusion of peace, when they were to be restored to the Porte. The Russians had entirely evacuated Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Austrians were established there by the 6th of September, 1854; and this was the culmination of the attempt of Russia to hold those principalities as a "moral guarantee."

The battles of Akhalzikh and Baschkady-Lar had the effect of greatly demoralising the Turkish forces in Asia. The Porte sent Kourschid Pasha (the Turkish name of General Guyon, an English officer, who had distinguished himself in the Hungarian war) to organise and discipline that part of the army which was at Kars—a task he had some difficulty in effecting, owing to the jealousy of the governor and the Turkish officers. A Turkish squadron of four men-of-war and six steam-frigates, and a convoy of sailing vessels, with men and provisions on board, appeared off the coast in January, 1854.—They were followed by three French and five English vessels, under Admiral Lebarbier de Tinan, and Rear-Admiral Lyons, whose appearance caused the greatest joy amongst the population; public prayers being offered up in the mosques for England and France.—On the 19th of January and the 5th of February, the Russians attempted, for the sixth and seventh times, to retake St. Nicolai; and were, on both occasions, defeated with considerable loss. Subsequently, they themselves destroyed all the forts they had erected on the Circassian coast, south of Redouté-Kaleh, which the English squadron, assisted by a small Turkish land force, bombarded on the 19th of May. After returning the fire for a short time, the Russians fled, setting fire to the commercial town and to the magazines and store-houses before they retreated. They also intended to destroy the military quarters; but the combustibles prepared were either ineffective, or they had no time to ignite them. A Turkish garrison was established there; and when the allied ships returned to the Bosphorus, the *Sampson* was left to afford any necessary aid that might be required.—At Kars, General Guyon succeeded, at last, in reorganising the Turkish force. The governor, Achmet Pasha, was recalled, and his successor, Zarif Pasha, was found, by the English officer, to be much more conciliatory. Both the Turkish and Russian armies in that quarter were reinforced. The former were not so successful as they were in Europe. In some small affairs they repulsed the enemy; but they were defeated, with considerable loss, on the 14th and 15th of June, near Ladova; on the 28th of July at Bayazid; and on the 6th of August at Kurukdere; the retreat after the latter engagement being described as "a scene of almost unparalleled confusion." The loss, on both sides, was very great in these battles, the splendid Russian cavalry being terribly cut up by the Turkish artillery in the last: of twenty-six squadrons, of 100 men each, not one-third remained. The truth, probably, is, that the loss of the Russians was much greater than that of their opponents, as, very soon after the battle of Kurukdere, they retired from that place and Bayazid; and were, during the remainder of the year, engaged in skirmishing with Schamyl and his Circassians in the mountains. An attempt they made to retake Redouté-Kaleh, on the 6th of December, failed. At the close of the year the Turks retained that conquest; and, in other respects, remained in precisely the same positions as they occupied when the campaign opened.—In November, Colonel Williams—an officer well acquainted with the manners and languages of the East—arrived at Kars, as the English commissioner. He completed what General Guyon had begun; and, under his auspices, that important city was put in a complete state of defence.

CHAPTER CXII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA—THE WAR WITH RUSSIA.—A.D. 1854.


T the commencement of 1854, although the English ministers professed to believe that England was not likely to be involved in hostilities, popular opinion pointed in an opposite direction; and the public mind, remarks a contemporary writer, not only in England, but "throughout Europe, was in a state of feverish excitement such as had not characterised it for many years."—On the 2nd of January, a most destructive fire broke out at Constantinople, in the Fanar, the quarter inhabited by the Greeks; which was not extinguished till late in the following day. This fire caused great consternation; as the softas (students in theology) had threatened to burn the houses of all those who were opposed to the war, and favoured the Russians. It was, probably, to allay this Mussulman furor that, before the flames were extinguished, the English and French ambassadors announced that the two fleets would leave Besika Bay, and enter the Black Sea—

"To accompany the Turkish vessels, and protect them, on condition that they did not advance more than four miles from the coast of the Turkish territory; and, should the Russians attack the vessels they accompanied within that distance, the allied commanders were to repel force by force."

The British fleet consisted of nine ships of the line, and eleven frigates and corvettes, under Vice-Admiral James Wortley Deans Dundas, and Rear-Admiral Lyons: the French fleet comprised eight of the former and seven of the latter class, under Vice-Admiral Hamelin. This formidable armament passed the Bosphorus on the 3rd of January, and, with the exception of two ships of the line and one frigate, left to guard the Strait, proceeded northwards, accompanied by several Turkish ships of war, conveying reinforcements to the army in Asia. Messengers were, at the same time, despatched from Lord de Redcliffe and General Baraguay d'Hilliers, to Prince Menschikoff, the governor of Sebastopol, to inform him, that the object of the allied squadrons entering the Black Sea, was "to protect the Ottoman territory from all attack or hostile act;" that his excellency was apprised of the movement, "with a view to prevent any collision tending to disturb the amicable relations" between the English, French, and Russian governments; and that the ambassadors would be happy to learn that his excellency had given the necessary instructions to the Russian admirals, "so as to obviate any occurrence likely to endanger peace." When the allied fleet entered the Black Sea, the Russians had fourteen ships of the line, four frigates, five corvettes and brigs, six large and six small steamers, eighteen small vessels, and sixty-four gun-boats, in the harbour of Sebastopol; in all, 117. This large force remained perfectly quiet; no demonstration being made against the allied squadrons, which did not continue long in the Black Sea.—On the 22nd of January, they returned to the Bosphorus, and anchored in the Bay of Beicos, on the Asiatic side of the Strait, opposite Constantinople, much to the displeasure of the English and French ambassadors, who remonstrated with the admirals, but to no effect. The Austrian and Prussian ambassadors had, from the first, objected to the squadrons passing the Straits.

A correspondence took place between Sir Hamilton Seymour and Count Nesselrode, Earl Clarendon and Baron Brunnow, respecting the entrance of the Black Sea by the allied fleet—an act which the Emperor Nicholas, when he first heard of it, described as "breaking treaties, and releasing him from the obligation of them." It was justified on the ground that, by seizing and occupying two Turkish provinces with 4,000,000 inhabitants, the czar had "violated the *status quo* of Europe;" and "contradicted the intentions proclaimed by the great powers in 1840 and 1841." He had also "prepared great armies, at a vast expense, apparently with the object of crossing the Danube, and attempting the conquest of Constantinople." In taking the steps they had done, the allies were therefore justified, Turkey being "the grieved and weaker power:" and they were only "upholding that fundamental principle of European policy, involved in the maintenance of the Ottoman empire," which had "been repeatedly proclaimed by the five great powers of Europe."—Measures had also been taken, it was added, to prevent "any aggressive operation by sea, on the part of the Turkish fleet, against the Russian territory."—These reasons were considered unsatisfactory; and, on the 4th of February, Baron Brunnow announced, that he and the members of the embassy would leave London for Germany, until further orders.—A similar correspondence took place between M. Drouyn de l'Huys and M. Kissileff, with the same results.—On the 7th of February, notes of recall were addressed to Sir Hamilton Seymour and General Castelbajac; on the 8th, the Russian ambas-

sadors left London and Paris, and the diplomatic relations between the two powers ceased.—While these events were in progress, Count Orloff arrived at Vienna, the bearer of propositions, which were to be submitted through the emperor, to the conference, as a basis for pacific negotiations. They were communicated to Francis Joseph on the 29th of January, and were as follows:—

1. That Turkey should send a plenipotentiary, either to St. Petersburg or Bucharest, to negotiate directly with Russia; but he might advise with the ministers of the other powers.—2. That the former treaties between Russia and Turkey should be renewed.—3. That Turkey should enter into an engagement not to give refuge to political refugees.—4. That the Porte should make a declaration in reference to the protectorate, even in stronger terms than were proposed by Prince Menschikoff.

These propositions were submitted to the conference, which was again assembled; together with the demand of the czar, that Austria and Prussia should observe a strictly armed neutrality, with the assurance that, if this brought upon them the displeasure of the other powers, his imperial majesty would "protect" them. The conference at once rejected the proposals, and, in doing so, received the cordial assent of the Emperor of Austria.—On the 3rd of February, another protocol was signed by the members of the conference, pledging the powers they represented—England, France, Austria, and Prussia—to maintain the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Porte.

An effort to preserve peace was made at the same time from another and a most unexpected quarter. A numerous meeting of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, was held in London in January. Before it separated, three of its members—Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham; Robert Carleton, of Bristol; and Henry Pease, of Durham—were appointed as a deputation, for the purpose of visiting St. Petersburg, and presenting an address to the czar; urging upon him "the maintenance of peace as the true policy, as well as the manifest duty, of a Christian government." This deputation left London on the 20th of January, and reached St. Petersburg on the 2nd of February. Their arrival was made known to the czar, who granted them an interview at the Winter Palace on the 10th, receiving them with great courtesy and kindness. He made a long reply to their address, a copy of which was delivered to them, in writing, before they left St. Petersburg. It was very carefully drawn up, and expressed only the most Christian, pacific, and philanthropic sentiments. Nicholas said he had only claimed from Turkey the fulfilment of her engagements; and he solemnly disclaimed having "ulterior objects in view, aiming at conquest, aggrandisement, and the ruin of Turkey." His majesty professed esteem for England, and affection for the Queen, whom he admired, "not only as a sovereign, but as a lady, a wife, and a mother;" adding, that he placed "full confidence in her," having "acted towards her in a frank and friendly spirit." The members of the deputation, after their interview with the czar, were introduced to the empress; and they "returned to England with the sincere opinion that the Emperor Nicholas was a most well-meaning, and a most misrepresented and ill-used, personage."

The Emperor Napoleon also made a personal effort to restore and preserve peace. He addressed an autograph letter to the czar, dated January 29, 1854; in which, after justifying the steps taken by the two western powers, he suggested the declaration of an armistice; that "things should resume their diplomatic course;" that "all the belligerent forces should retire from the places where motives of war had called them;" and that his majesty should name an ambassador "to treat directly with Turkey," and conclude a convention, to be "submitted to a conference of the four powers." The adoption of this plan, concluded the emperor, "on which the Queen of England and myself are perfectly agreed," will "re-establish tranquillity and satisfy the world."—On the 9th of February, the czar returned a reply to the imperial letter, most ably written, as all the Russian diplomatic documents were. It took the same tone as the despatches of Count Nesselrode; recapitulated the same statements and claims as to the privileges of the Greek church and the Russian protectorate; maintained that "the occupation of the principalities was anticipated by the apparition of the combined fleets in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles;" and, after expressing sentiments nearly similar to those comprised in his reply to the deputation from the Society of Friends, his majesty offered to negotiate if the Turks would send him a negotiator; but added, that his "conditions were known at Vienna," and they "were the only bases upon which he could treat." As those conditions had been rejected by the conference, there was an end of all hopes of the preservation of peace; and a manifesto of the czar, followed by one from the court of France, prepared the public for what was to follow.—In the Russian manifesto, the allied fleets were said to be sent into the Black Sea to protect the Turks, and prevent the free navigation of the Russian vessels of war—"a course of proceeding unheard of amongst civilised nations." In consequence of this act, the Russian embassies had been withdrawn from London and Paris; and "England and France had sided with the enemies of Christianity, against Russia," which was "combating for the orthodox faith."—The French manifesto, dated the 4th of March, was issued, in the form of a circular, to the diplomatic agents of

the emperor.—In reply to the defence of the invasion of the principalities, by the assertion that it was the consequence of the appearance of the allied fleet in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles, and in defence of the movements of that fleet, the French foreign minister said—

"I will only recall to recollection the fact, that if the French squadron, at the end of March, anchored in the Bay of Salamis, it was because, since the month of January, there had been an immense assemblage of troops in Bessarabia. If the forces of England and France approached the Dardanelles (where they only arrived at the end of June), it was because a Russian army had been encamped upon the banks of the Pruth, and because the resolution to cross that river had been taken, and had been officially announced, since the 31st of May. If, at a later period, our fleets were at Constantinople, it was because cannon resounded on the Danube; and, in short, if they entered the Black Sea, it was because, contrary to the promise of acting on the defensive, Russian vessels had left Sebastopol to destroy the Turkish vessels at anchor in the port of Sinope. Every step which we took, in concurrence with England, in the East, had peace for its object; and we did not desire to interfere between the belligerent parties. Every day, however, on the contrary, Russia advanced openly towards war."

In reply to the attempt, on the part of Russia, to make the war appear to be one for religion, in which the true orthodox Christians were combating with the followers of Mohammed, M. Drouyn de l'Huys denied that France and England were "supporting Islamism against the orthodox Greek faith." Their object was "to protect the Ottoman empire against the ambitious covetousness of Russia;" and by "giving their support to Turkey, they seriously believed they would render greater service to the Christian faith than the government which used that faith as an instrument to advance its temporal ambition." To this circular no reply was given. It was communicated to the Austrian and Prussian governments; though, as will be seen, they were not alluded to in the documents issuing from the Russian Chancellerie, and although they had supported the views of the western powers, having assented to their protestations against the Russian claim of a protectorate, and authorised their plenipotentiaries to sign the protocols which pledged them to support the independence and integrity of Turkey.

There were several debates in both Houses of Parliament on the subject of the war; and on the 20th of February, when the Russian question was before the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli blamed the ministry for not having taken advantage of the warnings of their envoys, and been prepared for the events which were almost certain to occur. Their conduct, he said, must "have originated in morbid credulity or connivance." If the former, still "the war might be conducted to an honourable issue;" if the latter, "it could only be brought to a discreditable result."—Mr. Cobden also spoke warmly against the government; defending the conduct of Russia, and charging the Porte with cruelty and tyranny towards its Christian subjects. He would not, he said, "give six months' purchase for the popularity of any gentleman in that House, or out of it, who voted for war."—Lords John Russell and Palmerston ably defended the government, which, said the former, was opposing only "the unjustifiable designs of Russia," and "aiding Turkey in resisting a power that had wantonly disturbed the peace of Europe."—Lord Palmerston warmly repelled the imputation of "credulity" or "connivance" to the conduct of the government. They had been deceived, because they had, "for a considerable period, put faith in the declarations of the Emperor of Russia." In one of his circulars, Count Nesselrode asserted, that the government of England had, from the beginning, been aware of the designs of Russia. But his lordship emphatically denied that such was the case.

This debate, and the rejection, by the czar, of the proposals of the Emperor of France, left no doubt on the minds of the public that war would be soon declared; and all the measures of the government were warlike. The number of troops was raised from 102,283, the estimate in 1858, to 112,977; and the seamen were augmented from 31,000 to 41,000. An army of 20,000 men was ordered to be organised for active service in the East, under the command of General Lord Raglan, who, as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, was the trusted aide-de-camp of the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular war. The Coldstream Guards formed a part of this army; and that gallant regiment left London to embark for the East on the 14th of February. In that month and March, the remainder of the troops were despatched from Bristol, Liverpool, Portsmouth, and Southampton, their first destination being Malta.—They were to be supported by a larger French force, under the command of Marshal Leroy de St. Arnaud. The Emperor of the French had been, at first, "extremely averse to sending any troops to the East, hoping that the naval superiority of the allies would suffice for the protection of Constantinople." But the position of Omar Pasha—who, though his troops had been victorious, was still inferior in numbers to the enemy after the latter had been reinforced—excited attention. He was quite unable to defend Constantinople if an attack should be made upon that capital, as appeared to be the design of the czar, from the extent and position of a large part of his force, distinct from that which occupied the princi-

palities; and it was at length resolved, by the two governments, "to protect the Turkish capital, and the entrance to the Dardanelles," with a view of preventing "the Russians from renewing that movement which brought them to Saros and Rodesto in 1829;" which would enable them to seize the European castles of the Dardanelles, and obtain the command of that important passage. In the depth of winter, Sir John Burgoyne surveyed the peninsula running for some miles between the Gulf of Saros on the west, and the Dardanelles on the east, anciently called the Thracian Chersonesus; now the peninsula of Gallipoli. He selected the port of Gallipoli, about 132 miles W.S.W. of Constantinople, as the place of debarkation, and designed works in that very neighbourhood for the protection of the Strait.

It was also resolved, in order to prevent Russia from increasing her naval force in the Black Sea, to send a combined fleet to the Baltic, where that power had a numerous fleet, and had strongly fortified Cronstadt, Sveaborg, Helsingfors, and other ports. The utmost activity had pervaded the naval department as well as the military at the close of 1853 and the commencement of 1854; and in the month of February, a magnificent armament was collected, "being"—a contemporary writer is quoted—"the finest that even this country, so long famed as 'the mistress of the seas,' ever despatched from her harbours." It was in two divisions. The first—of which Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Napier was commander-in-chief—consisted of nine ships of the line and eight steam-frigates. The second, under Rear-Admiral Corry, comprised eleven ships of the line —seven being sailing vessels, and four screw-steamers— and twelve frigates and sloops. Four steamers that were in the North Sea were also ordered to join this fleet as soon as it reached the Baltic. Thus there were forty-four vessels of all sizes in the fleet; carrying 2,206 guns, manned by 21,696 seamen; and the steamers were impelled by engines of the power of 14,562 horses.

France was preparing armaments as well as England; and, whilst these military and naval preparations were going on, the two governments resolved to send a message to St. Petersburg, calling upon the czar to enter, within six days, into an engagement to evacuate the Danubian principalities on or before the 30th of April; a refusal to be considered as a declaration of war. Captain Blackwood, the English messenger, left London on the 27th of February. The French message was transmitted simultaneously, through Earl Cowley, to the British consul at the Russian capital.—At that time a treaty was negotiating between England, France, and Turkey, which was signed at Constantinople on the 12th of March. It was offensive and defensive; the two western powers engaging to send, besides their naval forces, troops to defend the sultan's dominions. The three powers were to communicate to each other any proposition made for the attainment of peace; and the sultan bound himself not to enter into any agreement with Russia without the consent of his allies.—France and England agreed to withdraw their troops and their ships from the Ottoman territory within forty days after the exchange of the ratifications of peace; and those powers were to be free to act where and how they thought expedient, without any control on the part of the Porte.—French and English messages were delivered to the czar five days after this treaty was signed. M. Michele, the British consul, was the medium of communication: he was sent for, by the Russian Chancellor, on the 18th of March; and after a friendly greeting, Count Nesselrode told him that "the emperor did not think it becoming to give any reply to Lord Clarendon's note." A similar answer was returned to the French message; and Captain Blackwood immediately left St. Petersburg. He arrived in London on the 25th of March. On the 27th, the Queen sent a message to both Houses, informing them that the negotiations with Russia had terminated; and that "her majesty felt bound to afford active assistance to her ally, the sultan, against unprovoked aggression."—On the 28th, the declaration of war appeared in the *Gazette*, accompanied by a proclamation reserving the rights of trade and commerce to neutrals, except in contraband of war, and the conveying of despatches for the enemy. Similar declarations were simultaneously issued by France.

On the 31st of March, the Queen's message was taken into consideration by the parliament. In both Houses the conduct of the government was severely censured; and the Earl of Derby in one, and Mr. Disraeli in the other, remarked, that it was not till the Earl of Aberdeen took office that the czar ventured to press his demands upon Turkey. The noble earl denied that he gave any encouragement to the designs of Russia; on the contrary, he always opposed them. He still, he said, made peace his first object; but while he did so, he did not think he was inconsistent in carrying on a just and necessary war. In both Houses addresses were carried, expressive of "the firm determination" of Lords and Commons "to co-operate with her majesty in a vigorous resistance to the projects of a sovereign whose further aggrandisement would be dangerous to the independence of Europe." The only dissentients were Earl Grey in the Lords, and the Marquis of Granby and Mr. Bright in the Commons.—On the 12th of April, a long reply to the declaration of war appeared in the *St. Petersburg Gazette*. The czar repeated much that was contained in the diplomatic correspondence in justification of the seizure of the principalities; and

said, to abandon them without the fulfilment of the conditions demanded of the Ottoman government, and in the brunt of a war which that government was the first to declare, was inadmissible.

The declaration of war caused another protocol to be drawn up at Vienna, known as the "Protocol of the 9th of April;" it being signed on that day by the Austrian minister of foreign affairs, and the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Prussia. This document states, in the preamble, that—

"The change which has taken place in the attitude of two of the powers represented at the conference of Vienna, in consequence of a step taken directly by France and England, supported by Austria and Prussia as being founded in right, has been considered by the representatives of Austria and Prussia as involving the necessity of a fresh declaration of the union of the four powers, upon the ground of the principles laid down in the protocols of December 5, 1853, and January 13, 1854."

The provisions for maintaining inviolate the independence and integrity of Turkey, and of which the evacuation of the Danubian principalities was one of the essential conditions, and for consolidating with the independent sovereignty of the sultan a guarantee for the civil and religious rights of his Christian subjects, were recapitulated. The territorial independence of the Porte was stated to be "the *sine qua non* of every transaction having for its object the re-establishment of peace between the belligerent powers." The parties to the protocol engaged to endeavour to discover the guarantees most likely to attach the existence of that empire to the general equilibrium of Europe; and not to enter into any arrangement with Russia, or any other power, at variance with the principles laid down in the protocol.

On the 10th of April, a treaty was concluded at London, between England and France, by which the two powers agreed—

To use their efforts to restore peace between the Sublime Porte and Russia, upon a solid and durable basis. [Art. 1.]—To concert the best means to free the territory of the sultan from foreign invasion; and to maintain military and naval forces sufficient to meet the emergency. [Art. 2.]—Not to accept any proposals for the cessation of hostilities, nor to enter into any engagement with Russia, without previous deliberation in common. [Art. 3.]—And to receive into their alliance any other powers willing to co-operate for the proposed object. [Art. 4.]

This treaty was ratified on the 15th of April, and immediately published in both countries. It was followed by one of "offensive and defensive alliance," concluded at Berlin on the 20th, between Austria and Prussia, for the purpose of "guaranteeing to each other, reciprocally, the possession of their German and non-German dominions."

The Vienna conference met frequently after the treaty of the 20th of April was concluded; and, on the 30th, another protocol was drawn up and signed by the plenipotentiaries of the four powers, by which the assent of their governments was given to the treaties concluded between England and France on the one hand, and Austria and Prussia on the other: whilst the integrity of the Ottomon territory, and the evacuation of the principalities, was solemnly declared "to be the constant and invariable object of the union of the four powers."—Although Count Arnim signed this protocol with the full assent of his government, that government, almost immediately, evinced unmistakable signs of a desire to avoid making any manifestation hostile to Russia. The Chevalier Bunsen was recalled from the embassy at London; Count Usedom from that at Rome; General Bonin, the Minister of War, was dismissed; and the Prince of Prussia had to give up his command in the army, and ask leave to travel. These officials were deprived of office on account of their anti-Russian tendencies; and they were replaced by others more favourable to the czar. Still the king retained his plenipotentiary at the Vienna conference; and even agreed to make, with Austria, a joint demand upon the czar for the evacuation of the principalities. This demand was forwarded to St. Petersburg, after the signature of the convention between Austria and Turkey, on the 14th of June; and on the 29th, Count Nesselrode replied in the name of the czar, demanding from the Austrian government, "an explanation upon the subject of the guarantees which it could give;" that received, "the emperor, from deference to the wishes and interests of Germany," would be "disposed to enter into negotiations, for the purpose of fixing the precise time of evacuation." This led to more correspondence—further meetings of the Vienna conference—and to the declaration of the required guarantees forming the bases of future negotiations, as agreed upon by England, France, and Austria; Prussia, at first, withholding her assent. Those guarantees are known as the "Four Points of August 8," being adopted on that day. They are given *verbatim*, as they were subsequently acted upon, and formed the basis of the ultimate peace.

"The three powers are equally of opinion, that the relations of the Sublime Porte with the imperial court of Russia, cannot be re-established on solid and durable bases—1st. If the protectorate hitherto exercised by the imperial court of Russia over the principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia, be not discontinued for the future; and if the privileges accorded by the

sultans to those provinces (dependencies of the empire) be not placed under the collective guarantee of the powers, in virtue of an arrangement to be concluded with the Sublime Porte, the stipulations of which should, at the same time, regulate all questions of detail.—2ndly. If the navigation of the Danube, at its mouths, be not freed from all obstacles, and submitted to the application of the principles established by the acts of the congress of Vienna.—3rdly. If the treaty of the 13th of July, 1841, be not revised, in concert, by the high contracting powers, in the interest of the balance of power in Europe.—4thly. If Russia do not give up the claim to exercise an official protectorate over the subjects of the Sublime Porte, to whatever rite they may belong; and if Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia do not lend their mutual assistance to obtain, as an initiative from the Ottoman government, the confirmation and the observance of the religious privileges of the different Christian communities; and to turn to account, in the common interest of their co-religionists, the generous intentions manifested by his majesty the sultan, at the same time avoiding any aggressions on his dignity and the independence of his crown."

While the conferences were being held at Vienna, and about a month before the final decision was come to, Prince Alexander Gortschakoff, brother to the commander of the Russian troops in the principalities, arrived on a special mission from the czar. At first the object was not apparent; but, on the 9th of August, the day after the "Four Points" were accepted by the plenipotentiaries of the three powers, the prince informed Count Buol, that his imperial master, "out of deference to the wishes of Austria," had agreed to evacuate the principalities. The prince was informed that Austria, in pursuance of her convention with Turkey, meant to occupy them till the conclusion of the war; but "not with any hostile intentions towards Russia."—The next day, the "Four Points" were transmitted to St. Petersburg, with instructions to the Austrian ambassador (Prince Esterhazy), to press their acceptance firmly and decisively on the czar. A qualified assent to the "points" having been obtained from Prussia, on the 13th of August, instructions, similar in tendency to those of Austria, were also despatched to M. Manteuffel, the Prussian ambassador; but they were much less decisive in tone.—On the 29th of the month, the answer of the czar was transmitted by Count Nesselrode. It was a refusal, the conditions being "unacceptable in substance as well as in form;" and that principally because, "with the ostensible purpose of maintaining the European equilibrium," nothing less was aimed at than the destruction of the establishments of the Russian marine in the Black Sea.—Soon after, Baron Meyendorff was recalled from Vienna, and Prince Alexander Gortschakoff was installed in the Russian embassy at that city.

We will now return to the naval and military proceedings of the war.

The departure of troops from England, and the assembling of a great naval armament at Spithead, have been already noticed. On Friday, the 10th of March, her majesty went to Spithead to inspect this fleet, accompanied by the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Alice. The scene was one of the greatest excitement, from the number of yachts and boats afloat, the crowds assembled on the shores, and the enthusiasm which prevailed. The next day, the first division left Spithead, her majesty accompanying the vessels in the *Fairy* steamer till they were fairly out at sea. The second division sailed on the 16th of March, her majesty again bearing it company some miles. The Baltic was reached on the 20th of March. Several of the Russian ports were soon after blockaded; and attacks were made upon vessels in some of them. A "flying squadron," sent into the Gulf of Bothnia, under Rear-Admiral Plumridge, also inflicted considerable loss upon the Russians; but there was no honour conferred on the British flag.

The French fleet of twenty-three vessels, large and small, under Vice-Admiral Parseval Deschênes, was organised, and arrangements made for its sailing, about the same time that the English fleet was got ready; but it did not leave Brest till the 23rd of April. Its first division passed the Great Belt on the 11th of May; and the 13th of June arrived before a junction was effected with the English fleet. Then it was confidently expected that a descent would be made on some part of the Russian dominions. Public opinion pointed to Cronstadt, a strongly-fortified port on the side of the small island of Kotlinoi, in the Gulf of Finland, about eighteen miles W. of St. Petersburg. There the Russians had twenty-two ships of the line, five frigates, three brigs and corvettes, and seven paddle-wheel steamers, moored under the protection of the fortifications, the ships mounting 2,154 guns. The admirals did direct their attention to this formidable position; and a *reconnaissance* led to the opinion generally entertained by the officers of both fleets, that a successful attack was next to impossible; therefore it was declined. As the cholera prevailed to a considerable extent on board the ships, and many of the crews succumbed to the disease, probably that might have something to do with the decision adopted, not to attack Cronstadt. But it was felt by the commanders that something must be attempted to allay the discontent which was beginning to be displayed, in the fleet as well as at home, at the continued inaction of the two great naval armaments.

Another important position taken up in the Baltic by the Russians, was the Aland Isles, lying at the northern extremity of the sea, at the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia, and a few miles to the westward of the Gulf of Finland. These isles are about 200 in number, only sixty being inhabited; and they "form a continuation of the 'scheeren'—a dangerous labyrinth of granite reefs, which, with little interruption, extend along the south coast of Finland, from Wyborg to Abo." Russia had secured their possession by the treaty of Frederickshaum, concluded in 1809. After the peace of 1815, fortifications and a town had been erected on Aland, the largest island, from which the group derives its name. Two islets, Signisklar and Prastö, had also some works thrown up upon them; but it was on Bomarsund that the most money was expended. Twenty years were devoted to the erection of works on this island, at a cost of £6,000,000. It was intended to become the Sebastopol of Northern Europe; to protect the Aland group, and annoy Sweden. Papers found, when Bomarsund was captured, developed the further plans of the czar, who contemplated obtaining Gothland from Sweden, and Bornholm from Denmark; fortifying those islands on the same plan as Bomarsund; and thus enabling him, with the numerous fleet that he possessed in the Baltic, to command that sea and its gulfs, and establish a dominant power over Sweden and Denmark, placing them at his mercy.

Sir Charles Napier had not overlooked these islands when proceeding to the Gulf of Finland; and on the 21st of June, the *Hecla*, *Odin*, and *Valorous*, under Captain Hall, of the *Hecla*, had made a demonstration on Bomarsund and Prastö. The result appears to have convinced the admirals that troops were necessary to aid the naval force, and 10,000 men were sent from Calais, in English transports, to take part in the siege of Bomarsund. The troops were under the command of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, who had, a short time before, been recalled from the embassy at Constantinople. The men embarked on the 14th and 15th of July; and, on the 30th, reached the harbour of Ledsund, formed by the island of Seurland on the north, and a number of smaller ones on the south and west, where the fleets had anchored, awaiting their arrival. The siege artillery did not arrive till the 6th of August; and the transports bearing the troops entered the bay Ytternäs, a fine semicircular inlet on the coast of Bomarsund, on the 6th. On the 7th they were landed; and the operations, in which English sailors and marines took part, commenced. They continued till the 16th, and were completely successful, all the works on the island being taken. The last fort was surrendered to prevent an assault, which it would have been impossible for the garrison to withstand. The commander (General Bodisco, an old man eighty years of age) sent a priest to order the fort on the Prastö also to be given up: Aland was then occupied, and the English and French flags supplanted that of Russia.—On the 20th of August, a proclamation was issued, recommending the inhabitants to maintain order and peace; and informing them that they were at liberty to trade with Sweden, but must not hold any intercourse with the enemy. A few days after, a deputation of the inhabitants went to Stockholm, to solicit the king to take possession of the isles, and incorporate them with Sweden. His majesty gave no reply at that time.

The loss of the allies in the attack on Bomarsund was inconsiderable. Of the Russians, 2,235 were made prisoners, fifty-one of whom were officers, and seven officers' wives; 198 guns, 200 tons of powder, a quantity of shot, and provisions sufficient to sustain 3,000 men for a long period, were also taken. The allies did not remain long in the Baltic after the capture; completely evacuating the isles in September, to the great grief of the inhabitants. The government at home had written to Sir Charles Napier, wishing him to attack Sveaborg and Helsingfors. A council of war was held on board the *Duke of Wellington*, the admiral's flag-ship, on the 12th of September; and the decision was, that the season was too far advanced to admit of the operation being undertaken. This decision was communicated to London and Paris; and was very unsatisfactory to the British government. Sir James Graham sent a second despatch, which arrived on the 18th of September, desiring that another council might be held to reconsider the decision of the first. This council the French admiral refused to attend, and his fleet started on its home voyage on the 19th. Sir Charles again submitted the question to his own admirals, who adhered to their former decision. The First Lord of the Admiralty still held to his opinion, that the attack might be made; but Sir Charles Napier declined to run the risk, and the English fleet left the Baltic. The vessels departed at different times, all the English not reaching port till the middle of December. It was the 17th of that month when Sir Charles Napier landed at Portsmouth. He immediately proceeded to London, where he was very coolly received by Sir James Graham, who declined to have any conversation with him, and he returned to his flag-ship. On the 23rd, he received an order from the Admiralty to strike his flag, and come on shore.

During the summer of 1854, a small force, consisting of only three vessels, under the command of Commodore Erasmus Ommanney, was sent to blockade the Russian ports, and to destroy the property of the Russian government, in the White Sea. This expedition was successful, a considerable amount of public property

being destroyed on the islands of Solovetskoi and Kio; and at Kola, the capital of Russian Lapland. Private property was also injured; but not where it could be avoided. The expedition, however, was one of those which reflect no honour on the British arms; and it is to be regretted that it was undertaken.—In September, a small English and French squadron attacked Petropaulovski, the capital of Russian Kamschatka, seated on the bay of Aoatschai, on the eastern side of the Kamschatkan peninsula. The attack was unsuccessful. It was undertaken in consequence of information received from three American seamen, deserters from whalers, who, it is believed, purposely deceived the English and French commanders; as the numbers of the enemy were greater, and their position defended by a dense brushwood much stronger, than was represented. After a very smart struggle, bravely sustained on both sides, the allies, finding they could not succeed, retired to their boats, carrying off their dead and wounded, amounting to 107 English, and 102 French. The enemy own to having 115 men put *hors de combat;* and they lost a quantity of stores and other *matériel.* The united squadrons left the bay on the 7th of September; and the English vessels, the same day, captured the Russian steamer *Amadis*, and a merchant vessel, called the *Sitka*, conveying stores to the garrison of Petropaulovski, valued at 200,000 dollars. The French men-of-war wintered at San Francisco: the English having burnt the *Amadis*, carried the *Sitka* to Vancouver's Island.

The military events were not of much interest or importance till autumn approached. The English troops, in the first instance, stopped at Malta, where 12,000 men arrived early in March; and they were joined by the first division of the French contingent (under 1,000 men), on the 23rd.—On the 31st, the departure for Gallipoli commenced: to that spot the troops subsequently despatched from England and France were directed; and there, before April closed, the main force of the two nations was collected, and encamped in the neighbourhood of the port; the English tents extending to the south-west, the French to the north-west of the town, and being about three-quarters of a mile apart. The situation was not unpleasant, the surrounding country being richly wooded, with olive, fig, and almond-trees; with, here and there, a well-built farm-house, prettily situated amongst them.

Whilst the allies were passing from England and France to Gallipoli, and establishing themselves in that vicinity, an insurrection was raging in the provinces of Greece attached to the Turkish empire, fomented and encouraged by the agents of Russia; and to which Otho—who was the sovereign placed on the throne of the Grecian kingdom by the protecting powers, England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, under whose auspices that state was formed—lent his countenance and support. Fuad Effendi was sent from Constantinople to direct the movements for the suppression of this rebellion. He arrived at Prevesa on the 7th of March. Various encounters took place in different directions; most of them of little importance. They were not all favourable to the Turks; and as Otho permitted recruiting for the insurgent forces in his kingdom, it is doubtful how the affair might have ended if England and France had not interfered. The envoys of those powers first required the king to affix his signature to the protocol of Vienna; and on his refusing to do so, except under a protest that he "had been compelled to yield to force," a naval and military armament was despatched from Gallipoli, which anchored in the Piræus on the 25th of May. A body of English and French marines was landed, and about 3,000 troops, under the command of General Forey. They took possession of the ships in the harbour, planted the English flag in the square of Themistocles in the Grecian capital, and encamped on the hills which, in the form of a semicircle, overlook Athens. Otho had no means of resistance; he therefore at once sent in his submission; dismissed those officials who had been most conspicuous and active in the movement against Turkey; changed his ministry, appointing Mavrocordato president of his new council; and proclaimed a strict neutrality in the war. The ships then returned to Gallipoli, leaving 3,000 men at Athens; and the insurgents, defeated by Fuad Effendi on the 18th of June, with great loss, at Kalabaka, fled to the mountains, making no further resistance. Turkey had lost £1,000,000 by the insurrection; and the sultan claimed indemnity from Otho, with guarantees that no future acts of aggression would be permitted. Otho could not pay the indemnity; but he substituted a treaty of commerce, in which the limits between his dominions and those of the sultan were defined. A Greek minister was then sent to Constantinople, and a Turkish ambassador to Athens: the friendly relations between Otho and the western powers were also renewed; but the Russian ambassador was withdrawn; "as the representatives of that power," said the Russian Chancellor, "could only be suffered to remain at unshackled and independent courts."

Meantime the allies continued encamped at Gallipoli; the English troops already feeling the inconveniences of a deficient commissariat, which subsequently produced such evils in the Crimea. A lady writing from the camp says—

"Our condition was such, that the possession of a Dutch cheese was quite reason enough for asking friends to dinner; and there was such a cackling about a goose that some one had brought home from a village at his

saddle-bow, and had been tied to a tent-pole ever since, that those who were not invited to eat him will, I am persuaded, never forgive those that were. The matter will, very reasonably, become a heir-loom grievance, and be handed down as an hereditary feud."

The lady writes pleasantly and lightly; but the men felt their privations severely, officers and privates experiencing them alike. Not only were provisions short, but the medical department was insufficiently supplied. "There were few blankets for the sick, no beds, no mattresses;" and the unfortunate invalids had often "to lie on the bare boards, in a wooden house, with nothing but a single blanket for bed and covering." Still all was not unpleasant. "The climate," writes Mrs. Younge, "was healthful and agreeable; the scenery exquisitely beautiful:" and, at that period, "all was energy and hope; the men were not wearied by delays, nor the officers harassed by their natural results." The soldiers of the two nations were on the best terms; and the attention of the English "was continually excited by the groups of French strolling about in all sorts of picturesque costumes." These were principally the Zouaves, a branch of the French army, which originated in the formation of a native force in Algeria during the reign of Louis Philippe. One native Arab regiment was retained, called the *tirailleurs indigènes*, or native riflemen; but, in 1854, the greater part of the Zouaves were Frenchmen, retaining the Arab name and costume. Another corps, the Spahis, were by birth, dress, and equipments, purely Arab. They wore the Moorish jacket, richly embroidered, their head and shoulders being enveloped in white bernoos, and their saddles richly decorated with velvet and gold. Another conspicuous branch of the French army, frequently mentioned in the despatches of the time, was the Chasseurs de Vincennes; the men were trained to the use of the rifle; and "had acquired an unrivalled celerity of action, and an almost unrivalled precision in firing." They derived their name, Chasseurs (*i.e.*, light-horse), from the former.

There was not sufficient accommodation at Gallipoli for all the troops; and Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown (who commanded till the arrival of Lord Raglan), when the *Himalaya* arrived, on the 14th of April, with the 33rd and 41st regiments on board, ordered her to Scutari, the ancient Chrysopolis, now the largest suburb of Constantinople, lying opposite that city, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. There another English camp was formed; and there, after the arrival of Lord Raglan on the 2nd of May, the English head-quarters were established. The Duke of Cambridge, who commanded the 1st division of the British army, arrived on the 9th of May. Prince Napoleon, the cousin of the Emperor of France, preceded his royal highness, having landed on the 29th of April; and Marshal de St. Arnaud joined the army the second week in May. There was much festivity, alternately at the camp and Constantinople, after the arrival of these royal and distinguished personages; but soon the commanders-in-chief turned their attention to sterner things. Having, after Marshal de St. Arnaud's arrival, received the report of Lord de Ros, who had been sent on a mission to Varna and Shumla, and returned on the 17th of May, Lord Raglan and the marshal resolved, themselves, to go to Varna, for the purpose of having a personal interview with Omar Pasha. They left Constantinople on the 18th of May; and the result was a determination that the allied troops should occupy Varna, their presence on the other side of the Turkish capital being considered no longer necessary for its safety. As soon as the commanders-in-chief returned to the camps, the orders to prepare for departure were issued. At that time the English army in the East numbered 22,000 men—viz., 5,000 at Gallipoli, and 17,000 at Scutari: of the latter, 12,000 were encamped; the remainder were in barracks.

The orders for embarkation were chiefly carried out under Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown. Everything being arranged, Sir George left for Varna on the 28th of May, that he might also superintend the disembarkation. The light division of the British army embarked on the 29th; the other divisions following day after day, till all had left Gallipoli and Scutari. The French had preceded us, some of their troops landing at Varna before the light division had embarked. During the embarkation, on the 4th of June, Lord Raglan was surprised by a visit from the marshal, to inform him that he had determined to send only one division of his army to Varna; the remainder he intended to march inland, and take up a position in rear of the Balkan range, his head-quarters being at Aidos, and his right resting on the Black Sea, at Bourgas, about twenty-five miles S. of Varna. He wished Lord Raglan to move the bulk of the English army in the same direction; but his lordship refused, and, ultimately, the French commander gave way. But he had, before he yielded to the firmness and more prudent councils of his companion-in-arms, sent General Bosquet and his division forwards to Adrianople. They continued their march, halting at that city, where General Bosquet established his quarters in the old seraglio, and the troops were encamped upon an island formed by two branches of the river Tondja, and called the Island of the Seraglio.

The disembarkation of both armies at Varna appeared to be a proceeding of joyous excitement; and "preparations for so deadly a game as war were certainly never

ushered in by so much fun and gaiety." It was the middle of June before all the troops were landed; the first division, the Duke of Cambridge and staff, arriving on the 13th. It had been arranged that the French head-quarters should be at Varna, and those of the English at the village of Devna, about eight miles distant; and the two camps were formed in the vicinity of the respective head-quarters, the English having two—one for cavalry, in the immediate neighbourhood of Devna, the other further advanced on the road to Varna. At first the position of the allies was far from unpleasant. A correspondent at the English camp informs us, that any quantity of beef and mutton, and plenty of bread, could be procured, with a good supply of water; but vegetables were scarce. For the French, the government at Paris, as soon as it was apprised that the army was *en route* to Varna, entered into arrangements with a company at Pera, called the "Commercial Union;" the members of which—though, with the exception of one man, who was an Austrian, they were all French—were well acquainted with the interior. This company engaged to supply the French camp with provisions of every kind, being allowed a commission on the market price. Thus the French had a sufficiency of all necessaries, and many comforts, and never suffered so severely as the British from the defects of their commissariat. The men, however, while at Varna were greatly afflicted with disease; as were the English after a short time—the result of the climate.—An establishment had been left at Scutari, to take charge of the barracks, and property that was not removed to Varna. The large hospital at that place had been placed at Lord Raglan's disposal, and there confirmed invalids, and subsequently the wounded, were sent.

After the landing, the troops were most eager to march forward to the relief of Silistria, the surrender of that city being daily expected; and Lord Cardigan was despatched, with detachments of the cavalry under his command, to patrol the whole country to Trajan's Wall, on the confines of the Dobrutscha, returning by the coast and Shumla, for the purpose of ascertaining the position of the Russian army, and its outposts. A few days after his departure, it was known that the siege of Silistria was raised. When this event and the departure of the Russians were announced, the discontent at inaction increased, and officers and men were alike anxious to be engaged in active war.—On the 2nd of July, Omar Pasha arrived at the English camp, and went on to Varna, where he held several councils with the English and French generals. On the 5th, his highness reviewed the French troops—30,000 in number; and on the 6th, the English army passed before him. He had expressed his approbation of our allies most unreservedly to the officers of both countries. But he appears to have been struck with still more admiration at the magnificent appearance of the Guards and Highlanders; whilst he was perfectly astonished at seeing the movements of the cavalry and artillery; and when the 42nd passed him, he exclaimed in French to Marshal de St. Arnaud—"Did you ever see such troops, marshal? I did not believe that, in the armies of Europe, a division like this was to be found!"—"You are right! you are right!" was the reply of the marshal, who may be pardoned if he envied the fine fellows who thus took the *prestige* away from his own men. The same evening, Omar Pasha departed for Shumla. His visit had caused great excitement while it lasted; but when he was gone, the murmurs at the "continued inaction" were still heard.—Another sensation was caused, on the 12th of July, by the return of the Earl of Cardigan and his detachments from their extended *reconnaissance*. They had ascertained little about the Russians, except that the main force had returned to the left bank of the Danube, only a few Cossacks remaining in the Dobrutscha. They found the country desolated by those wild warriors; and the Bashi-Bazouks (as certain irregular levies in the Turkish army are called) had great difficulty in finding food for themselves, and forage for their beasts; and having no tents, had bivouacked for seventeen nights.—The sensation created by this arrival soon passed away; and the discontent being rife in both armies—the sufferings from heat aggravating the disgust felt at their inactivity—Marshal de St. Arnaud, with a view to check it amongst the French, sent a division of Zouaves, under General L'Espinasse, to make a *reconnaissance* in the Dobrutscha, supported by a troop of Bashi-Bazouks, organised by General Yussuf. It had better have remained at the camp. The party started on the 24th of July; and on the 29th, the Bashi-Bazouks, having entered the Dobrutscha, encountered, near the village of Babatagh, a party of Cossacks, whom they attacked and put to flight, though superior in number. There was little more fighting; for, although several wandering parties of Cossacks were met with, and a few slight skirmishes ensued, they always made off, if possible. But the country was completely devastated. Dead bodies and calcined skeletons were found in the road in great numbers; and the air was perfectly pestilential. This caused disease to break out both amongst the French and Turks; General l'Espinasse being so ill, that he was obliged to leave his command, and return to Varna. Marshal de St. Arnaud immediately recalled the expedition; but 2,000 of the men died before it reached the camp.—The disease of cholera was, at that time, very prevalent in both camps: several officers died; and the Duke of Cambridge was so severely affected with diarrhœa, that he

had to be removed to Constantinople. The disease was equally prevalent on board the ships, several losing from twenty to fifty men: on board one French vessel there were about 200 deaths.—This was not all the armies had to contend with. A fire broke out at Varna on the 10th of August, which destroyed about one-seventh of that town; and, unfortunately, it was that part in which the stores were deposited. Great quantities of provisions were consumed, or rendered useless; as were a great part of the tools and *matériel* of the engineers; 19,000 pairs of shoes, stored for the soldiers; and a quantity of cavalry sabres, which were fused into the most fantastic shapes. The loss was estimated at £1,000,000 sterling; and many persons who had collected large quantities of goods on account of the presence of the armies, and lost their all, were ruined. Yet the event is thought to have produced benefit. It no doubt purified the air; and it was supposed this had the effect of producing a mitigation of the cholera, which almost immediately took place.

During this period, the minds of the commanders-in-chief were occupied with the question, what would be the future destination of the army? as well as with the sufferings of the men. The main objects of the appearance of the allies in the East—the evacuation of the principalities, and the defeat of the Russians, which had dispersed the fears as to the safety of Constantinople—were attained; and the position of Russia was such, that the czar must have been induced to sign a peace upon any fair and honourable terms. But while the war was continued on the Danube, the English people were anxious that their army should not come out of the contest without an opportunity of displaying its prowess, and once more claiming the honour due to victory. A descent upon some part of the Russian empire was loudly called for: and the prediction made by Count Pozzo di Borgo in 1828, that if ever England came to a rupture with Russia, Sebastopol "would be the point to which she would direct her attacks, if only she believed success possible," was realised. The place named, though familiar to us now, was, previous to 1854, a *terra incognita* to most persons. It is a large harbour, with a town rising on its borders, at the south-western angle of the peninsula, now called the Crimea, the ancient Taurica Chersonesus, by which name it was known 1,400 years B.C. It has been subject to numerous dynasties; Scythians, Greeks, Romans, Tartars, Genoese, and Turks, have ruled there; and it now forms the most southern portion of European Russia; the Empress Catherine having acquired its dominion in 1783. In January, 1787, that empress made a tour of the peninsula, escorted by the Emperor of Austria, the King of Poland, Marshal P. Lacy, of Austria, and Napoleon, M. Lacy, of Grogno. At Kherson she recorded the memorable words—"The road to Byzantium." Since her time, the sovereigns of Russia considered the Crimea as one of their most important provinces; and they fortified Sebastopol as they did Bomarsund, with a view to make it at once a citadel of defence and an arsenal and store-house of *matériel*, to enable them to carry on active operations for extending their empire in the East. The position of the Crimea—projecting as it does, "like an advanced bastion into the midst of the Black Sea;" thus "completely commanding the mouths of two of the greatest rivers of Eastern Europe, the Don and the Dnieper;" whilst it lies "opposite to the Danube and the Bosphorus"—admiraby adapts it for this purpose; and before the siege of Silistria was raised, and the principalities evacuated, it was declared, in the *Times*, that "the grand political and military objects of the war could not be attained as long as Sebastopol and the Russian fleet were in existence:" but that the capture of the port, and "the occupation of the Crimea, were objects which would well repay all the costs of the war, and permanently settle in our favour the principal questions in dispute." Whether this was an original idea of the paper we quote, or was first suggested to the editor by the Duke of Newcastle, in order that public opinion might be ascertained as to a project his grace had formed in his own mind, will, probably, never be ascertained. There are parties, professing to speak from authority, who ascribe honour to the *Times*; whilst others, with similar confidence, say that the invasion of the Crimea was first conceived by the duke. As his grace, in a secret despatch of the 10th of April, directed Lord Raglan "to make careful inquiry into the amount and condition of the Russian force in the Crimea, and the strength of the fortress of Sebastopol"—adding, that "the heaviest blow which could be struck at the southern extremities of the Russian empire, would be the taking or destruction" of that port—the probability is, that the latter are correct. At all events, the duke brought the matter forward in the cabinet, and at length obtained the consent of his colleagues—the unwilling consent of some of them—that the expedition should be undertaken. The assent of the Emperor of France was also obtained; and on the evening of the 13th of July, Lord Raglan and Marshal de St. Arnaud both received despatches in cipher; that of the latter so obliterated that it could only be explained by Lord Raglan's. In that missive, his lordship was informed, that "unless he and Marshal Arnaud felt they were not sufficiently prepared," Sebastopol was to be besieged: it being the unanimous opinion of the cabinet, said the war minister, "that, without the reduction of this fortress, and the capture of the Russian fleet, it would be impossible to conclude an honourable and safe peace."—On the 29th of June

more precise instructions were addressed to Lord Raglan, which he received on the 16th of July. In that despatch, the Duke of Newcastle repeated the opinion expressed in the "secret" communication of April 10th; and the English commander was ordered "to concert measures for the siege of Sebastopol," with the same proviso as the letter of the 28th contained; but adding the opinion of her majesty's government, that "the difficulties of the siege were more likely to increase than diminish by the delay;" and that "nothing but insuperable impediments should be allowed to prevent the early decision to undertake the operations." Lord Raglan determined that the siege should be undertaken; and although he had, at first, some difficulties to encounter with the French, he overruled them all; preparations for the embarkation of the troops were commenced; by the 24th of August they were completed; and from that day the expedition to the Crimea takes its date.—In the following chapter the narrative of that expedition will be found.

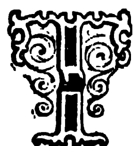
The allied fleets in the Black Sea had not been engaged in any very important undertaking since they retired to the Bay of Beicos, early in the year. They had sailed from that bay to the Bay of Baltschik, on the west side of the Black Sea, beyond Varna, before the declaration of war was received. That war was declared, was known there on the 9th of April. On the previous day, the *Furious* had arrived off Odessa, from Constantinople, to bring off the British consul, and seventy-five residents who were British subjects. The consul had previously left the town; and the boat conveying the officer who was sent to bring that official away, was, when retiring to the ship, fired upon, as was the frigate. An explanation was demanded of this conduct by Admirals Dundas and Hamelin; and Baron Osten-sacken, the governor, alleged that it was because the frigate, when warned, continued to advance within cannon-shot of the fort—an assertion contradicted by all the officers on board. This led to the bombardment of Odessa, on the 22nd of April, by six English and five French frigates, aided by six rocket-boats. The forts, warehouses, and barracks were destroyed, a powder-magazine exploded, a frigate in the harbour and two on the stocks were destroyed, and several of the batteries erected for the defence of the town dismantled. About 1,100 of the garrison were put *hors de combat*, 300 being killed. The batteries and forts returned the fire of the allies very briskly, as long as they were able; but the loss to the assailants was very trifling.—In the night of the 11th of May, the *Tiger*, of sixteen guns, which had been sent from Baltschik Bay on a cruise, in a thick fog ran on shore under the lighthouse of Odessa. When discovered in the morning, twelve guns were run down to the edge of the cliff which towered about 100 feet above the vessel, and was 150 feet from the spot where she lay. From these guns a fire was opened upon the defenceless ship—"a species of barbarous ferocity," remarks a contemporary, "unknown previously in modern warfare amongst civilised nations." The fire was kept up till Captain Giffard and several officers were wounded; one was killed; and a few of the seamen were also killed or wounded. More lives would have been lost had not most of the crew been sent below to extinguish a fire which had broken out in the vessel. As the fire from the shore became more furious, as no return could be made from the *Tiger*, where the fire was spreading, and as no help appeared in sight, Captain Giffard most reluctantly ordered the flag to be struck. Soon after the crew had been secured, the *Niger* and the *Vesuvius* were seen approaching within range. They opened a fire on the Russians, and shots were quickly interchanged till the *Tiger* was burnt to the water's edge, when the vessels sailed away. The prisoners were treated with great kindness by the Russians: Captain Giffard died at Odessa; the others were exchanged.

After this affair, the fleets left the bay, and cruised some days off Sebastopol, but could not tempt the Russians to leave the harbour; and they returned to Baltschik.—On the 10th of June, the *Terrible*, *Furious*, and *Descartes* were sent to make another *reconnaissance*. They ran directly into the offing, and found the same line-of-battle ships as before. As they could only see one steamer, they went to the north, hoping to meet with some of the Russian vessels out of the protection of their forts. They, however, encountered nothing but a deserted vessel laden with salt, of which they took possession; and their boats brought a schooner out of the Bay of Eupatoria.—On the 15th, when returning, and near Sebastopol, they encountered three of the enemy's steamers—five more, and three ships of the line, being in sight. A chase was kept up for nearly an hour, the three Russian steamers pursuing the English; it being the object of the latter to detach the enemy from the line-of-battle ships. At length they came within range of the guns of the *Terrible*, which opened her fire. A running fight was kept up from half-past twelve till two, when the Russian vessels suddenly tacked, and made for the line-of-battle ships, the allies then becoming the pursuers. Three more line-of-battle ships and two steamers had come out of the harbour: but they made no attempt upon the English and French vessels—very soon moving off in a body towards the port. The *Terrible*, *Furious*, and *Descartes* returned to the bay, not having received the least damage.—On the 21st, 22nd, and 26th of June, Captain Parker, in the *Firebrand*, and having the *Fury*, the *Vesuvius*, and a small Turkish schooner

under his command, destroyed the forts and the batteries at the Kilia and Sulina mouths of the Danube; but lost his life on the 27th, when attacking a gabion battery on the north bank of the river, about half a mile from the Sulina mouth. The battery and a quarantine establishment were destroyed; but the loss of Captain Parker, a gallant and enterprising young officer, was considered as rendering the success dearly purchased.—On the 20th of July, after the receipt of orders to undertake the siege of Sebastopol, seven French and seven English vessels, with Sir George Brown, General Canrobert, and several other English and French military officers on board, were sent to reconnoitre Sebastopol and the neighbouring coast.—On the 21st, when in sight of the port, the *Fury*, *Terrible*, and *Cacique*, three of the British squadron, were ordered to run-in and take as near a survey as possible. They were fired upon from the shore, and the *Fury* was struck, but not much injured. The vessels cruised about for several days, the officers making all the observations they could; and, on the 30th of July, returned to Baltschik Bay.

CHAPTER CXIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA—THE CRIMEAN WAR.—A.D. 1854.



HE embarkation of the troops from Varna commenced on the 24th of August, Sir Edmund Lyons and Admiral Hamelin being charged with the onerous duty of superintending the operations, which they most judiciously and satisfactorily performed. The English army comprised 26,500 infantry and artillery, 54 cannon, and 1,000 cavalry; the French, 30,204 horse and foot, 68 guns, and a Turkish contingent of 7,000 men. As there were few transports attached to the French fleet, and Marshal de St. Arnaud was obliged to fill the ships of war with troops, only from eighty to a hundred cavalry were taken to perform escort duty; and the number of horses allotted to each gun was reduced from six to four. The Turks were conveyed across in their own vessels of war. The English were arranged in four divisions of infantry, a light division, and the cavalry—six in all. The first division was commanded by the Duke of Cambridge; the second, by General Sir De Lacey Evans; the third, by General Sir Richard England; the fourth, by Lieutenant-General Sir George Cathcart. Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown commanded the light division. The cavalry was commanded by General Lord Lucan. That branch of the army was divided into a light and heavy brigade; the first commanded by Brigadier-General the Earl of Cardigan; the second, by Brigadier-General the Hon. J. Scarlet. The heavy brigade was not embarked in August; and did not join the army till after the first engagement with the enemy. Prince Napoleon, Generals Canrobert, Martimprey, Thierry, Bizot, and Bosquet, were the principal officers under the command of Marshal de St. Arnaud.

The entire number of vessels collected to convey this large force of near 65,000 men, was little less than 600. The English transports were all fine vessels, and contained every accommodation for the troops: the few the French had succeeded in obtaining were very inferior. They were the sweepings of French and Italian ports, but they were made as convenient as possible. Both commanders-in-chief issued precise instructions for the guidance of the men, in an operation which Lord Raglan described as "one of much difficulty." All was to be done quietly, and without hurry; and as it was fully expected the enemy would attempt to prevent the landing, it was arranged that the men, on disembarking, should form in columns, in order of battle, and be prepared to load as soon as they stepped on shore. Besides his accoutrements, each man—officers and privates—was to carry on shore three days' provisions, the daily ration being 1 lb. of meat, 1 lb. of bread, 2 oz. of rice, 12 oz. of sugar, 1 oz. of coffee, and half a gill of rum. The preparation of the meat, &c., for the three days, kept the cooks fully employed on board the troop-ships during the voyage. The vessels, as they received the men on board at Varna, proceeded to the Bay of Baltschik, the general rendezvous. There they were all collected on the 6th of September, except the French men-of-war, which sailed for Sebastopol on the 5th; on the morning of the 7th, at five o'clock, the signal-gun was fired; by seven every anchor was apeak; and soon after the transports were on their way, steam-tugs being attached to the sailing vessels; and the whole formed into six divisions, or squadrons, each conveying a division of the British army. When all were under way, the sight was splendid. "Oh! that I could describe the majestic appearance of the noble ships formed in line," wrote the correspondent of the *Morning Post*: "they extended in every direction beyond an eye's grasp." The English and French fleets

met on the 8th of September, at the Isle of Serpents—a small rock, a short distance from the coast of Bessarabia, opposite the mouths of the Danube—on which a lighthouse has been erected. A French officer, writing on the evening of the 8th, says—"The English fleet has just arrived from Varna, and was hailed with enthusiastic huzzas, ten times repeated. Admiral Dundas, with his fourteen ships of the line, is manœuvring at this moment, to form his line of battle:" for, as the French ships had troops on board, the fighting department was allotted to the English, should the enemy make an attack during the passage.

On the 9th and 10th the fleets were inactive; the commanders-in-chief being occupied in consulting as to where the descent should be made on the first of those days; and, on the second, in reconnoitring the coast of the Crimea. There was a difference of opinion between some of the French officers and Lord Raglan as to the most convenient point for disembarkation. It had been arranged, after the former *reconnaissances*, that the troops should land on the south-west coast to the north of Sebastopol, in the bays of Katcha and the Alma. But General Canrobert, General Martimprey, and the principal officers of the French artillery and engineers, had, Lord Raglan says, "an indisposition to the expedition." They probably thought that the force of the enemy was superior to that of the allies; at all events, they wished for delay, and proposed that the landing should be made at Kaffa, a seaport to the east of Sebastopol, and divided from that city by a wild country, the roads of which crossed hills and mountains, and would have occasioned such delay in the transport of cannon and ammunition, that the siege could not have been undertaken that year if this plan had been adopted. Marshal de St. Arnaud was ill; he could not leave his own vessel; and he referred the question to Lord Raglan, who received the French officers on board the *Caradoc.* After hearing what they had to propose, his lordship quietly declined going to Kaffa, and ordered a *reconnaissance*, in which he invited the French officers to join, to take place the next day. The officers who made it were—Lord Raglan, Sir George Brown, Sir John Burgoyne, and Sir Edmund Lyons; Generals Canrobert, Martimprey, Thierry, and Bizot; Colonels Trochu and Lebœuf; and Admiral Bouet-Villaumez. Their decision was in favour of the south-west coast, but not exactly in the spot first selected.

To understand the brief sketch of the landing, and the campaign that followed—the limits of this work will not allow any other to be given—it is necessary that the reader should know something of the Crimea; and though he could refer to works on geography, and find there all that is needful, it will be better to mention here its principal features. The Crimea is a peninsula, united to the Russian government of Taurida by the isthmus of Perekop; lying between latitude 44° 20′ and 46° 10′ N., and longitude 32° 40′ and 36° 30′ E. Its figure is quadrilateral; and its sides are directed to the north-east, south-east, south-west, and north-west: from the angle between the north-east and south-east sides, juts out the sub-peninsula of Kertch, which is divided from Asia by the straits of Kertch and Yenikale; the former running into the Black Sea, the latter into the Sea of Azoff. The Crimea is bounded by the isthmus of Perekop on the north: on the north-west by the Gulf of Karkinite, an inlet of the Black Sea, extending from Cape Karamroun, at the northern point of the western angle of the Crimea, to Perekop. The southern point of that angle is called Cape Eskiforos, or the Tartaud; the Black Sea washes the south-west side of the Crimea, as it does the south-east; the straits of Kertch and Yenikale bound the narrow eastern side of the sub-peninsula of Kertch; and from the town of Arabat, at the north-western extremity of that sub-peninsula, to the isthmus of Perekop, the true boundary of the Crimea is the Sivash, or Putrid Sea, which opens out into numerous irregular and shallow inlets on the land side to the west; and is divided from the Sea of Azoff, on the east, by a long narrow strip, called the Tongue of Arabat, being a bank of sand drifted by the north-east winds. A narrow strait, at its north end, not more than a furlong across, and called the Strait of Genitche, unites the Putrid Sea (which takes its name from the pestilential vapours it emits), to the Sea of Azoff. The Crimea is, according to Mr. Danby Seymour, about 200 miles across, from Cape Karamroun on the west, to Cape Fanar, abutting on the Straits of Kertch, on the east; and 125 miles from Perekop on the north, to Cape Kirkineis on the south; and its area is computed at 10,050 English square miles. About two-thirds of this area, including the north and centre, is flat and arid, and form the southern portion of the steppes, or plains, which extend "over one-fifth of the Russian empire in Europe." "The remainder, comprising the whole range of its southern coast, is a mountain region, with numerous fertile and well-watered valleys;" and there are many villages, vineyards, and country-seats on the slopes of the mountains. The number of inhabitants in the peninsula is about 200,000: they are mostly Tartars.

In the Crimea there are, for its extent, very few towns. Yenikale stands on the west side of the bay of that name, and is defended by a strong citadel. A few miles to the S.W. is Kertch, at the north-western extremity of the Strait of Kertch, which from thence takes the name of Yenikale. Proceeding westward, on

the south-east coast, at about sixty miles S.W. of Kertch, is Kaffa, or Theodosia, a seaport, with a good and safe harbour: twenty-two miles to the S.W. of Kaffa is Sudak, another maritime town; and about the same distance from that town, still progressing to the S.W., stands Alushta. That town is considered as marking the boundary between the eastern and western portions of the coast. A good road leads direct north from Alushta into the interior; upon which, at the distance of forty miles from the coast, Simferopol (or Simpheropol), the capital of the Crimea, is situated. This road runs direct to Perekop: one long branch turning to the north-east, about twenty miles from the capital, terminates at the Putrid Sea, near the Strait of Genitche; other roads run from Simpheropol, on the east, to Kaffa and Kertch; and on the south-west to Balaklava and Sebastopol. About eighteen miles to the south-west of Simpheropol is Bakche-serai, the only town in the Crimea which preserves the character of its Tartar origin. Proceeding along the coast from Alushta, towards Balaklava, we meet with the towns (so called, though they are no more than villages) of Ourzouf, the Gorzabita of ancient times; and Yatta, a small port, lying close to the sea-shore, at the end of a large fertile valley, and on a spacious bay; also Aloutka, a palace built by Prince Woronzoff, at the base of Ai-Petri, a limestone elevation, towering 2,500 feet above the mansion; the village of Kirkineis; and the valley of Baidar, which is in length about ten miles from east to west, and terminates in the latter direction, about five miles from Balaklava. This valley, "on account of its beauty and fertility, is termed the Crimean Tempé." There are several neat villages in the valley, with healthy inhabitants: and the Woronzoff road runs from north to south, on the western side.

The valley of Baidar, Balaklava, and Sebastopol, are on the south-west angle of the peninsula, anciently known as the Heraclidæ Chersonese. Balaklava is built at the termination of an excellent harbour, running from south to north; lofty hills guarding its entrance, which is scarcely wide enough for two vessels to pass, and shutting in from observation the noble basin, where the largest vessels can safely float. The town stands on the south shore of the harbour, and on the north are the villages of Kadakoi and Kamara; and, more to the east, about four miles from the town, that of Tchorgouna, occupying a romantic situation in a picturesque valley, through which the Tchernaya runs to the bay of Sebastopol. Four miles further, to the north-east, is Khutor Mackenzie, or Mackenzie's Farm—taking its name from Admiral Mackenzie, who, towards the close of the last century, commanded the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. The country, partly a plateau, and partly hilly, and interspersed with ravines, to the north-west of Balaklava, and where the allies encamped, is covered with ruins of the ancient city of Kherson, built by the Heraclidæ 659 years B.C. It terminates in Cape Kherson, or Chersonese, the north-western extremity of that angle of the Crimea. Between that cape and the bay of Sebastopol are several inlets or bays; Dvonia, or Double Bay; Kozatchaia, or Cossack Bay; the bay of Kamiesch; Kronglaia, or Round Bay; Arrow, or Strelets Kaia Bay; and Khersonese, or Pestchannaia Bay. Sebastopol lies about eight miles to the north of Balaklava. When the Russians took possession of the Crimea in 1783, there were no human habitations in the neighbourhood of the magnificent bay of Sebastopol, except the little village of Aktiar, at its eastern extremity. That bay runs from west to east about four miles and a-half. It is nearly one mile across at the entrance, and has an average breadth of half a mile, forming one of the finest harbours in Europe. Four spacious bays branch out from the southern coast of this harbour—viz., Karamania, or Quarantine—the first arrived at going eastward—Artillery or Commercial, South or Admiralty, and Careening Bays; in the largest, the Admiralty Bay, which runs one mile and a-half to the south, and is 400 yards wide, the fine three-deck sailing ships, which used to be the pride of the ocean, but are now superseded by iron-clad steamers, could be moored a few yards from the land. Diverging from the entrance of the Admiralty Bay to the south-east, is a fifth inlet, called, at first, the Bay of Vessels; but before the war it had received the name of the Karabelnaia Bay.

The Empress Catharine II. selected the bay of Sebastopol as the place of shelter for the Russian fleet in the Black Sea; and the town of Sebastopol was built to defend the bay. It rises between the Admiralty and Artillery Bays, and to the south of the latter, in the form of an amphitheatre. The suburb of Karabelnaia, the Wapping of Sebastopol, lies between the Careening and the Admiralty Bay; and on Karamania Bay the Quarantine station was erected. The principal streets of the town run from north to south, parallel with the Admiralty Bay. They are intersected by others, of various widths. A landing-place of stone is constructed from the harbour, approached, on the land side, beneath an architrave supported on lofty columns. Near the shore (before the war) was the house built for the reception of Catharine II. in 1787; behind it were the admiralty, arsenal, and offices of marine; in the upper part of the town were (and they still remain) the houses of the inhabitants, markets, mosques, and a Greek and an Armenian church. In the suburb of Karabelnaia were large store-houses, barracks, a naval arsenal, a military hospital, and a dockyard. The docks were formed in Karabelnaia Bay; for those works—completed

at a vast expense by Mr. John Upton, an Englishman—its quays, aqueduct, and fortifications, Sebastopol was famed. The latter were only weak and insignificant till after the French revolution of 1830: then the government set to work in earnest, and spent large sums on works which it was expected would defy any force that could be sent against them. They commenced on the north side of the bay. At the entrance, to the north, was a strong fort, called Fort Constantine, which stood on a projecting cape, surrounded by a shallow shoal, where the water was scarcely two feet deep, and vessels could not approach nearer than 600 yards. It mounted 104 guns, in three tiers. To the north of this fort was the Telegraph Battery, mounting twenty-eight guns; to which our sailors gave the name of the Wasp Fort. The works were terminated in this direction by several earthen batteries, thrown up about a mile from Fort Constantine. Fort Catharine, mounting 120 guns, was also on the north coast of the harbour; and further to the east was Fort Sievarna, built on the east side of a small inlet, called the Port of Sievarna; at the head of which stood Sievarna, or the Northern Village. There was a large polygonic fortress beyond Sievarna, called the Star Fort, under the protection of which was an intrenched camp of 80,000 troops. At the termination of the harbour, inland, stood two towers, called the Inkermann lighthouses; and a little beyond was the ruined village of Inkermann. On the south side of the harbour there were six forts and batteries. To the south-west of the entrance stood the Quarantine Fort, mounting fifty-one large guns. A little to the north, Fort Alexander, with eighty-four guns, stood opposite Fort Constantine, and was similarly situated on a small cape, jutting out into shallow water. Further eastward was the Battery of Sebastopol; and still further, at the north-western corner of the Admiralty Bay, Fort Nicholas, mounting 192 guns. On the opposite corner of the bay stood Fort St. Paul, with eighty guns; and a powerful battery was erected between that fort and Careening Bay. These forts were intended to repel any attack from the sea, or from the north. On the south side of the town, a crenelated wall ran from Fort Sebastopol to the extremity of the Admiralty Bay; and from that point it was carried round the southern termination of Careening Bay. This wall was about five English miles in extent, and was three feet thick. Batteries were raised, in the form of cavaliers, behind it, on which guns were mounted, firing over the top. To the westward of Careening Bay stood the Korinleff Fort, afterwards known as the Malakoff, which completely covered the suburb of Karabelnaia, and the north-east part of the town.

Four rivers run from east to west, north of Sebastopol, at a very short distance from each other—the Belbek, the Katcha, the Alma, and the Bulganak. About five or six miles beyond the latter, is a headland—Cape Loukoul; and the sea between the *embouchure* of the river and the cape is called the Bay of Kalâmita. In the centre of this bay is a spot marked "Old Fort" on the maps and charts; but there is neither fort nor house near the spot, and there is neither town nor village on the coast, till we come to Eupatoria, or Koslof, a small seaport, on the coast of Kalamita Bay; but there are villages and farms in the interior; and cattle and their keepers were seen in various directions by those engaged in the *reconnaissances*. In the Gulf of Perekop there is only one port—Ak-metchet—which is about twelve miles to the north-east of Cape Karamroun. On the whole line of this coast, from the Bulganak to Perekop, there were no defences; and when the *reconnaissance* was made on the 10th, and the *Caradoc* came to that line of coast which extends from Cape Loukoul to Eupatoria—being an open and extended line, where there was ample space for the disembarking and formation of the troops—Lord Raglan at once decided that there the landing ought to take place. A council of war, held on board the *Caradoc*, adopted his lordship's suggestion, in opposition to the wish of General Canrobert, who was of opinion that the descent should have been made near the mouths of the Katcha and Alma. It was resolved by this council that the allied army should land at Old Fort; that Eupatoria should be occupied; and that, in three or four days after the landing, the army should march towards the south, with its right defended by the sea; the fleets to follow the troops along the shore, to protect them with their artillery, and to ensure their supplies. These resolutions, when submitted to Marshal de St. Arnaud, received his approval; and they were carried out as speedily as possible.—There are two lakes on the part of the coast selected for the disembarkation—the Salt Lake to the south, and the Lake Kamishla, about a mile further to the north. Between these lakes and the sea there is a narrow strip of land; and, according to the arrangement decided upon, the landing was ordered to take place in front of the Salt Lake; a buoy being laid down opposite the centre of this chosen site; and the British were to land to the north, the French to the south, of this mark. The disembarkation was to commence on the morning of the 14th of September.

On the 13th, Eupatoria (which is about forty miles north of Sebastopol) was taken possession of, without opposition—a few soldiers that were there prior to the arrival of the fleets having disappeared. Captain Brook was stationed in that town as governor, with 500 marines under his command. In the night of the 13th—*how* or *why* has never been made known—the buoy laid down opposite the centre of the Salt Lake was removed

to its northern edge; and but for the promptitude and determination of Sir Edmund Lyons, great confusion must have ensued; as the English, though in their right place, would have been on the wrong side of the buoy, and must have come in contact with the French Sir Edmund, in the *Agamemnon*, anxious that all the arrangements should be perfect, was in motion, on the 14th of September, before dawn. He discovered the removal of the buoy, and instantly resolved that the British, still keeping to the north of the French, should land opposite Lake Kamishla, leaving the shores of the Salt Lake to their ally. Some time was unavoidably lost in communicating the change of place to the different commanders; and this enabled the French to be the first to commence disembarking. Much was said at the time, which circumstances certainly did not warrant, about the backwardness of the English, and the superior activity of our allies; all arising out of the latter taking the lead in consequence of the removal of the buoy.

Once commenced, the disembarkation went on briskly; and it produced a scene of extraordinary bustle and excitement. As the men got on shore, they were followed by boats, conveying guns, horses, waggons, cattle and sheep, provisions and beverages, spare ammunition, and all that are comprised within the wants of a soldier, except water and tents. The former, it was expected, could be procured on shore; and the English tents were not landed the first day. As the landing progressed, parties of Cossacks were seen, who set fire to the villages laying in what they supposed would be the route of our troops; and Sir George Brown, advancing too far into the interior, narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. All went well, however. The day was beautifully bright, like a June day in England; and before dark, the whole of the British infantry, some of the artillery, and most of the French troops were landed. As the sun went down the weather changed. Rain fell, and our men had to bivouac (the term applied to the halting and resting of troops when they have no tents to pitch) in the open air, getting what shelter they could. The French had their *tents d'abri*, which are only about three feet high, and capacious enough to shelter three or four men, who divide the materials amongst them when the tent is struck, and carry them on the top of their knapsacks. In these tents the occupants were protected from cold and wet, but nearly choked for want of air. The Turks conveyed their camp equipage in their ships, and were much more comfortable than either of their allies.—"Of all the miserable nights I ever spent in my life," wrote Lieutenant George Shuldham Peard, of the 20th regiment, "this was the most wretched; its discomforts it would be impossible to describe." Whilst there was no shelter for officers or privates, a misty exhalation which arose from the lake, was the cause of much sickness amongst both; and many poor fellows laid down, wrapped in their blankets, to rise no more. Most of the officers remained up the greater part of the night, to see if anything could be done to alleviate the sufferings of the men. The Duke of Cambridge was one of them. His royal highness was on horseback, riding from point to point, till an early hour in the morning: then, dismounting, he wrapped himself in a blanket, and laid down under the shade of an araba. The next day the tents were taken on shore.

The 15th was again a bright, brilliant day; and the men were enabled to dry their clothes and blankets in the beams of the warm sun. Unfortunately sickness prevailed to a great extent; and a number of invalids had to be sent back to the ships.—The disembarkation of men and *matériel*, however, went on; and on the 18th, Lord Raglan, writing to the Duke of Newcastle, informed his grace that all were on shore. In that despatch his lordship spoke in the highest terms of the conduct of the sailors, without whose hearty and cheerful co-operation the disembarkation could not have been effected so expeditiously, and with so little loss. During the time it occupied, the native Tartars had been very friendly with the English soldiers, who had been successful in obtaining what was much wanted—additional means of conveyance. On the first day, General Airey, the Quartermaster-General, at the head of two companies of the 23rd Fusiliers, dispersed a band of Cossacks, and captured seventy or eighty waggons, with their oxen and drivers, the latter gladly transferring their services to the Englsh. His aide-de-camp, Captain Nolan, on the next or subsequent day, fell-in with a convoy of eighty waggons laden with flour, and captured the whole of them. Waggons, camels, and other supplies were obtained from the Tartars, till 350 arabas, or carriages, with their teams and drivers, were attached to the English army. Appropriating, of course, what was captured from the enemy, all that the English took from the natives was scrupulously paid for; the French, on the contrary, first compelled the Tartars to sell them whatever they required, at a price fixed by themselves; but ultimately, we are told, they "helped themselves, without paying, to anything they met with."

During the disembarkation, not the slightest attempt was made by Prince Menschikoff, who then commanded in the Crimea, to disturb the allies, or prevent them from carrying out their designs. He had at that time, according to the lowest estimate given by Russian authorities, 74,200 men of all arms, including Cossacks, at his disposal; and could have greatly harassed the invaders if he had crossed the Alma and the Bulganak, and attacked them when disembarking, or when bivou-

acked. He contented himself, however, with taking up a defensive position on the south bank of the Alma. That river rises from a group of hills to the south-east; and takes a very undulating course till it approaches the coast, when it runs nearly due west. There is a gentle slope towards the right or north bank, which, when the allies landed, was skirted by a broad belt of vineyards and gardens, each enclosed within a low stone wall. Houses were scattered amongst these enclosures; and there was a wooden bridge over the river, connecting the high road from Perekop to Sebastopol, which runs north and south about two miles and a-half from the sea. Close to this bridge, on the east, was the village of Boulionk; and two miles further to the east, that of Almatamak. Both lay near the banks of the river. "The smooth slopes," remarks Mr. Kinglake—

"By which the invader from the north approaches the Alma, are contrasted by the aspect of the country on the opposite bank of the river; for there the field is so broken up into hills and valleys—into steep acclivities and narrow ravines—into jutting knolls and winding gullies—that, with the labour of a Russian army, and the resources of Sebastopol at his command, a skilled engineer would have found it hard to exhaust his contrivances for the defence of a ground having all this strength of feature."

On these hills Prince Menschikoff had taken up his position; and a formidable one it certainly was. As approached from the north, to the left of the allies was the Kourganè hill, which the prince made the chief point in his position, and where his head-quarters were established. It receded from the river "in a south-easterly direction, the ground rising gradually to a commanding height, and terminating in a peak." Mounds spring up around this hill on all sides, forming natural ramparts; and it is difficult of access, the river's bank rising, nearly perpendicularly, to a height of from eight to fifteen feet. To the westward, the bold and almost precipitous range of heights, rising from 350 to 400 feet above the water's level, turns round a great amphitheatre, or wide valley, terminating in an eminence, called Telegraph Height, where stood an unfinished tower, intended for a telegraph. From thence "the descent to the plain is more gradual, the front being about two miles in extent. Across the mouth of this great opening is a lower ridge, varying from 60 to 150 feet in height, and at a distance from the river of from 600 to 800 yards." The range of hills extend beyond the Telegraph Height to the west, terminating in West Cliff, which rises to a height of 350 feet. Looking west, this cliff presents "a bluff buttress of rock to the sea;" whilst, on the north, the side "hangs over the river so steep, that a man going up along the bank of the stream has, at first, almost a sheer precipice on his right hand." This entire range is so abrupt and precipitous, that Prince Menschikoff, whilst he erected batteries on the Telegraph Height, the Kourganè hill, and on several other places, which swept the river, and commanded all the approaches, left the west cliff nearly undefended. To the east, the "principal battery consisted of an earthwork, constructed on the brow of a hill about 600 feet above the river, of the form of two sides of a triangle, with the apex pointed towards the bridge, and the sides covering both sides of the stream." In this battery were thirteen 32-pounder guns; earthwork batteries were also thrown up on the summit of the ridge, containing 24 and 32-pounders, which were supported by field-pieces and howitzers. A breastwork, capable of receiving fourteen heavy guns, but in which only twelve were mounted, rose on a mound, jutting out from the Kourganè hill. It was called the Great Redoubt. Higher up, and more to the westward, was a slighter breastwork, armed with less powerful guns, and called the Lesser Redoubt. The Russian troops were skilfully posted to support the cannonade; and lines of skirmishers were planted on the sides of the hills, armed with two-grooved rifles, capable of carrying a conical ball 700 or 800 yards.

In this position Prince Menschikoff had posted about 40,000 men, and 130 guns; his troops being inferior to the allies in number; but the natural and artificial defences of the entire line gave them, in truth, a great superiority if all the English and French troops had been brought into action. This was not the case: the number absolutely engaged was inferior to that of the Russians. The English and French commanders-in-chief, however, had no reliable information either as to the numbers or the position of the enemy; all they knew was derived from the loose statements of the Tartars, that a considerable force was posted on the Alma heights, which lay in the direct route to Sebastopol; and as the allies must cross those heights, it was determined to lose no time in making the attempt to drive the enemy away. On the morning of the 19th of September, therefore, the order to march was given. It was obeyed cheerfully, though the troops were suffering severely from sickness, and from their exposure to the extremes of wet, cold, and heat, from the time they landed; whilst the daily toil to provide themselves with water had been excessive. When they started the tents were again sent on ship-board, the fleets being ordered to keep along shore, and support the army. On the march, the French were on the right, which is considered the post of honour; the English on the left, which was that of danger, as it was from that side any attack of the enemy must have been made. Nothing was seen, however, of the Russians, till the

Bulganak had been crossed; then a large body of Cossacks was discovered on the hills, which it was soon ascertained was supported by both infantry and artillery in the plain beyond; and it was apprehended that the escort of light cavalry, consisting of the 8th and 10th Hussars, and 13th Light Dragoons, commanded by the Earl of Cardigan, would be in danger. They, however, retired in time, and in excellent order; but the Russian artillery opened its fire upon them, and a horse of the 11th Hussars was killed, its rider's leg being broken. The English horse-artillery galloped up, under Captain Maude, and returned the fire. The Russians soon retired, having lost, says Major (now Colonel) Hamley, of the royal engineers, twenty-five horses and thirty-five men. The English had five or six horses killed, and four men wounded. Soon after, orders were given "to bivouac" on the south side of the Bulganak; and gladly were they obeyed. The men were greatly fatigued, and many had dropped on the march, most of whom were brought in during the night, arabas constantly arriving with them. Those who had kept up through the day, settled down round the fires they kindled, and cooked their rations, and they retired to rest in the open air, wrapped in their great coats and blankets, knowing that the enemy was immediately in front, and that they would have to ford the Alma, and attack them the next morning Few of the officers were able to get any sleep, as they had to consult with the commander-in-chief as to the movements to be made on the following day.

There are various reports as to the arrangements entered into by Lord Raglan and Marshal de St. Arnaud for the attack. But Lord Raglan, in his despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated September 23rd, says—"It was arranged that Marshal de St. Arnaud should assail the enemy's left by crossing the river at its junction with the sea, and immediately above it; and that the remainder of the French divisions should move up the heights in their front, whilst the English army should attack the right and centre of the enemy's position." The "Battle of Alma" was fought as nearly upon this plan as circumstances permitted; but, as it progressed, the commanders and troops had to follow the impulse given by the various exciting and important events of the day, rather than the precise directions of a preconceived plan.

Prince Menschikoff, on his left, immediately opposed to the French, had 13,000 men, and thirty-six guns; and that part of his position had, as before stated, been little attended to, because the Russians believed it was almost inaccessible to men, and quite to the artillery. In the centre and on the right, there were 26,000 men, and eighty-six guns. Silently—"without sound of bugle or beat of drum"—on the morning of the 20th of Sptember, both the English and French armies prepared for the attack upon the strong and formidable position before them. As early as half-past five, General Bosquet, with the second division of the French army, and the Turkish battalions, was marching along the coast to the Alma; an hour and a-half later the main body of that army was in marching order, ready for the word "forward;" and the English had been deploying into a position which would enable them to resist the enemy, should an attempt be made to turn the left flank of the allies. Lord Raglan, regardful of his baggage and provision train, had that moved into a safe position on his right. This accounts for the English not arriving in line till half-past ten o'clock, as Marshal de St. Arnaud remarks in his despatch; but, he adds, "they bravely made up for the delay." It was half-past twelve when the allies reached the right or north bank of the Alma; and Prince Napoleon having, with his division, taken possession of the village of Almatanak, opposite the West Cliff, General Bosquet rode forward, taking a few Spahis as his escort, to reconnoitre the spot where his division had to cross. Assuring himself that his men could make the passage, he gave the word, and they went over in what soldiers call double-quick time. While this was going on, the steamers opened their fire upon the village of Ulukul Akles, in the rear of the heights, where the enemy had stationed four guns. The fire was returned from them; but they were soon silenced, and the gunners took themselves out of reach, the steamers having received no damage. The French, meanwhile, were rapidly crossing the Alma. When they reached the south side, they had (wrote Admiral Hamelin to the French minister of war) "to climb cliffs, almost perpendicular, but where our African soldiers gave extraordinary proofs of agility and daring." The Turks crossed at the same time, and ascended the cliff by narrow paths on the extreme west—of the existence of which Prince Menschikoff appears to have been perfectly unaware—without meeting a single enemy. As soon as the Zouaves reached the summit, they formed in line, and were shortly joined by the artillery attached to the division, which had sustained a galling fire from the Russian cannon when making the ascent. The Russians had concentrated near the unfinished turret, and a fierce interchange of shots took place, and continued for some time. At length the Zouaves, headed by Lieutenant Poitevin and Sergeant-Major Fleury, made a charge; the Russians gave way; and Poitevin and Fleury rushing to the turret, planted the French flag on its walls, receiving, at the time, mortal wounds. Almost immediately the turret was cleared of the enemy, and occupied by the French. At that time the main body of the French army, under Prince Napoleon and General Canrobert,

was gaining the heights; but it advanced slowly under a severe fire. General Canrobert's men pressed forward, whilst many of Prince Napoleon's division were in the valley, or still on the north bank of the Alma.

Prince Menschikoff appears merely to have taken a general view of his position, and determined upon its eligibility. He certainly adopted judicious plans for defending his right and centre, but had (as we have stated) neglected the left, deeming it unapproachable. When he found that the French and Turks were at the summit of the position, and had routed his left wing, he became greatly disturbed. He ordered reinforcements to the spot, and the troops first sent opened a severe fire upon Bosquet's division, which stood alone on the heights; and upon the two other French divisions, which were making their way up to the plateau. Other reinforcements were, at the moment, also ordered, but these the prince almost immediately countermanded. Had those Russian troops advanced, Bosquet's division would in all probability have been cut off. As it was, he was in great danger; and an aide-de-camp was sent to Lord Raglan, to inform him, that, "unless something could be done to support or relieve Bosquet's column, it would be compromised." On Lord Raglan wishing to know what was meant by "compromised," he was told it "would retreat." Up to this time the English had been nearly, though not quite, inactive. They had advanced to the river, and had found the gardens and vineyards despoiled, the houses gutted and in flames, and many trees cut down, and thrown across the road. The second division, supported by the third, was on the right; the light division, supported by the first, on the left; the fourth division and the cavalry being held in reserve to protect the left flank and rear against the Russian cavalry, seen in that direction. It had been arranged that the English were not to make a direct assault till the French had established themselves on the left; and as the enemy opened upon them a heavy fire of artillery and rifles, they were ordered to lie down. Major Norcott, with the left wing of the 2nd battalion of the rifle brigade, had driven the Russians out of some enclosures, from whence they annoyed the light division; but this was all that was done. The men were getting very impatient when Lord Raglan received the French aide-de-camp, and the command was given immediately to advance. The two leading divisions deployed into line on the instant; and the supporting divisions followed the movement.

"Hardly had this taken place, when the village of Bourliouk" [which was immediately opposite the centre] "was fired by the enemy at all points, creating a continuous blaze for 300 yards, obscuring their position, and rendering a passage through it impracticable. Two regiments of Brigadier-General Adams's brigade, part of Sir de Lacey Evans's division, had, in consequence, to pass the river under a sharp fire; whilst his first brigade, under Major-General Pennefather, and the remaining regiments of Brigadier-General Adams, crossed to the left of the conflagration, opposed by the enemy's artillery from the heights above, and pressed on towards the right of their position with the utmost gallantry and steadiness."

Lord Raglan and his staff crossed with Brigadier Pennefather's division, and took up their position on an eminence a little to the east of the main road, where shot and bullets flew round them in all directions. The light division effected the passage in its immediate front; but it had to advance under great disadvantages. The men gallantly persevered, however; whilst the first division, under his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, crossed; the 7th, 23rd, and 33rd regiments, forming Codrington's brigade, being in front; and, under a fire which brought down great numbers of them, they dashed up the slope to the Great Redoubt, driving the enemy before them. The Russians were removing the guns—the English leaped in to prevent them; but just then a fresh body of troops, sent by Prince Menschikoff, rushed down the hill, and, being at first mistaken by the English for a corps of their allies, they ceased firing. On finding the mistake, the fighting was resumed, Brigadier Pennefather's brigade advancing in support. Codrington's brigade, however, was so hardly pressed that it was obliged to retire.—By this time the Duke of Cambridge had crossed the river, and formed his men into line. He moved them up in support, "and a brilliant advance of the brigade of foot-guards, under Major-General Bentinck, drove the enemy back, and secured the final possession of the work."—During this struggle, Sir George Brown, who led the light division, fell, with his horse, in front of the battery: he was soon up again, and called to the men immediately behind him—"23rd, I'm all right; be sure I'll remember this day."

The capture of this redoubt did not secure the victory. The Russians still kept up a rapid fire from their centre, the second division and the Highlanders being especially exposed to it. The 55th, 30th, and 95th regiments, led by Brigadier-General Pennefather, were in the thickest of the fight, and they never drew back. The Guards also made a steady advance on the right, and the Highlanders on the left; Lieutenant-General England bringing his division to the immediate support of the troops in advance; Lieutenant-General Sir George Cathcart being as actively engaged on the left. All were passing on to the Causeway Battery, amidst a literal tornado of round and grape-shot, and a no less fierce discharge of musketry. As our men pressed on, a mass of Russian infantry was seen descending from

the back heights towards the battery. Lord Raglan was in a position to see the advance, and the movement which promised to check it; and he asked if it were not possible to bring up a couple of guns to bear on those masses? Captain Dickson, R.A., undertook to move up two pieces of artillery. There was some delay, owing to a horse being shot: but at length the guns were brought successively into action by Captain Turner; their fire took the Russian centre in reverse; at the same time, the French had succeeded in establishing themselves on the heights, and drove back the troops which Menschikoff had sent to reinforce his left. The result was apparent in the rapid breaking up of the enemy, which was soon in full retreat; Pennefather's brigade, of the second division, Codrington's, of the light division, and the Guards, forming in line on the ground they had so gallantly won. Lord Raglan saw the movement; and he was desirous that Sir Richard England's division, which had been only partially engaged, and the cavalry, which, owing to the nature of the ground, had not been employed at all, should pursue the flying foe, aided by a part of the French forces. General Airey conveyed to General Martimprey, the chief of the French staff, Lord Raglan's wish; but he was told it was impossible for any part of our allies to move forward that day. In the meantime the Russians were in full retreat to the Katcha. They were enabled to carry off their artillery, except one gun and one howitzer, taken by the English, and a gun taken by the French: but they left upwards of 1,000 of their wounded on the field of battle; and, on their route, threw away knapsacks, muskets, everything that encumbered them and impeded their retreat. One division of 7,000, or 8,000 men took the road to the east, into the interior of the country; the other, upwards of 20,000 in number—"officers, men, horses, guns, tumbrils, carts laden with stores, carts laden with the wounded"—all pressed into a gorge, or deep hollow, behind the hills, from which there was only one narrow outlet—the road to Sebastopol, which was about fourteen miles distant. If pursued, half the men might have been destroyed in this gorge. They, however, got to the Katcha; and at the village they broke into the houses, and either carried off or destroyed their contents. When they crossed the bridge, they left the cannon behind; and were become so utterly demoralised and unruly, that the commanders were glad to get to Sebastopol as quickly as possible, leaving the cannon, which men were sent to secure immediately after their arrival. These flying troops left at least 5,000 muskets alm[illegible]0,000 knapsacks on the field, besides what they In the ce[illegible]ay in their retreat. Prince Menschikoff's and eight[illegible]lso fell into the hands of the French. It contained bugle or b[illegible] *porte-feuille*, in which was found a letter addressed to the emperor, informing his majesty of the steps taken to defend the heights of the Alma; and asserting that he could hold his position for three weeks against 100,000 men. He yielded it in three hours to about half that number. His loss in killed and wounded was officially stated to be 5,709; the English made 150 unwounded, and 1,000 wounded prisoners; the French took 500 prisoners. Two generals were taken by the English, and one by the French.

The French say that the number of their killed and wounded was 1,339. The English lost twenty-five officers, nineteen sergeants, and 318 rank and file killed: the number of wounded was—eighty-one officers, 102 sergeants, and 1,438 rank and file: nineteen were missing, and were supposed to have perished in the fire of Bourliouk: thus 2,002 were put *hors de combat.* The Turks lost 230 killed and wounded. In the engagement, Lord Raglan said, "the conduct of the troops was admirable." "I do not," he added, "go beyond the truth in saying that they merit the highest commendation." Marshal de St. Arnaud was also warm in their praise. "The English army," he wrote in his despatch, "met with a most vigorous and firmly organised resistance. The combat which took place was most desperate, and reflects the highest honour on our brave allies." Of the French, Lord Raglan remarked, that, "under the guidance of their distinguished commander, Marshal de St. Arnaud, they manifested the utmost gallantry, the greatest ardour for the attack, and the high military qualities for which they are so famed."

Lord Raglan had anxiously watched the last movements of the battle and the retreat of the Russians, which took place about 4 P.M.. When the fighting was over, he rode along the English line, and was received with the loudest and heartiest cheers. He crossed the river, to the village of Bourliouk, where the half-burnt buildings had given shelter to many of the wounded, officers and others. His lordship passed some time amongst them, seeing that everything possible was done for their relief. He then returned to the heights, where the allies bivouacked on the ground thy had won. The French were on Telegraph Height; the English in the centre; and Lord Raglan's head-quarters were established adjacent to the high road to Sebastopol; a little marquee being put up for his lordship. It was a cold, cheerless evening. The men were supplied with their rations of meat, bread, and rum, as soon as the orders were given to bivouac; and they immediately set about gathering weeds, nettles, and grass, and breaking-up the empty casks to kindle fires, at once to cook their dinners, and to warm themselves. Then they wrapped themselves up in their great coats and blankets, and laid down to seek repose, having previously re-

ceived directions from their officers for the following day. Just as Lord Raglan was sitting down to dinner, Colonel Torrens arrived with some troops, which had been left at Kamishlu, to clear the beach where the English had landed; and who were sorry they did not reach the Alma in time for the battle. During the night many of the stragglers who had been left on the march came in; most of them belonging to the fourth division. Some arrived walking; some were brought in arabas, which continued to arrive for several hours.

Morning approached before all was still; and when it broke, the sight which was presented can only be imagined by those who have seen a field of battle. The ground was covered with the dead; and, unfortunately, there were many Russian and English wounded—those who were not insensible writhing with pain. The French had removed all their wounded on board the ships the previous evening. Great activity was displayed in conveying the English, and also the Russians whom it was not possible to accommodate on shore, to the steamers appointed to receive them; and they were taken to Scutari; a portion of the barracks there having been converted into an hospital. Whilst many men were employed in attending to the helpless, more were engaged in burying the dead. The British and French took part in this labour; and the former are said to have placed the bodies of 1,200 Russians in the earth. Whilst the men were thus employed, the officers were busily examining the position from which the enemy had been driven. This inspection caused all who shared in it to be astonished at the victory that had been won. If the English and French had been the defenders, and the Russians the assailants, it was the universal opinion that the result would have been decidedly different. A general admiration was expressed at the conduct of the British. Whilst the agility of the nimble Zouaves, it was admitted, was requisite to scale the sides of the deep ravines, and the rocky precipices, by which they had gained the top of the West Cliff—even the French officers expressed doubts whether their men could have carried the position on the left. General Canrobert said, if he could command a corps of English troops for three short weeks, he should die happy: and one of the Russian generals taken prisoner by the English, told Lord Raglan, that they came to fight men, not devils, as the red-coats seemed to be.

On the 21st and the 22nd the troops were chiefly occupied in the burial of the dead, and the relief and removal of the wounded. At Sebastopol, the Russians, anticipating an immediate attack, were preparing for the defence of that place. On the 21st, they moored seven vessels of war across the entrance of the fort, from north to south; plugged them, and sank them in that position, with all their guns and stores on board; time, as they anticipated, not allowing for their removal. Thus the entrance of the port was effectively blocked up; and it was rendered impossible for the allied fleets to co-operate in the attack on the town, though they might bombard the outer forts. The position of the other vessels was altered, so as to bring their broadsides to bear on the north side of the harbour, where it was supposed the attack would be made; and new batteries on both sides of the port were speedily constructed, defending the entrance and the line of coast.

The allies—working eagerly and actively on the two days—were enabled to bury their own dead, and to remove their wounded; but more than 600 Russians still remained, who had been as carefully tended by the English surgeons as if they had been their own countrymen. One of these benevolent medical men, Dr. Thomson, of the 44th, and his servant, remained with them. A Russian officer, a prisoner, charged his fellow-countrymen to be obedient to that gentleman; and General Ertevart sent a notice to the inhabitants of the nearest Tartar village, informing them that the wounded Russians were left under their care. For four days, the two Englishmen, aided by a few Tartars, attended to the wants of these men, upwards of sixty of whom died and were buried in one day. On the 27th of September, two English vessels arrived, and took on board 340 of the Russians, to convey them to Odessa. All would have been embarked, under the protection of Captain Lushington and a few marines; but a large body of Cossacks came down to the coast, who would have made prisoners of all the English, notwithstanding the work of humanity in which they were engaged, if they had not embarked. They were obliged, therefore, to go on board one of the ships, leaving more than 200 wounded Russians to their fate. As they were in the hands of subjects of the emperor, it is to be hoped they were properly cared for.

It was on the evening of the 22nd of September that the troops had orders to prepare for the march towards Sebastopol on the following morning. Early on the 23rd, therefore, the drums and trumpets gave note of preparation; and at six o'clock the march was commenced. Marshal de St. Arnaud was too unwell to accompany the French troops. He was suffering from cancer, and went on board the *Berthollet.* General Canrobert directed the movements of our allies. When two miles had been passed over, the command to "halt" reverberated through the English lines: it was to permit two divisions of the French army to pass across their front to the left. As they passed, there was, wrote the correspondent of the *Morning Herald*—

"Such a scene of fraternisation as has seldom been

witnessed. Each army cheered until the hills echoed for miles; and the enthusiasm reached an almost ungovernable pitch. French and English privates rushed from the ranks, embracing and shaking hands; gradually the officers did the same; generals took off their cocked hats, and waved them; while shakos went into the air by hundreds in all directions. This fervour of friendship lasted, with more or less spirit, for about ten minutes; when the French having taken their place on the left, the whole army again moved forward."

The allies that day proceeded no further than Katcha. There from 7,000 to 8,000 French troops joined that army, having just arrived from France; and they were landed at the mouth of the Katcha river, as were the Scots' Greys and the 57th foot, who came from Varna. The new arrivals were heartily welcomed; they helped to make up the losses inflicted by battle and disease. It was a pleasant halt in the blooming valley of the Katcha; and when the men started again the next morning, they were greatly refreshed. That day they marched to the village of Balbec; and there, on the morning of the 25th, a council of war was held, which Marshal de St. Arnaud, though still suffering greatly, landed from the *Berthollet* to attend. There the question was considered—on which side shall Sebastopol be attacked? The consultation led to a departure from the original plan of attack, which was, to make it from the north side of the bay; and it was resolved to alter the route, from the direct line to the south, to the south-east; to occupy the harbour of Balaklava and the Bay of Kamiesch; and to invest Sebastopol on the south. While the generals were consulting, the troops were under arms; and no sooner was the resolution taken, than the famous "flank march" commenced, which has been characterised as "one of the boldest on record." The route was through a country thickly wooded, for the most part destitute of roads; and, where they existed, the men could only march four deep. No one was acquainted with the route; and the English army was guided by a Russian deserter, who might have led them into great difficulties. But the men pushed gallantly on, the English leading, the French and Turks marching in the rear. Lord Raglan and his staff were foremost; and, after pushing through woods and tangled bushes for three or four hours, his lordship, and the officers accompanying him, suddenly debouched on an open plateau, with a good road across it, which was afterwards known to lead to Mackenzie's Farm. Here Lord Raglan was surprised at discovering a strong Russian force, marching at right angles with the allied army. It was afterwards ascertained that Prince Menschikoff, anticipating an attack on Sebastopol from the north, and fearing that the allies might be able to intercept reinforcements and supplies expected from Perekop, resolved to take part of his force to Baktchi-serai and Simpheropol; from whence he hoped to operate on the rear of the allied forces, and compel them to raise the siege. It was the rear-guard of the Russian army making this movement that was in sight. Lord Raglan immediately rode back to order up cavalry and guns. The Scots' Greys and Captain Maude's troop of horse-artillery appeared on the scene before the Russians were out of sight. Some infantry also came up; and a short skirmish ensued with the hindmost of the Russians, who made no stand, but got off as quickly as possible, losing about thirty killed, and as many wounded and prisoners. They left one tumbril, with 25,000 rounds of rifle cartridges, which, as they would not fit the English guns, were blown up. About fifty arabas, laden with baggage and flour, and a military chest containing money, were also taken. The baggage was valuable; and the captors were well pleased with their booty.

That night the English bivouacked on the banks of the Tchernaya; the French and Turks encamped on the heights in the vicinity of Mackenzie's Farm. The next day (the 26th of September) the march to Balaklava was completed. The town, and a small castle, erected many years previously by the Genoese, on a ridge of rock running at the back of the town, were taken possession of; and it was found that the fleet had anticipated the movement of the army, Sir E. Lyons having been informed of the "flank march" by Lieutenant Maxse, of the *Agamemnon*, who left Lord Raglan on the night of the 25th. When the troops entered the town, the *Agamemnon* was anchored in the harbour. Here was to be the base of the siege operations; and whilst the harbour was appropriated to the English ships, the French fleet took possession of Kamiesch Bay. On the day the allies arrived at Balaklava, Marshal de St. Arnaud resigned his command to General Canrobert, and returned to the *Berthollet*: he died on board that ship on the 29th of September. His remains were taken to France, and landed on the 15th of October. They were forwarded by rail to Paris, where they arrived at 8 A.M. on the 16th; and that day they were interred, with great pomp, in the chapel of the Invalides.

The English were pleased with their position at Balaklava; "principally," says the correspondent of the *Herald*, "because all the grounds around abounded with fruit and vegetables of every description." The 27th and 28th were spent in reconnoitring, and making themselves acquainted with the aspect of the country. On the 29th the landing of the siege artillery commenced; and the allies were occupied for the three following weeks in preparations for the bombardment of Sebastopol. Batteries had to be erected opposite

the principal forts, and trenches dug for the protection of the besiegers, who spread themselves across the Chersonese, in the rear of the town; the French being on the left, the English on the right. During this time, the Russians were employed in annoying the allies by repeated discharges of artillery, and strengthening their defences; they threw up heavy earthworks round the principal forts, and dug a long and deep trench beyond their crenelated wall.

At a council of war held at the English headquarters on the 15th of October, it was determined that the bombardment should commence on the 17th, the English and French fleets attacking the forts at the mouth of the harbour, while the batteries assailed the defences on the south of the town. Accordingly, at 6 A.M. on the day appointed, the batteries opened their fire, which was returned from the town; and at twelve the attack on the forts commenced. The French silenced the Quarantine Fort which they attacked, and injured considerably the Artillery Battery. The English ships silenced, one by one, the guns in the Wasp Fort; but the Russians were well provided with artillery, for they immediately replaced them with others. There was an explosion in Fort Constantine about two o'clock, by which several of its guns were silenced, and its walls greatly damaged. Soon after the Wasp and St. Catharine batteries commenced firing with red-hot shot; two of the vessels, the *Albion* and *Arethusa*, were several times on fire; and as the French withdrew after the Quarantine Fort ceased firing, Sir E. Lyons soon after gave the signal to retire; several of the ships having received as much injury as was inflicted on the forts. By land, the French batteries, erected too near the enemy's works, were silenced by half-past nine o'clock, the magazine of a 10-gun battery having exploded, killing many men, and seriously injuring the battery itself. The Russians continued occasionally to discharge shot and shell at these works; and one of their shells dropped into and exploded another magazine, in which were about twenty tons of powder and sixteen guns. The latter were all whirled into the air; and 180 men, it is said, were killed. The English kept up their fire till darkness had set in; and one of their shells, about the middle of the day, fell into the magazine of the Great Redan, which exploded, and that fort was nearly silenced for the day. But the Malakoff and the earthworks were also considerably injured; and the total loss inflicted on the enemy was allowed, by Prince Menschikoff himself, to be severe; but no details were ever published. The English and French suffered as much, or more. The batteries of the latter were, as we have seen, silenced early in the day; and the English, though they maintained a destructive fire till darkness set in, were unable to keep it up during the night; the Russians were therefore enabled to repair the damage done to their works, which they did so effectively, that, when morning dawned, the massive walls of Sebastopol appeared to be nearly uninjured.

The result of this day's bombardment convinced the allied commanders that Sebastopol was not to be taken so easily as had been imagined. The position, in fact, as Lord Raglan wrote in one of his despatches, was "not that of a fortress, but rather that of an army in an intrenched camp, on very strong ground," with "an apparently unlimited number of heavy guns, amply provided with gunners and ammunition." There was, in that position, an army nearly as numerous as the assailants; whilst Prince Menschikoff had a large force outside the walls, and the road to Perekop was open for reinforcements and supplies. Noways disheartened, however, the allies set to work to repair the losses sustained on the 17th of October. On the 19th, the French batteries were enabled to resume their fire; and the siege operations were carried on uninterruptedly till the attack made on the English position on the 25th. During those few days, the allies still further ascertained the difficulties of their position: the English especially suffered from the want of a sufficient number of men to work the guns, and bring a supply of ammunition from their ships. But for the assistance rendered by the sailors, they would not have been able to maintain their fire during the day: as it was, it ceased at night; whilst the enemy, with the resources of the fleet and arsenal at command, was enabled every night to repair the disasters of the day.

On the 20th of October, there were movements on the right bank of the Tchernaya which indicated a design on the part of the enemy to become the assailants. It was afterwards ascertained that General Liprandi had arrived with 30,000 men—the force which had so recently evacuated the Danubian principalities; and it was resolved to attack the allied positions from the Tchernaya. On that side the English were posted; and the Russian commanders, having ascertained their position, felt certain that they could drive them from it, and gain possession of Balaklava by a sudden attack. A plain extends from Balaklava to the heights on which the right of the English force, which was carrying on the bombardment of Sebastopol, was posted. This plain was crossed to the north-east of Balaklava by a low undulating ridge, extending from the village of Kamara to the heights on which the batteries were erected; the village of Kadekoi lying to the west, nearly in a direct north line from the head of the harbour. On this ridge four small redoubts had been hastily constructed, which were garrisoned by Turkish troops, no other force being at Lord Raglan's disposal

for their occupation. The 93rd Highlanders was the only British regiment in the plain, with the exception of a part of an invalid battalion, and a battery of artillery belonging to the third division. On the heights, skirting the harbour, 1,500 marines were placed, whom Major Dundas had sent on shore. The command had been given to Major-General Sir Colin Campbell.

The enemy commenced operations before daylight on the 25th of October; and when the morning began to break, crossed the Tchernaya, debouched into the plain, and opened a fire on the redoubts Nos. 1, 2, and 3. The attacking force consisted of eighteen or nineteen battalions of infantry, from thirty to forty guns, and a large body of cavalry; and the main body was covered with a cloud of skirmishers. The Turks were unable to make an effective resistance, there being only seven guns in the three redoubts, which were evacuated in a very short time by the defenders; as was the redoubt No. 4, in which no cannon were mounted. Whilst this was passing, the 93rd Highlanders had been drawn up on a piece of undulating ground between battery No. 4 and the army; and Lord Raglan had ordered the first and fourth divisions, under the Duke of Cambridge and Sir George Cathcart, to withdraw from before Sebastopol, and march down into the plain. The enemy, having taken the redoubts, made a move towards the 93rd Highlanders, which was supported by the invalid corps, under Lieutenant-Colonel Daveney; and as the Turks left the redoubt, they formed on the Highlanders' flanks. The round shot and shell falling amongst the Highlanders, caused Sir Colin Campbell to order them to retire a few paces behind the crest of the hill. Then the enemy's cavalry—which had been effectively fired upon by the marines stationed in the batteries on the heights — divided into two bodies. One, about 400 in number, turning to the left, charged the brave Scotsmen, who "immediately advanced to the crest of the hill, and opened their fire, which forced the Russian cavalry to give way," still keeping to their left. They made for the right flank of the Highlanders, and the Turks stationed there took to flight when they saw the cavalry advance. The latter made an attempt to turn that flank of the regiment; but "the grenadiers wheeled up and fired upon the enemy, which manœuvre completely discomfited them."

While these events were passing in one direction, others much more stirring took place in another. The second, and by far the most numerous body of Russian cavalry, consisting of at least 1,000 men, keeping to their right, rode towards the spot where the Scots' Greys and Inniskillin dragoons were stationed, under the command of Brigadier-General Scarlett. As they came on, the length of the Russian line was at least double that of the British; but the latter did not wait to receive the charge. The trumpet sounded, and they dashed into the centre of the enemy. They broke that line in an instant; but there was a second behind, which they also charged, driving horses and men before them, and scattering them on each side by the impetuosity of their movement; whilst many a Russian was struck down by their sabres. Soon they were seen at the rear of the enemy, having made, says Lord Raglan, "one of the most successful charges he ever witnessed." They were gallantly supported by the 1st Royals, and the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards; who, seeing the Russians attempting to rally and surround their comrades, suddenly charged them in one massive line. The enemy broke and retreated; infantry and cavalry retiring to the high road beyond the ridge and the redoubts. The Russian artillery prevented the British cavalry from pursuing them, and they soon began to re-form their line, with artillery in front and on their flanks.

It was about ten o'clock when the first and fourth divisions descended from the heights into the plain. The former was sent by Lord Raglan to protect Balaklava; the other remained on the plain, ready for action. Soon after General Canrobert arrived, followed by several corps of Chasseurs de Vincennes and Chasseurs d'Afrique; and took up a position in support of the fourth division. Lord Raglan then sent an order to Earl Lucan, "to take advantage of any opportunity to recover the heights." An opportunity did not present itself; but soon after, observing certain movements in the redoubts 1 and 2, indicating that the enemy was about to remove the guns from those redoubts (which stood nearest to Kamara), the Earl of Lucan was "ordered to advance rapidly to the front, follow the enemy, and try to prevent them from carrying away the guns." General Airey's aide-de-camp, Captain Nolan, was despatched with this order; and, but for the earnestness—indeed haughtiness—with which he enforced its observance, it is probable it would not have been obeyed; for the danger was imminent; the advantages, even if successful, slight and inconsiderable. The terms of the order, and the language of Captain Nolan, admitted, however, of only one course; and though Earl Lucan and Earl Cardigan both saw the enterprise in the same light, the word was given. The light brigade—consisting of the 4th and 13th Light Dragoons, the 17th Lancers, and the 8th and 11th Hussars (the five corps not numbering 700 men)—led by Earl Cardigan, advanced towards the enemy, then concealed by the ridge of hills on the eastern side of the Woronzoff road. The advance was slow till the road was crossed, and the heights gained. Then the little body, which had an army in position to encounter, put their horses to a fast trot, Captain Nolan, who accompanied them, being foremost. He

was the first that fell, receiving a mortal wound from the fragment of a shell. The advance was made in two lines; the 13th Light Dragoons and the 17th Lancers forming the first, the 4th Light Dragoons and 11th Hussars the second, and the 8th Hussars were in the rear. As they neared the enemy, the trot was changed to a gallop; and, under the most fearful fire from infantry and artillery, the gallant heroes dashed on, reaching the guns and sabring all the gunners who stood to them, and breaking a column of Russian infantry, scattering them like chaff. Finding that it was useless to attempt to carry off the guns, they prepared to return, when a much larger body of Russian cavalry rode up, and attacked their left flank. Colonel Shewell, who kept his 8th Hussars in the place first assigned them, called to his men to "charge," which they did most effectually, cutting their way through, though with great loss. The fighting was now clear of the guns; British and Russians were mixed together in one fearful *mêlée;* and then those Russian gunners who had crept under their guns, or hid themselves in ammunition carts, to get clear of the British, returned to the fight, and absolutely opened a cannonade upon the mixed mass of cavalry, "mingling friend and foe," says the correspondent of the *Times*, "in one common ruin." The heavy brigade now, providentially, came up to cover the retreat; and the Chasseurs d'Afrique made a brilliant charge on the guns of the Russian right, sabring the gunners and stabbing the horses; but they were compelled to let the cannon remain. By this time, the remains of the light brigade—scarcely 200 officers and privates, many of whom had lost their horses—were in safety, and fighting ceased; the enemy, though so superior in numbers, making no movement in advance.—Unfortunately, while the fighting was going on, under the impression that the Russians would succeed in their object, and gain Balaklava, an order was given to clear the harbour; and the ships, transports, and other vessels put to sea; and many of them were anchored off the coast, where they remained till the storm of November drove them on the rocks.

The French, in this engagement, lost 100 men and officers, killed and wounded; the English had about 100 infantry and artillery, and 436 cavalry, put *hors de combat:* the Turks lost 300 killed or prisoners. The Russian loss is supposed to have been between 500 and 600. As to the results of the battle, the military glory was all with the English and the French; the light cavalry charge—though, as a French officer observed, it was not war—not fair fighting, but rushing to certain death—was still one of the most brilliant exploits ever performed—"a triumph of courage and discipline," an eye-witness observes, "to which history affords no parallel." The solid advantages remained with the Russians; and Liprandi claimed a complete victory for them. He carried off seven guns, which were taken that night into Sebastopol; and there was great rejoicing when they arrived. The most serious loss to the British was that of the Woronzoff road. After the battle, Lord Raglan consulted with his generals, General Canrobert, and several French officers: they went together, and examined the opposing force, which occupied Kamara, Tchourgouna, and the heights abutting from the former village. The conclusion arrived at was, that, as "the means of defending the extensive position, which had been held by the Turkish troops in the morning, had proved wholly inadequate," the lower range of heights should be abandoned, and the troops which had occupied that position concentrated "immediately in front of the narrow valley leading into Balaklava, and upon the precipitous height to the right; thus affording a narrow line of defence."

This battle proved that sufficient care had not been taken to protect the different points of the British position. Such was especially the case with respect to the plateau held by the first and second divisions, to the north of the Woronzoff road, and the two roads leading up from the valley of Inkermann. The want of defences here had been pointed out by both the Duke of Cambridge and Sir De Lacey Evans; and as the Russians were aware of it, they determined to take advantage of the neglect. On the afternoon of the 26th of October, a strong force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery was seen to leave Sebastopol, pass by the Inkermann valley, ascend the hills in the rear of the second division, and reach the crest of an eminence called "Shell Hill," which commanded the camp. The outpickets, not more than 100 men of the 30th and 49th regiments, though surprised at the sight of the enemy's troops, gained a turn in the road, and there kept up a fire upon the Russians, and held them at bay till the second division was roused and under arms. Then the gallant fellows retired; the officers in command, Captains Bayley and Atcherley, of the 36th, and Lieutenant Conolly, of the 49th regiments, being severely wounded; as were thirty-five privates, five being left dead. The assailants got their guns upon Shell Hill; but the artillery of the second division was brought to bear upon them; and it was quickly supported by a battery under Lieutenant Dacres, which the Duke of Cambridge, as soon as he heard the cannonading, brought up with the brigade of Guards, which his royal highness posted in advance on the right, for the purpose of securing that flank. The artillery was served with the utmost energy; and, in half-an-hour, the enemy was driven from that position.

Our batteries were then directed, with equal accuracy and vigour, upon the enemy's column, which (exposed also, to the close fire of the British advanced infantry)

soon fell into complete disorder and flight. They were literally chased, by the 30th and 95th regiments, over the ridges, and down towards the head of Sebastopol Bay; and so eager was the pursuit, that it was with difficulty Major-General Pennefather recalled the men, who were gallantly led by Majors Mauleverer, Chapman, Eman, and Hume.

The Russians were as gallantly pursued and defeated, towards the right, by four companies of the 41st, led by Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. P. Herbert. This affair is often called "The first Battle of Inkermann." In it 1,200 men defeated a force of upwards of 6,000.

The bombardment of Sebastopol was continued at intervals, and abundantly replied to by the Russians. Sorties and skirmishes also took place now and then; but, although the Russians were always beaten back, and a good many people were killed on both sides, nothing decisive came of these contests. The enemy, however, continued to boast of the victory of Balaklava; and as fresh reinforcements were received, and the two Russian grand dukes, Nicholas and Michael, had arrived at Sebastopol, Prince Menschikoff resolved that another desperate effort should be made to crush the enemy; which, he had assured the emperor a few weeks previously, should "perish by the sword, or be driven into the sea." The princes arrived on the 3rd of November; and the Russian forces, which had been greatly reinforced in the valley of the Tchernaya, were observed, that day and the 4th, to be in an unusual state of commotion within Sebastopol. The arrival of troops, and the demonstrations in the valley, had not been unobserved: and, in consequence, Lord Raglan had placed as strong a force as he could spare upon the precipitous ridge in that direction; a strong redoubt had been thrown up in front of the gorge leading into Balaklava; and a battery to the left of the redoubt was manned by a naval battalion formed of soldiers from the fleet. A battery had also been placed on the slope of the hill over Inkermann—a position, the insecurity of which Sir De Lacey Evans had repeatedly pointed out to the commanders-in-chief. No guns had been placed in this battery, as Sir De Lacey was of opinion, that to place guns in such a position, without other works to support them, would only invite attack.

On the night of the 4th of November, troops were in motion in Sebastopol: and the morning of the 5th was ushered in by the tolling of church bells, which was heard in the allied camp; and the men in the trenches nearest the city heard voices chanting hymns; prayers were then being offered up in the churches by the inhabitants, for the success of the Russian arms in the attack upon the enemy, which was just commencing. And it was well planned. The night had been a dismal one; the morning was extremely dark, with drizzling rain; and the Russians—who had selected the heights of Inkermann, the "neglected spot," for the attack—advanced under cover of the darkness, "creeping up the rugged sides of the heights over the valley of Inkermann, on the undefended flank of the second division." A French *corps d'armée*, under General Bosquet, overlooked the Woronzoff road and the valley of Balaklava; and a few shots fired before dawn roused the attention of the French general, who expected the enemy was about to attack his position; and this prevented his moving for some time. The Russians continued to creep silently up the heights; and a few unarmed men, seen about 6 A.M. by the advanced picket of the second division, were the first signs of life in that direction. They were taken for deserters. The officer in command, and the few men with him, went forward to receive them: they were instantly surrounded by large bodies of men, who had lain concealed, and nearly all were taken prisoners without firing a shot. Providentially two or three (the entire number was about thirty) escaped, and alarmed the next pickets, which "behaved with admirable gallantry, defending the ground foot by foot against the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, until the second division, under Major-General Pennefather" (who had taken the command in consequence of the illness of Sir De Lacey Evans), "which had immediately been got under arms, was, with its field-guns, placed in position." Major-General Codrington, who had been visiting his outposts before dawn, heard the firing between the pickets and the enemy, and he immediately rode back to the camp, and summoned his men. The light division and the brigade of Guards, under the Duke of Cambridge, were also brought to the spot: soon after the fourth division advanced, and took up a position on the front and right of the attack; the third division was formed in reserve; two battalions of French infantry were also sent by General Bosquet, which joined the English on the right.

All this time the Russians—having the advantage of a thick brushwood, and, for some time, of a darkness which concealed all their movements when not revealed by the flash of artillery—continued to advance, preceded by a vast cloud of skirmishers. They brought numerous batteries to the front and left of the second division; placed additional batteries to the left of the English position; and kept up a tremendous fire of shot, shell, and grape from ninety pieces of cannon. The guns in the Russian ships in the harbour were also brought to bear on the English; and a fire was kept up from them, as well as from the cannon on the walls of the town. As the pickets fell back, the Russians planted cannon on Shell Hill, which greatly annoyed the British; and their dense columns of infantry, under this fire, pushed forward for a short time unchecked. They had previously been supplied with large quantities of brandy,

and fought with a desperation seldom witnessed. But they were met most heroically by the British. By seven o'clock, Lord Raglan, accompanied by Sir John Burgoyne, Brigadier-General Strangeways, and several aides-de-camp, was in the field, which he never left till the enemy was in full retreat, being frequently in the midst of the fire. For eight hours the fighting continued; one scene of contest being the battery on the edge of the slope opposite the ruins of Inkermann: it was occupied by the Russians, who were driven out by the Guards. They soon returned in great numbers; and the brigade, after a fierce hand-to-hand combat, which reminds us of the days of chivalry, was, in its turn, obliged to retire. Joined by a wing of the 20th regiment of the fourth division, it returned to the attack, retook the redoubt, and held it against repeated attempts at dislodgment. While the fighting was going on upon the heights, Sir George Cathcart made a movement into the valley, with a few companies of the 68th regiment, and took the enemy in flank. At first he gained ground; but he soon discovered that the heights were all occupied by the Russians, and that he was entangled in the midst of a superior force. While attempting to withdraw his men from the dangerous position in which they were placed, he received a wound that proved mortal; and Brigadier-General Torrens, who took the command, was also seriously wounded.

In the front, and on the right, the battle raged with great fury. It was a fierce struggle, all strategy being disregarded. "Colonels of regiments led on small parties, and fought like subalterns, captains like privates. Once engaged, every man was his own general. The enemy was in front, advancing, and must be driven back. The tide of battle ebbed and flowed, not in wide waves, but in broken, tumultuous billows." Thus it continued for several hours: and the result might have been different but for the resolution of General Bosquet to leave his own position—which was threatened by General Liprandi; whilst Generals Dannenberg and Soimonoff, just arrived from Moldavia, directed the movements against the British—and assist his allies. He deemed the demonstration of Liprandi a feint, and he was right; for no attack was made except upon the British; and to that point fresh bodies of Russians continued to press. It was a critical moment when the French general, at the head of the 3rd regiment of Zouaves, the Algerine riflemen, the 6th and 7th of the line, and two troops of horse-artillery, marched to the aid of the English. At the same time, Lord Raglan ordered up two more 18-pounders in support of the English artillery already engaged. The French marched to the battery, so long the scene of contention, and where a large Russian force had just arrived, and was engaged with the Guards and the portion of the 20th regiment which had joined them. The French went into action with cheers, and cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" Three charges with the bayonet were made; "and it was only after the third that the enemy abandoned the ground, which was covered with his dead and wounded." The two 18-pounders simultaneously opened their fire on Shell Hill, and soon silenced the enemy's guns. At the same time, General Soimonoff, with a large body of infantry and artillery, attempted to turn the English right flank; and a body of men, about 5,000 strong, made a sortie from the town on the left of the French trenches, and actually got into two of the batteries. They were driven out with great loss; and a small body of marines, acting with the first brigade of the light division, under General Codrington, forced the Russians under Soimonoff, first to recoil and then to retreat.

And so "the battle continued with unabated vigour, and with no positive result, till the afternoon, when the symptoms of giving way first became apparent; and shortly after, although the fire did not cease, the retreat became general, and heavy masses were observed retiring over the bridge of Inkermann, and ascending the opposite heights." The artillery covered the retreat of the foiled and broken battalions of infantry; and the latter once in safety, the firing ceased, and the guns were withdrawn. "Before nightfall not a remnant of the mighty host, which had that morning been led to the battle, could be seen." It was one of the most wonderful engagements on record. There were never more than 8,000 English engaged; and for several hours they resisted the attack of 60,000 Russians. The French, under Bosquet, amounted to about 6,000: thus 14,000 men resisted and repulsed more than four times their number. The casualties of the enemy, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, Lord Raglan estimated at 15,000. The loss of the allies was very heavy. The English had 462 killed and 4,952 wounded; forty-three officers being in the first category, and 103 in the second. The French had 1,726 killed and wounded.

The battles of the Alma, Balaklava, and Inkermann were the most important in which England was engaged since that of Waterloo, in 1815: and they reflect so much credit upon the bravery and persevering energy of our gallant soldiers, that we have gone into them somewhat in detail. The remaining occurrences of the siege must be much more briefly narrated. After the last battle, immediate attention was directed to strengthen all those parts of our line which were exposed to attack: the siege was continued, though the hopes of its speedy termination were abandoned; and, on the 7th of November, it was resolved, at a council of war, to winter in the Crimea.—On the 13th of that month, a fearful storm swept over Constantinople, which

did great damage, unroofing the lofty buildings, and bringing down three of the elegant and lofty minarets which surmounted the Grand Mosque of Sultan Achmet. The next day the tempest swept over the Black Sea; and the destruction done off the coast of the Crimea was immense. Many vessels that left the harbour of Balaklava on the 5th of November had not returned; most of them were lost. A day or two previous, a magnificent steamer, the *Prince*, had arrived at Balaklava, with winter clothing, provisions, and ammunition for the troops. That vessel had not entered the harbour, and was lost, with her cargo, valued at £500,000. The French had ships at Eupatoria, and they were much damaged. Eighteen vessels were wrecked or dismasted at the mouth of the Katcha; and the savage Cossacks fired upon the wrecks, killing or making prisoners of the crews, and taking possession of all property which the wind and sea had spared. The estimate of lives lost in this storm is 1,000; and that of the value of the clothes, provisions, and ammunition—all destroyed—all so much wanted by the army—was £2,000,000. From this time (to quote Lieutenant-Colonel Hamlyn), "To the end of December, but few events occurred to break the monotony of the siege. Day after day, the gunners, at intervals, exchanged shots with the enemy; and the French and English sharpshooters in the advanced trenches fired, from their sand-bag loopholes, at the Russian riflemen hid in pits, or behind screens of stone, without any other result than the loss of a few men on either side. Sometimes, shortly after dark, the Russians would commence a sharp cannonade, chiefly directed on the French. Very little damage was done on these occasions by the enemy's fire."

On the 6th of December, the Russians abandoned their camps in the villages of Kamara and Tchourgouna, first burning their huts. They marched away in the direction of Mackenzie's Farm.—On the 30th, Sir Colin Campbell and General Bosquet, accompanied by a body of troops of both nations, made a *reconnaissance* in that direction. Some Cossacks, and 4,000 or 5,000 infantry, had again advanced to Tchourgouna; but they retired on the advance of the allies, and the French set fire to the village.—On the last day in the year, the French bombarded the town with great vigour; the Russians made a very feeble reply.

CHAPTER CXIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA—THE CRIMEAN WAR CONCLUDED.—A.D. 1854—1856.

THE student will find few pages in English history producing more melancholy sensations than those which tell of the condition of the English troops in the Crimea in the winter of 1854-'5. The government at home had not made sufficient arrangements for the hutting and feeding the army; and the sufferings of our poor soldiers from exposure to the bitterness of the weather, from killing fatigue in the trrnches, from want of proper clothes and food, were terible to endure, and heartrending to listen to. All our delicate and feeble men died; the strongest suffered dreadfully; and the whole camp resembled a hospital, where there was scarcely any one to tend the sick and the dying. The evils arising from the failures in the commissariat and medical departments, were increased by the loss of the *Prince* steamer on the 14th of November; and the civilian, enjoying the comforts of home, can scarcely imagine what the soldiers endured abroad.—At Scutari, the state of things was almost as bad as it was in the Crimea. Who was to blame it is impossible to say. There, as already stated, a hospital was established for the wounded men. It appears, from statements made in the House of Commons, sustained by official returns, that really immense quantities of medicines, restoratives, luxuries, comforts, and necessaries were ordered for Scutari, and the public had to pay for them; yet, when the wounded and invalids were sent there, a deficiency was found in everything—in medicines, medical men, nurses, beds and bedding, and provisions; even the means of cleanliness were wanting. An appeal for the troops in the Crimea, made by Sir Robert Peel, through the columns of the *Times*, produced the sum of £25,402, which was subscribed by the public, Sir Robert heading the list with £200. The relief afforded from this fund, called the "*Times* Fund," was most judiciously administered on the spot by Mr. Macdonald, a gentleman connected with that journal, whose expenses the proprietors defrayed. The want of nurses, both at Scutari and in the Crimea, called forth the active personal exertions of a lady whose name ought never to be omitted in any sketch of the Crimean war, as it most assuredly never will be forgotten by those who were indebted to her for consolation and comfort,

and many of them, under the blessing of Providence, for life. Florence Nightingale, the daughter of William Shore Nightingale, Esq., of Embley Park, Hampshire, and Leigh Hurst, Derbyshire, left her luxurious home to go to Scutari and the Crimea; in both places being the principal medium through whom the hospitals were put on a proper footing, and the sick and wounded received the care and attendance they required. Augustus Stafford, Esq., and the Rev. Sydney Godolphin Osborne, were active fellow-labourers in the same cause, and personally contributed to the relief of the invalids; and a number of ladies followed the example of Miss Nightingale. Nurses were also sent out, the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Bracebridge heading the first party of thirty-seven; Mrs. Sidney Herbert (the wife of the then Secretary at War) aiding the movement by her influence and her funds. Mr. Sidney Herbert also warmly supported the proposal to send suitable nurses to the East. The steps taken by these benevolent persons had, in every way, the best possible effect; nor must the anxiety of the Queen for her soldiers be overlooked. Her majesty had subscribed to a society called the "Central Association," instituted, as soon as war was declared, for the relief of the wives and families and dependent relatives of the soldiers engaged in active service; for which purpose the large sum of £120,000 was raised. On the 13th of October, her majesty issued her royal commission, with the Prince Consort as president, to raise and distribute a "Patriotic Fund" for the relief of the widows and orphans of the soldiers, sailors, and marines who might fall in the war; heading that fund with the munificent sum of £1,000. And, on the 6th of December, when the privations and wants of the wounded and invalids were made known, and when Miss Nightingale and Mrs. Bracebridge were actively employed in their beneficent work, her majesty sent the following autograph letter to Mr. Sidney Herbert;—

"Would you tell Mrs. Herbert that I begged she would let me see, frequently, the accounts she receives from Miss Nightingale or Mrs. Bracebridge, as I hear no details of the wounded, though I see so many from officers, &c., about the battle-field; and, naturally, the former must interest me more than any one. Let Mrs. Herbert also know that I wish Miss Nightingale and the ladies would tell these poor, noble, and sick men, that NO ONE takes a warmer interest, or feels more for their sufferings, or admires their courage and heroism, MORE than their queen. Day and night she thinks of her beloved troops. So does the prince. Beg Mrs. Herbert to communicate these my words to those ladies, as I know that our sympathy is much valued by those noble fellows."

Mrs. Herbert sent this letter to Scutari and the Crimea, where it was read in the hospitals amidst loud cheers, and shouts of "God save the Queen!" and copies were made and put up, not only in the sick rooms, but in many of the tents.

The administration was severely and justly blamed for the miserable evils to which the sick and wounded were subject; but the ministers were as eager as any one to find a remedy for the break-down which had been exposed by the press.

Parliament met on the 12th of December, as the government required powers to raise a foreign legion of 15,000 men; and to accept the services of any militia regiments which might offer to do duty abroad. In discussing these measures, the policy of the war and its conduct, and also the condition of the army, were brought forward; and the ministers were very severely censured in the speeches of those members who opposed the bills; they were carried, however, by good, though not large, majorities. On the 22nd of December both Houses adjourned for the holidays, and reassembled on the 23rd of January. On that day, Mr. Roebuck gave notice of his intention to move for a select committee, "to inquire into the condition of our troops before Sebastopol; and into the conduct of the commissariat and medical departments of the army." This notice was followed by the resignation of Lord John Russell as President of the Council. His lordship resigned on the 25th of January; and on the 26th he stated his reasons for taking that step to be, that evils existed in consequence of military maladministration; and he had no confidence that those evils would be redressed. That evening Mr. Roebuck moved his resolution, which was carried, on the 29th, by 305 votes to 148.—Of course ministers could take no other step than to resign after such a majority against them. The Queen sent for the Earl of Derby, and requested him to undertake the formation of a new cabinet; but in the existing state of parties, as the Peelites would not join his administration, the noble earl felt himself obliged to decline the responsibility. Her majesty then sent for Lord John Russell. His conduct in imputing blame to his colleagues with whom he had so long acted, and deserting them in the moment of trial, had so offended the Whig party, that he could get none of the noblemen and gentlemen to whom he applied, to consent to serve in a cabinet of which he was the head. As a last resort, Lord Palmerston was summoned to the royal closet; and he undertook the task of re-forming the ministry. On the 8th of February the cabinet was reconstructed; Lord Palmerston taking the office held by Lord Aberdeen; Sir George Grey the Home Office, vacated by the premier. Earl Granville again became President of the Council; Lord Panmure succeeded the Duke of Newcastle as Minister of War; and Viscount Canning, the Postmaster-General, obtained a seat in

the cabinet. In a very few days there was another ministerial crisis. When Lord Palmerston met the Commons, as premier, on the 16th of February, he expressed a hope that Mr. Roebuck would not insist upon carrying out his resolution; pledging the government, if the appointment of the committee of inquiry was not insisted upon to a strict investigation of the conduct of the war. Mr. Roebuck declined acceding to the noble lord's suggestion; and the House of Commons was as little disposed to abandon the inquiry as the member for Sheffield. As the premier yielded to the wishes of the House, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, and Sir James Graham, resigned. Sir Charles Wood took the secretaryship of the Admiralty, the Right Hon. Vernon Smith being installed in his office as President of the Board of Control; Sir G. C. Lewis became Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, to the surprise of the majority of the House, and of the public generally, Lord John Russell was appointed colonial secretary. In Ireland, the Earl of Carlisle became lord-lieutenant, and Mr. Horsman, chief secretary, in the place of Lord St. Germans and Sir John Young; and Mr. Brewster resigned the office of attorney-general, to which Mr. Keogh, the solicitor-general, was promoted. Mr. J. D. Fitzgerald became the new solicitor-general; Sir Robert Peel also accepted office as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and Mr. Danby Seymour as Secretary of the Board of Control. Mr. Roebuck's committee was appointed on the 23rd of February. It was several months before it made its report, which was submitted to the House on the 18th of June. It established the facts, that the troops "suffered from over-work, exposure, want of clothing, insufficient supplies for the healthy, and imperfect accommodation for the sick;" and Mr. Roebuck moved that the House will "visit with its severest reprobation" every member of the Aberdeen government whose councils led to these results. The House, however, was not inclined to go any further, and the previous question was carried by 289 to 182 votes. The government had, early in the year, sent out Sir John M'Neill and Colonel Tulloch to the East, to make inquiries into the state of the army. The result of those inquiries, and of the measures carried out by the new Minister of War—most of which were originated by the Duke of Newcastle before he left office—was so to improve the state of the army, as to leave few, if any causes of complaint. Mr. Stafford came home from the East to attend to his parliamentary duties; he returned again after the prorogation, and appeared in his seat when parliament assembled in 1856. He then said—

"Since the House separated, I have visited all the hospitals in the East to which our brave troops were sent—from the fine hospital in the Renkioi, to the furthest hospital in the Crimea; and high as my expectations were of the improvements made in them, they were surpassed by the reality. Not only were the patients in those hospitals supplied with every necessary and comfort, but I may even say, with every luxury. In answer to my inquiries, I heard nothing but expressions of satisfaction and of gratitude to the country that cared so well for her soldiers."

The troops in camp were as well looked after as those in the hospitals; and more comforts could not be possessed by soldiers on foreign service than ours enjoyed from the commencement of 1855 to the conclusion of the war.

In the autumn of 1854, negotiations were again carried on between Austria and Prussia, which ended in the latter power recognising the "Four Points of August" as the bases of peace; and on the 2nd of December, a treaty was concluded between England, France, and Austria; in which, again recognising those "Four Points," and also previous protocols that had been agreed to, the three powers further engaged, "mutually and reciprocally, not to enter into any arrangement with the imperial court of Russia, without having first deliberated upon it in common." Before the year closed, Russia was admitted to the conferences; and on the 7th of January, 1855, Prince Gortschakoff, who represented the czar, accepted the "Four Points;" and also an explanation of their bearing as applied to the navigation of the Danube and the Black Sea, contained in a protocol agreed to by England, France, and Austria, and dated the 28th of December. It was arranged accordingly that negotiations should be opened at Vienna; and Lord John Russell went to that city in February to act with the Earl of Westmoreland as her majesty's plenipotentiary. M. Drouyn de l'Huys, the French foreign minister, soon after joined the conference as the plenipotentiary of France. The opening of the negotiations was delayed by the death of the czar, which took place on the 2nd of March—there is little doubt, from the effects of grief and mortification at the failure of his plans, and the aspect of affairs in the Crimea. He was succeeded by the Grand Duke Alexander, who authorised his plenipotentiaries (Prince Gortschakoff and M. Titoff) to go on with the negotiations, which were opened on the 15th of March, and continued till the 19th of June. In the course of them, Austria proposed terms which would have given Russia power to increase her fleet in the Black Sea to an unlimited extent. All the plenipotentiaries agreed to these terms, which the governments of England and France at once rejected, as being opposed to the objects for which the war was undertaken, and to the "Four Points." M. Drouyn de l'Huys resigned his office, as the terms he had agreed to, and recommended, were rejected. Lord John Russell did not take that course,

though he also had pressed the acceptance of Austria's terms upon his colleagues; and yet, before the proceedings at Vienna were known, he made a violent war speech in the House of Commons. Soon after, the discussions, and the various propositions submitted during their progress, were laid before the public, and the conduct of Lord John Russell excited great indignation. Sir F. B. Lytton gave notice, on the 10th of July, that, on the 13th, he should move a resolution declaring that the conduct of his lordship at Vienna "had shaken the confidence of the country in those to whom its affairs were entrusted." A number of ministerial members, including several holders of office, signed a round-robin, and sent it to Lord Palmerston, to the effect, that they should vote for the motion unless Lord John resigned. He did resign, and Sir William Molesworth was appointed colonial minister. Sir Benjamin Hall succeeded him as First Commissioner of Works; and the Hon. E. Bouverie was appointed President of the Poor-Law Board in the place of Sir Benjamin. Sir William Molesworth did not hold his office long. He died on the 22nd of October, and was succeeded by Mr. Labouchere. About the same time, Lord Canning went to India as Governor-General, and the Duke of Argyll was appointed Postmaster-General in his place. The Earl of Harrowby then became Lord Privy Seal; and Mr. Matthew Talbot Baines Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

The negotiations at Vienna were not accompanied by an armistice; though the hostile forces were not very active in the Crimea till the spring had advanced. Omar Pasha had joined them in the last week of December, with a considerable part of the army that had served with him on the Danube; and he was placed in command at Eupatória. On the 10th of January, another ally was obtained: Victor Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, joined England and France, agreeing to send 15,000 troops to the Crimea, a loan being obtained from England to pay their expenses. England, by this time, had her foreign legion nearly enrolled, and had taken a body of Bashi-Bazouks into her pay; and the French army had been reinforced; whilst the Emperor of Russia, on the 12th of February, issued an imperial ukase, ordering the entire militia of the Russian empire to be organised and armed for the defence of the orthodox faith. In that month an attempt was made to drive the Turks from Eupatoria. The army under Omar Pasha was attacked by at least 40,000 men. There was a gallant contest; but the Russians were defeated, and had to retreat in a dismal plight, when the invalids and wounded must have suffered greatly from the bitterness of the cold. Soon after, the intelligence of the emperor's death was received, which caused great grief in the army. About that time, Prince Menschikoff, on account of illness, resigned the chief command at Sebastopol to General Osten-sacken. There were then 50,000 men in the forts of Sebastopol, and the camp in the north; 18,000, under General Liprandi, were encamped on the Tchernaya; 9,000, under General Wagner, were in the valley of the Baidar; 45,000, under General Read, at Simpheropol; and 20,000, under General Pawloff, at Perekop: making a total of 142,000 men.—In March, Prince Gortschakoff arrived at Sebastopol; and he took the supreme command of all the troops in the peninsula. His first act was to order a sortie on the English and French lines, in the night of the 20th of that month. It was one of the most desperate and determined the allies had yet encountered. They were attacked by strong parties at every assailable point, but were able to repulse them all. The English succeeded in beating off the enemy and securing their own trenches first; then they assisted the French.

During the winter and spring, both the English and French had been employed in strengthening and improving their works, and in making the communication between their positions more easy. At the close of 1854, the construction of a railway from Balaklava to the camp was commenced, at the suggestion of Mr. Peto, an eminent railway contractor, then M.P. for Norwich, and his partners, Messrs. Brassey and Betts. Their offer to the government was, to send men to make the railway, to find the requisite materials, and to charge only the actual expenses—an act of patriotism which ought not to go unrecorded. This railway was constructed, and was found of the utmost use to the army. A "land transport corps" was also sent out, under Colonel M'Murdo, whose aid greatly lightened the labour of the troops, and enabled them to work in the trenches with cheerfulness and vigour. There had been little actual fighting (except the sortie of the 20th of March) in the first three months of the year; but on the 9th of April the bombardment was resumed, with greatly increased force, and continued to the 17th, when it again slackened. During the time, the stoneworks of the forts were shattered, but the heavy earthworks thrown up stood the shock of the balls, which were imbedded in them, but produced little or no effect in the way of destruction. On the 16th of May, General Canrobert resigned the command of the French army to General Pelissier, but continued to act as general of division. On the 7th of June, the first really substantial success in the bombardment was obtained. On that day the French captured one of the forts, which had been a great annoyance to the allies—the Mamelon; and also two redoubts to the east of that fort, called the White Works, with 62 guns, 14 officers, and 450 rank and file, prisoners. At the same time the English attacked some works to the westward of the Mamelon, called the

Quarries. They were literally large burrows in the earth, from which the Russians had greatly annoyed both the English and French in their trenches. The storming them was a very gallant exploit. General Pelissier said of it—"While we were taking the White Works and Mamelon, the English, with rare intrepidity, stormed the Quarries, and established themselves firmly there; taking thus a glorious part in the day's success."

The guns of the Mamelon and the White Works were, thenceforth, directed against the town, which was again bombarded on the 17th of June, with an effect so satisfactory, that it led to the assault, the next day, of the Malakoff by the French, and of the Redan by the English. Both failed: though the assaulting troops displayed equal firmness and intrepidity, they had to retreat to their trenches. This was the first decided check the allies had received; and it was owing to the tactics of General Pelissier, though he endeavoured to throw the blame on the English. The failure had a great effect on Lord Raglan, whose health had recently given way. A few days after he was attacked by cholera, of which he died on the 25th of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He was greatly regretted, both by the English and their allies; and warm tributes were paid to his memory in the general orders of the French and Sardinian commanders-in-chief. Even the Russians said of him—"He succeeded in conciliating the esteem and respect, not only of those to whom his nation was allied, but also of the enemy to whom he was opposed." Lieutenant-General Simpson, as the senior officer, succeeded his lordship in the command of the English army; and the allies, from the commencement of July, continued to press the "beleaguered town"—as the soldiers called Sebastopol—closer every day. The Russians kept up a pretty constant fire in return; and "the loss of the French and English," writes a contemporary, "was more serious than at any other period during the siege; the former frequently having 100 men killed, or rendered unserviceable, during a night, and sometimes many more." The killed and wounded on the part of the English were also, General Simpson regretted, when transmitting the lists to Lord Panmure, "very heavy." The Russians made no sorties of importance during that month. Almost one of their last attempts of that nature was an attack, by 2,000 men, in the night of the 2nd of August, on the English works on the Woronzoff road (the use of which they had recovered some time before), between their right and left attacks. The fighting did not continue more than ten minutes, when the enemy made a rapid retreat.

The French had for some time pitched a camp on the Tchernaya; and they were supported by the Sardinian and Turkish contingents. It protected the approaches from Inkermann and the valley of Baidar to Balaklava; and the French had taken up that position when the English army was so greatly weakened by losses in battle and disease; previously, the post of honour and of the greatest danger had always belonged to the English. The Russians in Sebastopol were now suffering from scarcity and disease; whilst the streets were covered with ruins—the effect of the bombardment. It was the conviction of Prince Gortschakoff that the town could not hold out much longer; and he determined to make another effort to force the allies to raise the siege. For this purpose the French and Sardinians were to have been taken by surprise, and driven from the Tchernaya. This was to have been followed up by simultaneous attacks on Balaklava, and on the heights occupied by the English, under General Simpson, opposite the Redan and a battery called the Barrack Battery. These attacks were to have been made by the forces encamped in the valleys of Baidar and the Tchernaya. The French then occupied the left and right of the attack, and sorties from the town were to be made upon those points at the same time: thus the battle would have been raging in four places at once; and as the Russians continued to exceed the allies in number, their commander may be excused for calculating upon a success, which he felt would be a glorious triumph. Deserters occasionally came into the camp of the allies; and one of these, on the 25th of July, stated that the allies on the Tchernaya were to be attacked with a great force; thirty brigades of infantry and four of artillery were being organised for that purpose. This information probably prevented the success of the well-laid plan, for it was intended to surprise the camp of the allies; and, from the instructions (found after the battle, with the details above given, in the pocket of General Read, who was killed), it is evident that defeat was not contemplated. But the Sardinians, who were commanded by General La Marmora, had strongly fortified their position. The French were encamped on those hills where the redoubts had been erected that formed the object of contention on the 25th of October. The Sardinians were nearer the river, which, with a canal or aqueduct, ran between the two armies, and the river and canal were crossed by bridges. The Sardinians had also established two outposts on the other side of the river. At dawn, on the morning of the 16th of August, these outposts were attacked, and driven across the side stream after a gallant resistance. The Russians immediately crossed the Tchernaya, partly by the bridge, and partly by the aid of ladders, pontoons, and planks; having compelled a battalion of French infantry, which held the bridge, to retire. They fell back upon their main supports; and the united force again advanced, and retook the bridge. The Russians had, however,

been able to follow up their first advantage by gaining the heights which rise precipitously from each side of the road; from whence they opened a fire from their artillery upon the French and Sardinian positions. A column also assailed the Mamelon; but it was, says General Marmora, "vigorously attacked by the French troops in support, and hurled back, broken and disordered, into the Tchernaya." General La Marmora made every effort to silence the enemy's guns by his own, a Turkish battery, and an English battery, with which General Simpson had reinforced him, and he eventually succeeded. There were other points attacked; but the enemy being repulsed at all, commenced his retreat, and was driven back across the river, leaving the ground covered with dead and wounded. The English cavalry, under Lieutenant-General Scarlett, was placed in the plain of Balaklava, prepared to take advantage of any circumstance that might present itself: they had no opportunity, however, of coming in contact with the enemy. Again numbers were beaten; for whilst Liprandi had from 50,000 to 60,000 men, and 160 pieces of artillery, the force of the Sardinians was 12,000 men and four batteries; that of the French, 10,000 men in position, but only 4,500 actually engaged, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. The loss of the Russians was estimated at between 5,000 and 6,000 men, including 600 prisoners; whilst, on the part of the allies, it did not amount to more than 1,000 men.

After this defeat, the allies made preparations for what it was deemed would be the last attempt on Sebastopol.—On the 5th of September, a cannonade was opened from the French works, which was kept up during the night, and on the 6th, by repeated discharges from all the allied trenches. On the 7th, the bombardment continued; and houses in the town, and ships in the harbour, were set in flames, one after the other, by the "infernal fire," as it was termed in the Russian despatches. On the 8th, the fire was still continued; and on that day it was resolved to attack the Malakoff and the Redan; the fall of which, it was expected, would be followed by the surrender of the town. It was twelve o'clock when the French rushed forward, dashed up the ascents to the Malakoff, climbed the parapets, leaped into the work, and, in a short hand-to-hand fight, drove out the Russians. They soon returned; and in three columns attacked the centre, the right, and the left of the fortress. The fighting continued for near four hours; but the French held the post, and the Russians were at last compelled to retire into the town. Whilst this struggle lasted, the French attacked another fort, called the Little Redan, and the Central Bastion: but were repulsed at both; and the English once more tried their fortune at the Great Redan. The men sent on this enterprise had to cross a wide open space, and were literally mowed down by the Russian cannon. But they gained the crest of the ditch, and, ladders being placed, "they stormed the parapet of the Redan, and penetrated into the salient angle. A most determined and bloody contest was there maintained for more than an hour, and, although supported to the utmost, and the greatest bravery displayed, it was found impossible to maintain the position." The trenches were, subsequently to this attack, so crowded with troops, that General Simpson was unable to organise a second assault. He arranged for a renewed attack the next morning with Sir Colin Campbell and Sir William Eyre; but about eleven o'clock at night, the enemy commenced exploding the magazines. It was found that the Redan was abandoned; at daylight it was occupied by the British; and their great fires were seen in the town, and explosions were repeated every instant. The Russians had been observed, some days previously, constructing a raft bridge on the north side of the harbour; it was now found that it was intended to enable them to evacuate the town, which they did in the night between the 8th and 9th of September, under cover of the fires and explosions; disconnecting the bridge, and removing it to the other side, when the evacuation was effected. All the men-of-war in the harbour were sunk; and the town, Forts Nicholas and Paul, and the dockyard were left in flames. To the latter, however, very little damage was done. The losses of all parties in the final assault were great. The English had 385, the French 1,634, and the Russians 2,684, men killed; the numbers wounded were, respectively, 1,886, 4,513, and 6,058. The Russians had also 1,185 men returned as captured; and there were missing of the three nations—English, 176; French, 1,410; Russians, 1,763. The grand totals were—

English	2,447
French	7,557
Russians	11,690
	21,694

On the 9th of September the allies entered Sebastopol; they were obliged to observe the greatest caution, as the explosions continued; several English soldiers being killed and wounded by one of them. The town presented a dreadful scene; and it was evident that the sufferings of the troops and inhabitants must have been intense. The allies took immediate steps to remove nuisances and to establish order. They divided the town into a western and eastern portion, the former being allotted to the French, the latter to the English. Brigadier-General Windham was appointed governor of the English, and General Bazaine of the French. The soldiers of both nations were quartered in their respective portions of the town; and they lost no opportunity

of congregating together, and promoting good fellowship with each other. The Russians remained in the Crimea; and they occupied positions so strong and so well defended, that the allies, at a conference held on the 24th of September, after several *reconnaissances* had been made, resolved not to attempt to dislodge them; they, therefore, occupied themselves with improving their own position, and preparing for the coming winter. In October a small expedition was sent out against Kinburn, a Russian fortress, standing on a narrow tongue of land at the mouth of the Dnieper. It sailed on the 14th; and, after a brief defence, the fort surrendered on the 17th. A French garrison was left at Kinburn, and the expedition returned to Kamiesch Bay. On the 24th of October, the Russian settlements of Tamar and Fanagoria, on the eastern side of the Straits of Kertch, were destroyed; and these were the last passages at arms.—On the 10th of November General Simpson resigned the command of the English troops, and, with Sir Colin Campbell, embarked for England. Lieutenant-General Sir William Codrington succeeded to the chief command, and Brigadier-General Cameron was placed at the head of the Highland division.

There was a sad accident in the French camp on the 15th of November. A large powder magazine, called the Mill, stood near Inkermann, which contained several tons of gunpowder, 600,000 cartridges, and 300 shells. This magazine exploded about 3 P.M. on the above day; and it caused a conflagration, in a contiguous part, of artillery belonging to the English, arranged round a windmill, in which were 180 tons of gunpowder. The heroism of Lieutenant Hope, of the 7th Fusiliers, and some men of his regiment, of the Rifles, and of the 34th, who mounted the roof of the mill and covered the walls with tarpaulins and blankets, it is thought was the means of preserving this magazine from explosion. Lives were unfortunately lost of both nations; and the French park of artillery was destroyed. At Sebastopol, the work of destruction, as well as of preservation, was also going on. All the ammunition, guns, small arms, provisions, and other useful articles were collected from the forts and magazines, to be divided between the allied armies in proportion to their numbers. These things cleared out, the sappers and miners were set to work to make mines for blowing-up the docks and the remaining forts. All these buildings were laid in ruins; and well might the Russians say, "The glory of Sebastopol is departed."

The movements during 1855, out of the Crimea, were not very important. A naval and military expedition of the allies to the Sea of Azoff, which they entered on the 25th of May, was completely successful. Kertch and Yenikale were taken, and an almost incredible quantity of shipping and stores destroyed. To the Baltic an immense fleet had been sent, under Admiral Sir R. Dundas; but, beyond establishing a blockade, and partially destroying the fortifications of Sweaborg in the month of August, little was done; and at the approach of winter the fleet returned home, with no more credit than it had gained the year before. An expedition was also sent to the White Sea, which put an entire stop to the Russian trade in that direction; but one to the Pacific, sent to redeem the discredit which the allies imagined was attached to that of 1854, as they failed in taking the settlement of Petropaulovski, was equally unsatisfactory in its result. The united squadron of seven British and four French vessels again sailed to that port. It did not arrive in the Bay of Avatscha till the 20th of May; when it was found that several Russian vessels, which the commanders had expected to find in the bay, had made their escape; so had the inhabitants of Petropaulovski. The sailors destroyed the fortifications and all the public buildings, except the hospital and church; the private dwellings were left untouched. The squadron cruised in the Pacific and the Eastern Ocean during the summer, with no result except destroying a large quantity of shipping materials, belonging to the Russian government, in De Castries' Bay. In Asia the Russians were more successful than they had been in Europe. After a long siege, and a most gallant defence, conducted by General Williams, the English commissioner, Kars surrendered to the Russian army under General Mouravieff, on the 25th of November. The Turks lost, by this mishap, 8,000 prisoners, 130 cannon, and 30,000 muskets.

The negotiations which had failed in June, 1855, ceased for the remainder of that year; but in 1856 they were renewed, and conducted at Paris, the plenipotentiaries being—*England*, the Earls of Clarendon and Cowley: *France*, Count Walewski and the Baron de Borqueney: *Austria*, Count Buol Schaunstein and Baron Hubner: *Russia*, Count Orloff and Baron de Brunnow: *Sardinia*, Count Cavour and the Marquis de Villa Marina: *Turkey*, Mohammed Emin Ali Pasha and Mehemmed Djemel Bey.—The conferences were opened at the hôtel of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Walewski, on the 25th of February. The "Four Points" were made the bases of a treaty, with a fifth added, at the suggestion of England, for the purpose of enabling the plenipotentiaries to make such terms as might be considered necessary to check Russian progress in the Baltic as well as in the Black Sea. The negotiations continued through the month of March; and at the sixth sitting, on the 10th of that month, it was resolved to invite Prussia to send plenipotentiaries to the conference, as a "signing party to the convention concluded at London on the 13th of July, 1841." That government accepted the invitation, and

sent Baron de Manteuffel and the Count de Hatzfeldt to Paris; who arrived in time to be present at the sitting of March 18th, attended the subsequent ones, and signed the definitive treaty, which was concluded on the 30th of March. It comprised thirty-four articles, stipulating—

The establishment of peace, in perpetuity, between Great Britain, France, Sardinia, Turkey, and Russia [Art. 1].—That all the territories conquered or occupied by the hostile troops during the war, should be restored [Arts. 2—4].—That a full and entire amnesty should be granted to any of the subjects of the contracting parties who were in any way compromised by the war [Art. 5].—That all prisoners of war should be immediately given up [Art. 6].—That the Sublime Porte is declared to be admitted to participate in all the advantages of the public law and international system of Europe [Art. 7].—In disputes between the sultan and any of the contracting powers, the mediation of the others to be resorted to before the use of force [Art. 8]. The sultan to communicate to the other powers the firman ameliorating the condition of his Christian subjects; but they are not to interfere in the relations between him and his subjects, nor in the internal affairs of the empire [Art. 9].—The convention of July 13th, 1841, respecting the closing of the Dardanelles, to be revised [Art. 10].—The Black Sea to be neutralised; and consuls to be admitted into the ports of Russia and Turkey on its coast [Arts. 11 and 12].—No military arsenal to be maintained; and the force and number of vessels necessary for the czar and the sultan to keep in the Black Sea, to be settled by a convention to be annexed to the treaty [Arts. 13 and 14].—The navigation of the Danube to be settled in conformity with the principles of the act of the congress of Vienna, regulating the navigation of rivers which separate or traverse different states; and the works necessary to remove the impediments to the free navigation of that river, to be directed, and the navigation kept open and regulated, by a commission of one delegate each from Austria, Bavaria, Turkey, and Wurtemberg; and one from the three Danubian principalities — Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia [Arts. 15—18].—Each of the contracting powers to have the right to station two light vessels at the mouth of the Danube, to execute the regulations, &c. [Art. 19].—Russia agrees to cede certain portions of Bessarabia, which are to be added to Moldavia [Arts. 20 and 21].—Wallachia and Moldavia to enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte, all the privileges of which they are in possession: to possess an independent and national administration, and full freedom of religion, commerce, legislation, and navigation: their definite organisation to be settled by a divan, composed so as to represent, most closely, the interests of all classes of society: the final agreement with the suzerian power to be recorded in a convention to be concluded at Paris between the contracting parties; the principalities to keep up a national armed force, to maintain the security of the interior and of the frontier: if either is menaced, the sultan is to come to an understanding with the other powers as to the measures to be taken; and no armed intervention is to take place without a previous agreement between those powers [Arts. 22—27].—The same privileges of freedom of religion, &c., and from armed intervention, to be secured to Servia [Arts. 28 and 29].—The integrity of the Russian and Turkish possessions in Asia to be maintained as before the war [Art. 30].—The conquered and occupied territories to be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty [Art. 31].—Commercial transactions between the belligerents to be restored to the state that existed before the war [Art. 32].—A separate convention respecting the Aland Islands to have the same force as this treaty [Art. 33].—Ratifications to be exchanged within four weeks, or sooner, if possible [Art. 34].

Three conventions were annexed to this treaty:—

I. Was an agreement between the contracting powers respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles; excluding ships of war of all nations, except light vessels of war employed on the missions of foreign powers, and those which each of the contracting parties is authorised to keep at the mouth of the Danube.—II. Limits the force the Emperor of Russia and the sultan are to keep in the Black Sea, to six steam-vessels each, the tonnage of each vessel not to exceed 800 tons.—III. The czar engages "that the Aland Isles shall not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment shall be maintained or erected there."

The intelligence that peace was signed was received with the firing of salutes and great rejoicing in the capitals of all the contracting powers. The conferences still continued; the excesses of the press in Belgium, and the state of Italy, being discussed; Count Walewski complaining that the doctrine of assassination was promulgated in the former country, and Count Cavour objecting to the continued occupation of the latter by foreign troops. The congress came to no decision upon either subject.—Another discussion was on international maritime law; and on that subject all the plenipotentiaries agreed to a manifesto, in which they solemnly declared that—

"1. Privateering is, and remains, abolished.—2. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war.—3. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag.—4. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained

by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy."

All the powers represented at Paris agreed to this declaration, and undertook to endeavour to procure the assent of those who had no plenipotentiaries present. On the continent it gave great satisfaction; but in England there were certainly as many who disapproved of it as there were of those who regarded it with favour. The former condemned it as a surrender of what this country had always considered as her most essential maritime rights.

After the "Treaty of Paris" was settled and arranged between the seven powers, a separate treaty was concluded between Great Britain, France, and Austria, by which the contracting parties guaranteed, "jointly and severally, the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire;" and declared, that any infraction of the treaty of March 30th, 1856, would be considered by them a *casus belli*.—This treaty was signed on the 15th of April, and the ratifications exchanged on the 29th. When it became known, it gave the czar great offence; and Count Orloff, in an interview with the Emperor of the French, remonstrated bitterly against it. The contracting powers considered it merely supplemental to the former treaty and understanding between them: "still," as another historian observes, "if they had a perfect reliance on the good faith of Russia, the necessity for their entering into this separate agreement is by no means apparent."

Comfortable and easy as their life was at Sebastopol, the military men received the news of the signature of the treaty with great joy. Measures were immediately taken to evacuate the town and plateau of Sebastopol; but before they left, measures were adopted by both the French and English officers to preserve the security of the sites where the bodies of their countrymen who fell in the war were interred. The principal English burial-ground is situated on what was known to the army as "Cathcart's Hill." It is a parallelogram, of about forty yards long by thirty broad, and is formed by the base of a ruined wall, which, in former days, might have marked the lines of a Tartar fort, or have been the first Russian redoubt to watch over the infancy of Sebastopol. It has been enclosed; and there are memorials, in solid stone, to most of the officers interred there. There are other burial-places, which were well defined, and decorated with great care by the officers and men, and the Russian authorities promised scrupulously to preserve them. A church has also been erected at Constantinople, as the fittest monument to the officers and soldiers of the British army who fell in the Crimea. The survivors had nearly all left the peninsula by the end of May; the French and English having parted with the most fervent expressions of good-will and friendship for each other. The two governments appeared desirous of cultivating that friendship. The emperor decorated many of our officers with the Legion of Honour; and the Queen sent the Order of the Bath to 190 of the French officers. They were invested, in her majesty's name, with the insignia of the order by Earl Cowley. A banquet followed, at which Count Walewski proposed, as a toast, "The English Army and Navy," saying—

"May the English soldiers and sailors always fight side by side with the French soldiers and sailors in a cause so just, and with a success as striking! May the bonds of fraternity, so gloriously cemented on the fields of battle, never be weakened; but may the alliance which now so happily exists between the two countries be perpetuated to the latest posterity!"

Medals were cast in both countries in honour of the gallant deeds of their soldiers, which were given to officers and to the rank and file. Orders and medals were also given, by England and France, to the officers and privates of Sardinia. Both Houses of Parliament, on the 5th of May, voted an address to the crown, approving of the treaty. On the 8th, "the thanks of parliament" were unanimously and heartily voted "to the army, navy, and marines employed in the operations of the late war, and to the embodied militia." Very warmly were their gallant deeds eulogised on this occasion; and the Earl of Derby (who, in the House of Lords, seconded the vote of thanks proposed by Lord Panmure, Minister of War) extended his praise "to those brave men who had associated with them in the hour of trial and of victory; and the alliance and close friendship with whom, he trusted, would not terminate with the war in which they had fought and won together."—The same evening that this vote was carried in both Houses by acclamation, a message was received from her majesty, requesting that a pension of £1,000 per annum might be settled upon Major-General Williams, for his conduct in Asia; to which the House agreed; and her majesty created that officer a baronet, by the title of Sir William Williams of Kars. Her majesty also bestowed the Order of the Bath very liberally upon the officers generally.

Before concluding this chapter, two events must be mentioned connected with the war. The first was a rand naval review, held off Portsmouth, on the 23rd of April, "in order that the world might see that Great Britain did not conclude peace because she could not carry on the war." It was a magnificent sight; the Queen, the Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, Prince Alfred, and the Princesses Royal, Alice, and Helena, being present. There were also ministers, ambassadors, members of both Houses of Parliament, and countless thousands of all classes of the English people. The sea

was covered with elegant yachts, and other craft, amongst which was conspicuous the French corvette *Duchayla*, which was sent over by the Empress of the French as a compliment to the Queen. She was commanded by Rear-Admiral Jurien de la Graviere; and her deck was crowded with officers glittering in gold lace, and other ornaments. The day was fine, and all went off well; there was no fault nor mishap in the manœuvres; and not a single accident occurred.

The second event was a display of illuminations and fireworks in the metropolis, in the evening of the 29th of May; the pyrotechnic display taking place in the parks and on Primrose Hill. The expense (£8,000) was paid by the public; and the "oldest inhabitant" declared that such crowds had never before been collected in the metropolis. The illuminations were brilliant and beautiful; and probably the exhibition of pyrotechnics was the grandest ever seen in this country. The utmost good-humour was displayed by the crowds, and nothing unpleasant occurred. There were similar rejoicings—of course not on so magnificent a scale—throughout the country; intermingled with public dinners, and treats to the poor; and it was several weeks before the peace celebrations came to a close.

CHAPTER CXV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1856—1858.



IN 1856, parliament opened on the 31st of January. In her opening speech, her majesty adverted to the successes that had attended the arms of the allies in the Crimea, and to the pleasing prospect that peace would be speedily concluded; intimating, at the same time, that the military and naval preparations would be in no degree relaxed till a satisfactory treaty of peace should have been concluded. Her majesty expressed her gratification, that, notwithstanding the pressure of the war, the resources of the empire continued unimpaired; and her reliance on the manly spirit and enlightened patriotism of her subjects, for a continuance of that support which they had hitherto so nobly afforded. When the address was under discussion, the Conservative leaders, in both Houses, declared that they would carefully abstain from any cause likely to embarrass the government during the progress of negotiations.

The parliamentary proceedings did not attract any especial interest during the session, as the negotiations, first, and then the peace, occupied much of the public attention. In the upper House, at the commencement of the session, an important question was raised connected with the life peerages. With a view to augment their strength in that House, ministers advised the Queen to create life peerages: the first dignity of that class being conferred on Sir James Parke, one of the barons of the Exchequer, who was created, by letters patent, Baron Wensleydale, "for the term of his natural life." The advisers of her majesty intended to create ten or twelve other life peerages, and thus to have increased the number of their supporters without permanently adding to that of the peers. This scheme was considered unconstitutional by the majority of the Lords; and on the 7th of February it was, on the motion of Lord Lyndhurst—who contended that a system of life peerages would destroy the hereditary character of the House, and give a dangerous power to the ministers of the crown—resolved to refer the subject to the committee of privileges, which is composed of the entire House. After discussing the question in three sittings, this committee, on the 22nd of February, resolved, by 97 "contents" again 52 "non-contents," that a peerage for life did not entitle the grantee to sit and vote in parliament. In consequence, in July, 1856, her majesty reversed her first letters patent conferring the life dignity, and created Sir James a peer of the United Kingdom, with remainder to his heirs male. The question of life peerages was then dropped, and has not subsequently been revived.

In the Commons, a debate on a resolution moved by Mr. Whiteside on the 28th of April, connected with the fall of Kars, excited the greatest interest. The resolution, after expressing admiration of the Turkish soldiery, and of the devotion of the British officers at the siege of Kars, declared the conviction of the House, that the capitulation of that fortress, and the surrender of the army, "were in a great measure owing to the want of foresight and energy on the part of her majesty's government." On the 1st of May this motion was negatived by 303 to 176 votes.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not make his financial statement till the 19th of May. It presented a great excess of expenditure over income; the former being £88,428,000, and the revenue producing only £65,704,000, leaving a deficiency of £22,724,000.

Although the army and navy estimates were this year reduced between sixteen and seventeen millions, still, there were so many expenses consequent upon the close of the war, that the estimated expenditure for the financial year 1856-'57 was £77,525,000, the estimated income being £67,152,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to supply the deficiency by loan, and not by increased taxation; and the Commons passed a vote authorising him immediately to raise a loan of £5,000,000.—Several important acts were passed during the session. One of these, for "the Incorporation and Regulation of Joint-Stock Companies, and other Associations," provided, 1st, for "the constitution and incorporation of companies and associations;" 2nd, "for the management and administration of companies;" and, 3rd, for "the winding-up of companies." It was the first time that those transactions became the object of legislation; and that part of the act has been frequently put in operation.—Another act, "to render more effectual the Police in Counties and Boroughs of England and Wales," was rendered necessary, as former acts for the establishment of a county police had not succeeded in establishing a general system. The new act directs the justices assembled in quarter sessions to establish a sufficient police force for the county, where such a force does not already exist; and where constabularies have been established in divisions of counties, to consolidate them, unless, by order in council, the county should be divided into separate police districts. It also empowers county constables to act in any borough within the county; and provides for the incorporation of boroughs with counties, under certain circumstances, for the purposes of police.—By another act, the commissioners of the Admiralty were authorised to raise a force for the defence of the coast, in addition to the existing coast-guard; but not to exceed 10,000 men.

Early in the year, her majesty instituted a new Order of Merit, called "The Victoria Cross;" to be conferred upon inferior officers and privates, both in the army and navy, for distinguished gallantry. The members wear a medal and ribbon, but bear no title.—The proclamation of peace was followed, on the 3rd of May, by the issuing of a royal proclamation granting an amnesty to political exiles. Under its provisions, Frost, Williams, and Jones, Chartists, transported for offences committed in Wales, and Smith O'Brien, transported for his share in the rebellion of 1848, at Ballingarry, in Ireland, were declared at liberty to return to England. John Mitchell and Timothy Meagher, also transported for their participation in the Irish movement, having made their escape from Bermuda, were exempted from the benefit of this amnesty. On the 11th of November, this gracious act was followed by another. Her majesty issued a full and free pardon to the above offenders, by which they were enabled to re-enter on the possession of their property, and to the enjoyment of all the civil rights and privileges they had previously forfeited.

The revenue appears to have improved during the year, as it produced, from January 1st to December 31st, 1856, £71,217,881 8s. 2d. Receipts from old stores, money repaid by the East India Company, &c., raised this sum to £72,218,988 1s. 11d. The exports were reported to amount to the large sum of £115,826,948.

Foreign events offer little, during 1856, either for comment or narrative. The powers engaged in the late war were occupied chiefly in reorganising their resources, and in carrying out the obligations of the treaty. As the year waned, doubts arose whether Russia intended faithfully to observe the terms of the late treaty. She had consented to cede certain parts of Bessarabia to the Hospodar of Moldavia; but there was great delay in withdrawing troops. She also attempted to establish a fort on the Isle of Serpents, in the Black Sea. France seemed inclined to condone these breaches of faith on the part of the great northern power; but England and Turkey demanded a strict fulfilment of the treaty; and Austria did not, in consequence, withdraw her troops from the principalities; whilst England continued to maintain a small squadron in the Black Sea. Before the year closed, plenipotentiaries from all the powers who were parties to the treaty, assembled in Paris to hold a conference, with a view to settle the difference which prevailed, the first meeting being held on the 31st of December. On the 6th of January, 1857, the plenipotentiaries agreed upon terms, which led to the evacuation of the ceded parts of Bessarabia and of the Isle of Serpents by Russia; the Austrian troops being recalled from Wallachia and Moldavia, and the English vessels from the Turkish waters. The settlement of the principalities, however, still occupied the attention of the powers.

At the close of 1856, and before parliament opened in 1857, domestic industry appeared to be thriving: the people were quiet and contented, and there was no political agitation. A strong opinion prevailed, however, in the higher circles, that there would, after parliament assembled, be a change of ministers, as the popularity of Lord Palmerston was supposed to be based upon no permanent foundation, but to have sprung out of the circumstances of the war. Events, however, ran contrary to these anticipations.

The legislature met on the 3rd of February, and the session was opened by commission. In the royal speech read by the Lord Chancellor, allusion was made to the wars then raging with China and Persia; and when the

address was under discussion in the Lords, Lord Grey moved an amendment, censuring the government for not calling parliament together when it was deemed necessary to go to war with Persia. The amendment was negatived by 45 votes against 12. During the debate on the address in both Houses, the conduct of Sir John Bowring, and others who had commenced the war with China, was censured; and, on the 16th of February, notices of motion condemning that conduct were given—in the Lords by the Earl of Derby, in the Commons by Mr. Cobden. Lord Derby moved three resolutions on the 24th of February—the first regretting the interruption of amicable relations between her majesty's subjects at Canton and the Chinese authorities: the second declaring the time unfavourable for pressing the question of the admission of British subjects into Canton: the third declared it to be the opinion of the House, that hostile operations should not have been undertaken without express instructions, previously received, from her majesty's government. After two nights' debate, these resolutions were negatived; the "contents" and "non-contents," present and proxies, being respectively 110 and 146.—Mr. Cobden was more successful. He brought forward his motion on the 26th of February, and his resolution regretting the breach of the peace; stating that the affair of the *Arrow* offered no satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to; and moving for the appointment of a select committee, "to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China." The debate on this motion extended into three nights; and it was carried, on the 3rd of March, by 263 "ayes" against 247 "noes."—On the 5th, Lord Palmerston announced that ministers did not intend to resign, as her majesty had consented that they should appeal to the people. The same evening, Lord Granville made a similar announcement in the House of Lords.—On the 9th of March, the Speaker (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) stated that, at the close of the session, he should retire from his important position, his health and increasing years preventing him from adequately discharging its duties. The next day, the House, on the motion of Lord Palmerston, seconded by Mr. Disraeli, passed a vote of thanks to the Speaker for his distinguished services, and his conduct in the chair. The premier also moved an address to her majesty, which Sir J. S. Pakington seconded, praying that some signal mark of royal favour might be granted to the right honourable gentleman. This motion was also carried unanimously, and led to his elevation to the peerage, by the title of Viscount Eversley, and the grant of a pension of £4,000 per annum.

Little was done during this short session but discuss the financial propositions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The right honourable gentleman introduced his budget on the 13th of February. He noticed, in his speech, the growing prosperity of the country; announced that the late war had added £41,041,000 to the funded and unfunded debt; and that the estimates for the financial year 1857-'58 amounted to £65,474,000. He proposed to repeal the war duty on malt; to reduce the income-tax from 1*s*. 4*d*. to its original rate of 7*d*. in the pound, on incomes above £150 per annum, and 5*d*. in the pound on incomes between £100 and £150; those rates to be in force for three years. Some reductions in the tea and sugar duties were also proposed; the entire relief given by the various reductions being nearly £11,500,000. The estimates for the army and navy were voted, and the resolutions relative to the taxes passed, before the parliament was, on the 21st of March, prorogued by commission; and the same day the proclamation dissolving the House of Commons appeared.

The elections took place in April. The result proved that the war with China was popular; the English people being indignant at the many insults offered by the Chinese to their countrymen, and at the tame submission of the latter for what was considered by the populace, merely the mean desire for gain. The minority against the government was changed into a decided majority; and Mr. Cobden, who moved the resolution relating to China in the House of Commons, was, on attending a meeting of his constituents of the West Riding of Yorkshire, received with such decided disapprobation, that, finding his return was very improbable, he did not offer himself for re-election, but came forward for Huddersfield, where he was defeated. Another member, Mr. Bright, who had been a great popular favourite in the north, and had been returned for Manchester several times, first by large majorities, and then unopposed, was at the bottom of the poll. Mr. Cobden did not obtain a seat in that parliament. Mr. Muntz, one of the members for Birmingham, dying soon after the election, Mr. Bright was chosen to replace him. Three other popular Liberal members of the former parliament—Messrs. Milner Gibson, Layard, and W. Fox—also lost their seats.

The new parliament was opened by commission on the 7th of May; the Queen, who had been delivered of the Princess Beatrice on the 14th of April, not being able to attend. Soon after it assembled, the approaching marriage of the Princess Royal with the Crown Prince of Prussia was announced to both Houses by a message from the crown. An annuity of £8,000 per annum, and a marriage portion of £40,000, were voted to her royal highness. The marriage, however, did not take place till the 25th of January, 1858.—During the session, which continued till the 28th of August, a bill

was passed for abolishing a payment in Ireland called "Ministers' Money"—a tax levied upon householders, in the principal cities and towns of that country, in support of the established church. It was no *real* grievance; for the whole amount collected was little more than £10,000 yearly; but Roman Catholics complained of it as compelling them to contribute to the support of a Protestant church; and Mr. Fagan, one of the members for Cork, brought in a bill for its abolition. As a majority of the Commons were in favour of the measure, the government adopted it as one of its own; and it passed both Houses. It was very near being defeated in the House of Lords, where the second reading was agreed to, on the 18th of June, by the small majority of five—101 to 96.—Another bill, intended to favour Jews and Roman Catholics by an alteration of the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, introduced by Lord Palmerston on the 15th of May, and which passed the House of Commons by a large majority, was unsuccessful in the Lords; who, on the 10th of July, refused to read it a second time by 173 votes to 139.—Resolutions to withdraw the grant to Maynooth College, to reduce the household qualification for voting in the counties, to introduce the ballot, to abolish the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and to censure government for commencing and concluding the war with Persia without consulting parliament, were introduced in the Commons, and negatived; the latter, moved by Mr. Roebuck on the 16th of July, by the large majority of 352 to 38.

During the session, in consequence of frauds which were brought to light, "committed by trustees, bankers, and other persons entrusted with property," and of abuses connected with joint-stock companies, acts were passed for better regulating those companies, and making the frauds alluded to punishable as misdemeanours. Two important acts were also passed to promote the attempts of those who were desirous of preserving the youthful street Arabs—the forlorn and frequently abandoned children met with in our public places—from crime and ruin. One of these measures was directed to "promote the establishment and extension of reformatory schools in England;" the other, "to make better provision for the care and education of vagrant, destitute, and disorderly children, and for the extension of industrial schools."—The most important acts of the session received the royal assent on the 25th and 28th of August: they were acts "to Amend the Laws relating to Probates and Letters of Administration in England;" an act for the same purpose, applying to Ireland; and an act "to Amend the Law relating to Divorce and Matrimonial Causes in England." By these acts, two new courts were established, one called the "Probate Court," the other the "Divorce Court;" but the same judge was to preside over both, with a salary of £4,000 per annum, and a retiring yearly pension of half that amount. By the first bill, the powers of the ecclesiastical courts—in which the laws connected with marriage and testamentary matters had been administered—were materially abridged; as their jurisdiction in the latter was abolished, and transferred to the Probate Court; and that in the former limited to the granting of marriage licences, when applied for. Both these measures were, in their passage through the two Houses, strongly opposed, especially that for establishing a Divorce Court; by which divorces—previously only obtainable by rich persons who could afford to pay the expenses attendant upon passing a Divorce Bill through parliament—were placed within the reach of persons of ordinary means.

Some of the general events of the year were of considerable importance. Our merchants trading to the Baltic, in common with those of other nations, had long complained of the dues levied by the Danish government upon vessels passing "the Sound"—the channel connecting the North Sea with the Baltic. Negotiations had been going on for some time with the court of Copenhagen to procure the abolition of those dues; and they were brought to a close on the 14th of March, by the signature of a treaty, by which the various European powers agreed to pay Denmark a considerable sum of money as an indemnity for the abolition. This sum was paid by the different powers in a ratio according with that of the average number of vessels of each which passed the Sound every year. The amount which Great Britain had to pay was £1,125,206.—On the 30th of April, the Duchess of Gloucester, the last of the family of George III., died at Gloucester House.—On the 25th of June, by order of the privy council, letters patent of the Queen were published, bestowing on Prince Albert the title of Prince Consort during the joint lives of her majesty and his royal highness.—On the 31st of May, the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia arrived in England, on a visit to her majesty; and on the 8th of August, when the Queen and Prince Consort were at Osborne, the Emperor and Empress of the French arrived, and remained at Osborne House for some days. In this visit—according to a statement made by Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons—the emperor, and the Queen and her advisers, conferred upon Eastern affairs; which, owing to events in the Danubian principalities, were becoming again involved, and had caused considerable differences between the ambassadors of the great powers at Constantinople. By the treaty of Paris, those principalities were to be kept under separate governments; the inhabitants were desirous of their union, under one hospodar; and this course the French and Russian

ambassadors, in opposition to the Turkish court and the ambassadors of England and Austria, supported. Turkish influence procured the election of two hospodars, in opposition to the wishes of the majority of the population; and the ambassadors favourable to the union left Constantinople. After the conferences at Osborne, the elections were annulled, and the ambassadorial flags were re-hoisted at the Turkish capital. The differences respecting the principalities did not, however, subside; but were left for a second congress of Paris to adjust. The negotiations on the subject continued far into 1858. On the 20th of August in that year, a convention was signed at Paris, stipulating that the principalities, as the United Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, should be under one hospodar, and the sultan was to continue the suzerain.

During the year, 30,000 troops were sent to India; and, on the 25th of August, a public meeting was held at the Mansion-house, London, to originate a subscription in aid of the sufferers by the mutiny of the Sepoys in that country. The subscription was liberally supported in London and in the provinces; and, notwithstanding a financial crisis that occurred in the autumn, upwards of £260,000 was raised. That crisis was caused by a monetary panic in the United States. This panic originated with the railroads, which were saddled with debt. After a brief struggle, the companies were unable to pay their dividends, or to meet their other obligations; the banks, whose issues had been enormous, could not pay their notes in gold; the largest mercantile firms caught the contagion; and, for a time, all remittances to foreign firms were suspended, many of them never being made at all. As the balance of trade between the two countries always leaves a great debt due to England, and as no attempt in the summer and autumn of 1857 could be made to reduce the large sums then due, many eminent commercial establishments, whose chief support was the American trade, failed; and their aggregate liabilities were stated at £45,000,000. The panic extended to Scotland and Ireland. In the former country, it was increased by the failure of the Western Bank of Scotland, which occasioned a wide-spread distress that was long remembered. The Bank of England resisted the pressure, and afforded assistance as long as it was able; but its reserve of notes and bullion became so diminished, that, on the 12th of November, Lord Palmerston, as First Lord of the Treasury, and Sir George C. Lewis, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, wrote to the chairman of the Court of Directors, authorising an extension of the issue of notes beyond the limits fixed by the act of 1844. Parliament was assembled on the 3rd of December, to pass a bill of indemnity for this exercise of power, and the step arrested the progress of the panic.

The two Houses met on the 3rd of December. The session was opened by the Queen, who regretted the circumstances which had led to the suspension of the act of 1844; and said a bill would be introduced to indemnify those who advised and those who acted under that suspension. This bill being passed, a select committee was appointed, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to inquire into the Bank Act of England of 1844, and those of Scotland and Ireland of 1845; and also into the causes of the recent commercial distress, and how far it had been regulated by the issue of bank notes payable on demand. The laborious inquiries of this committee, it may be remarked, led to no result. After its appointment, the legislature was adjourned to the 4th of February, 1858.—At the close of the year, the agricultural interest appeared to be more flourishing than it had been since the repeal of the corn-laws, notwithstanding the pressure of the commercial distress. That distress did not appear to affect either the revenue or the foreign trade. The former amounted, from January 1st to December 31st, notwithstanding the repeal of taxes, to £66,056,055; and the value of the exports of British and foreign produce in the year, was £122,066,107.

When the year 1858 opened, Lord Palmerston and his cabinet appeared to be secure in their places for years, so large was the majority in the Commons, which followed them into the lobby on divisions, and so popular were they in the country. But events were on the *tapis* which soon after effected a complete change in their position. The Emperor Napoleon, during his residence in Italy, had belonged to a secret political society, called the Carbonari. Having, when he became Emperor of France, ceased to be a member, he was marked out for the vengeance of his former colleagues. Two attempts at assassination had been made, and failed. Then, in 1857, towards the close of the year, a new conspiracy against him was organised in Italy. Orsini, one of the conspirators, came to England. There, under his direction, and that of some refugees who acted with him, a number of hand-grenades were constructed; which, in January, Orsini took with him to the continent, entering them at the custom-house as a newly-invented gas-apparatus. On the evening of the 14th of January, the emperor and empress went to the Italian Opera. Their carriage reached the door of the opera-house, in the Rue Lepelletier, at half-past eight o'clock. Just at that moment an explosion took place, and a number of hollow projectiles were scattered about. It was followed by two others; and the effect was, to damage the carriage, kill one of the horses, wound General Bosquet, who was sitting in the carriage in front of the emperor, send a projectile through the emperor's hat, kill five soldiers, and wound

about sixty persons, two mortally. Orsini was arrested; an active and searching inquiry was made into the circumstances; and, on the 20th of January, Count Walewski, then the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, wrote to Count de Persigny, the French ambassador in London, informing him of the connection which had been traced between Orsini and conspirators in England; reminding him that the plan of Pianori to assassinate the emperor had been formed in England; that on another occasion, Mazzini, Ledru-Rollin, and Campanella had directed the assassins from London; and whilst he "appreciated and respected the liberality with which England exercised the right of asylum to foreigners, the victims of political struggles," the count asked—

"Ought the right of asylum to protect such a state of things? Is hospitality due to assassins? Ought the English legislature to contribute to favour their designs and their plans? And can it continue to shelter persons who, by their flagrant acts, place themselves beyond the pale of common right?"

To this despatch no direct answer was returned. It was followed, on the 27th of January, by the publication, in the *Moniteur*, of numerous addresses to the emperor from colonels in the French army, in which very strong expressions were used, relative to the asylum given to foreigners in England. These addresses—as, in some of them, the French officers wished to be placed at the head of their men, for the purpose of coming to England, and clearing the country of the regicides—caused great excitement amongst the English people; and, leading to fears of invasion, gave a great impetus to a patriotic movement, which had been previously set on foot, for forming regiments of rifle volunteers. The press, which reflected public opinion in England, contained indignant articles both on the Walewski despatch and the colonels' addresses; while a correspondence took place between the two governments, which bore a conciliatory tone; but the French government strongly pointed out the necessity of a law to punish and expel such characters as Orsini from this country; the emperor writing to the Count de Persigny towards the close of January, and saying that, although he "did not deceive himself as to the little efficiency of the measures which could be taken," yet, to adopt them, "would still be a friendly act which would calm much irritation at Paris;" adding, "it is not now a question of saving my life; it is a question of saving the alliance."

On the 4th of February parliament assembled after the adjournment. On the 8th, Lord Palmerston moved for leave to bring in a bill "to amend the law relating to the crimes of conspiracy and incitement to murder, either within or without her majesty's dominions, and whether the person killed or to be killed was a subject of her majesty or not." The introduction of this bill was opposed; but, after two nights' debate, leave was given, by 299 "ayes" against 99 "noes." The bill was brought in, and read a first time. Between that period and the 19th of February—the evening fixed for the second reading—numerous public meetings were held, at which the bill was condemned in the strongest terms, because it was believed to have been introduced at the instigation of the French government. It was the idea that English ministers were acting under foreign influence, that formed the only objection to the bill; for, although the foreign political refugee has the right of asylum in England; he can have no right to plan and organise conspiracies and assassinations; and if he engages in any such nefarious undertakings, he ought to be immediately compelled to leave our shores. The feeling against foreign intervention was strongly entertained by many members of the House of Commons; and when, on the 19th of February, Lord Palmerston moved the second reading of the bill, Mr. Milner Gibson (who, since the general election of April, 1857, had obtained a seat for Ashton-under-Lyne, vacant by the death of Mr. Hindley) moved, as an amendment—

"That the House had heard, with much concern, that recent attempts upon the life of the Emperor of the French had been devised in England, and expressed its detestation of such guilty enterprises. That it was ready at all times to remedy any defects in the criminal law proved to exist, yet regretted that her majesty's government, previously to inviting the House to amend the law of conspiracy, had not made some reply to the despatch of the French government, dated January 20th, 1857."

After an animated and interesting debate, this amendment was adopted by 234 votes to 215. On the 22nd, the Palmerston ministry resigned; and the Earl of Derby having been sent for by her majesty, undertook to carry on the government. Both Houses were adjourned, to allow his lordship time to construct his administration; and by the 1st of March that task was accomplished. The following noblemen and gentlemen then composed

THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury ...	The Earl of Derby.
Lord Chancellor	Sir Frederick Thesiger, who was created Baron Chelmsford.
President of the Council	The Marquis of Salisbury.
Lord Privy Seal	The Earl of Hardwicke.
Secretaries of State — *Home Department*	Mr. Spencer Walpole.
Secretaries of State — *Foreign Affairs*	Lord Malmesbury.
Secretaries of State — *Colonial Department* ...	Lord Stanley.
Secretaries of State — *War Department*	General Peel.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Mr. Disraeli.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Sir John Pakington.
President of the Board of Control	Lord Ellenborough.
President of the Board of Trade.........	Mr. Henley.
First Commissioner of Works............	Lord John Manners.

NOT IN THE CABINET.

Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	The Duke of Montrose.
Lords of the Treasury	Lord Henry G. C. G. Lennox, Lieut.-Colonel T. E Taylor, and H. Whitmore.
Secretaries of the Treasury	Sir William G. H. Jolliffe and G. A. Hamilton.
Lords of the Admiralty	Vice-Admirals W. F. Martin and R. S. Dundas; Rear-Admiral A. Milne, Captain Hon. J. R. Drummond, and Lord Lovaine.
Secretaries to the Admiralty	Right Hon. H. T. L. Corry and W. G. Romaine.
Vice-President of the Board of Trade	The Earl of Donoughmore.
Postmaster-General	Lord Colchester.
Attorney-General	Sir Fitzroy Kelly.
Solicitor-General	Sir H. M. Calmont Cairns.

SCOTLAND.

Lord Advocate	Right Hon. Charles Baillie.

IRELAND.

The Lord-Lieutenant	The Earl of Eglinton.
Lord High Chancellor	Right Hon. J. Napier.
Chief Secretary	Lord Naas.
Attorney-General	James Whiteside.
Solicitor-General	Edmond Hayes.

When the new ministry met the parliament, Earl Derby detailed the principles on which the government would be conducted; and, on the 12th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the Commons, that the painful misconceptions between France and England had been, by friendly correspondence, brought to an honourable termination, which, he believed, would be satisfactory to the people of both countries. Parliament was then occupied with the India Bill, which was finally passed, mainly through the tact and urbanity of Lord Stanley, the eldest son of the premier. The circumstances which led to that bill, and the changes it effected, are stated in Chapter CXVII. When those changes were finally settled, Lord Stanley became the First Secretary of State for India, and Sir E. Bulwer Lytton took the seals of the colonial department.

On the 19th of April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his financial statement, which was ably drawn up. The right honourable gentleman proposed some important changes in the customs; that an additional duty of 1*s.* 10*d.* per gallon should be laid on spirits distilled in Ireland, to raise the duty in that country to the same amount as was paid on spirits distilled in England or Scotland; that a stamp duty of one penny should be imposed on all cheques and drafts drawn on bankers; and that the stamp duty on passports should be reduced from 5*s.* to 6*d.* All the propositions of Mr. Disraeli were adopted by the House.

This session, the bill for substituting a new oath for those of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, again introduced by Lord John Russell, became law; as did another for allowing persons professing the Jewish religion, elected members of the House of Commons, to sit and vote in that House on taking the new oath, from which they were allowed to omit the words, "On the true faith of a Christian." In the general oath, the old pledges of allegiance and supremacy, and to maintain the Protestant succession to the crown, were retained; the clauses denouncing certain articles of the Roman Catholic faith as idolatrous and superstitious were omitted.—On the 26th of July, Baron Rothschild, who had been twice elected as one of the members for the city of London, took his seat; being the first Jew who sat and voted in the British legislature.—A bill abolishing the qualification, in landed property, of £600 for county members, and of £300 per annum for representatives of the House of Commons, was passed this session by both Houses, being read a third time in the Lords on the 15th of June.—In July a bill was passed for forming a new colony in North-west America, to be called British Columbia—a district brought into notice by the discovery of gold-fields within its boundaries. On the 2nd of August parliament was prorogued.

During the month of February, the excitement connected with the French conspiracy continued. Orsini, with three associates, was tried in Paris. One was acquitted; the others were found guilty; and Orsini and Joseph Andrew Pieri were executed on the 13th of March. The other convict was imprisoned for life. Dr. Simon Francis Bernard, a member of a political debating society that met at a coffee-house in Leicester Square, London, was also included in the act of accusation. As he was in England, he was tried *par contumace.* In consequence of the disclosures made on the trial, he was arrested in London, and committed on a charge of being connected with the Orsini plot. The trial took place in April, commencing on the 17th. It lasted six days, and ended in an acquittal.—On the 15th of May, the Queen and the Prince Consort visited Birmingham, where they met with a most enthusiastic reception.—After the prorogation of parliament, her majesty and the prince went to Cherbourg, and were present at the opening of a magnificent dock there, called the Napoleon Dock; having been commenced by the first emperor, and, after a long suspension of the works, completed by the second occupant of the imperial throne. On that day, an important telegraphic message was received by her majesty. In the previous year, an attempt had been made to lay an electric cable across the Atlantic, for the interchange of messages between Europe, Newfoundland, Canada, and the United States. It failed, the cable breaking when it had been laid about half-way across the wide ocean. The attempt was renewed in 1858; and at Cherbourg her majesty received a congratulatory message from Mr. Buchanan, the president of the United States, upon the completion of the undertaking. The Queen returned

an answer, rejoicing at the event, and anticipating great benefits to England and America from the facility of intercourse thus afforded. Messages continued to be exchanged till the 3rd of September, when the power of transmission ceased; and several years elapsed before the attempt to relay the cable was again made.—In September, the Queen and Prince Consort went to Potsdam, to visit the Princess Royal. On their return, they proceeded to Scotland; inaugurating on their way, on the 7th of September, a splendid new Town Hall just completed at Leeds.—On the 13th of that month, one of the most terrible accidents on record occurred. The Hamburgh screw-steamer *Austria*, on her voyage to America, was burnt at sea, and upwards of 400 lives—passengers and crew—were lost.

The autumn was distinguished by an active agitation for reform, in which Mr. Bright and Mr. Milner Gibson were the principal actors. Meetings were held at Newcastle, Leeds, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Leicester, Carlisle, Hull, Manchester, Ashton, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, which were numerously attended. Mr. Bright made many eloquent speeches, bitterly denouncing the higher classes, whom he styled "a bloated aristocracy;" and accused them of having caused all the wars of the last century and a-half, and thus to have initiated the national debt. This, he said, was not to serve the country, but to provide, out of the national purse, for the younger branches of their families, who were deprived, by the law of primogeniture, of their proper and legitimate means of support. His speeches caused many moderate men to join the ranks of the Conservatives; but they pleased the Radicals. A meeting of the latter party, held at London on the 5th of November, which was attended by most of the members of parliament belonging to it, passed a resolution, requesting him to introduce a Reform Bill when parliament met, and he promised to do so.—On Friday, the 10th of December, a *soirée* was given to Mr. Bright and Mr. Milner Gibson at Manchester; at which, for the first time, the report of the speeches was transmitted to the *Times* by electric telegraph. The first portion of the report was received at the telegraph office at Manchester at fifty-five minutes after ten o'clock on the night the speeches were delivered; and the last at twenty-five minutes past one in the morning of Saturday, the 11th of December. The report occupied nearly six columns of the *Times*. It was in type by three o'clock, and published at the usual hour on the 11th. This feat, unexampled then in reporting for rapidity of transmission, has, since that period, been frequently surpassed.

This year, the taxes realised the sum of £61,812,555; the expenditure amounting to £60,684,898. The value of the exports for the twelve months was reported to be £116,608,756.

CHAPTER CXVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA—WAR WITH PERSIA—WAR WITH CHINA—THE INDIAN MUTINY.—A.D. 1856, 1857.



WE will now pass over to British India; where, in the year 1857, events occurred which make the blood run cold when we read of them, even at this distance of time. At that era, by conquest and by annexation, British India had become a most extensive empire, comprising an area of 842,367 square miles, with a population estimated at upwards of 180,000,000. It was divided into three presidencies, of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay; and the three heads of those provinces acknowledged the supremacy of the governor-general, who resided at Calcutta—a fine town, situated on the river Hooghly, the capital of the presidency of Bengal and of all British India. The last annexation to this vast empire had been the territory of Oude. There were several wars with the sovereign of that country, and as many treaties, from the middle of the eighteenth century to the close; the last being signed on the 10th of November, 1801. From that time the sovereigns of Oude spent most profligate and licentious lives, and none more so than the last king, Wajid Alee Shah. Under these sovereigns, Oude became "one of the most miserably governed countries under heaven;" and a member of the household of Nussur-u-Deen, Wajid Alee's father, remarked, in 1855, "that it would be a blessing to its numerous inhabitants were the Indian government to do for it what had been so well done for the Punjaub." This was soon after done; the continued misgovernment of Wajid rendering it impossible to give effect to the treaty of 1801. A new agreement was drawn up at the close of 1855, by which the administration of affairs in the territory of Oude was transferred to the British government, ample pro-

vision being made for the maintenance of the king and his family in dignity, splendour, and honour. Wajid Aleo refused to sign this treaty: in consequence, the Marquis of Dalhousie—who had been governor-general since the 4th of August, 1847—declared the treaty of 1801 to be null and void; and by a proclamation issued on the 7th of February, 1856, his excellency announced the deposition of the king, and the annexation of Oude to the British possessions in India. A pension of twelve lacs of rupees, or £120,000 sterling, was settled upon the deposed sovereign.

This was the last important act of the Marquis of Dalhousie as governor-general. He was succeeded, on the 29th of February, by Viscount Canning, who found negotiations going on with Persia, that country having —it is supposed at the instigation of Russia—interfered in the affairs of Affghanistan; and the British ambassador at Teheran, Mr. Murray, having been insulted by imputations cast on his honour, both by the Shah and his ministers. By an agreement entered into at Teheran, on the 23rd of January, 1853, the Persian government had engaged not to send any troops to Herat, an important fortified town, and commercial and military position in Western Affghanistan, which had maintained its independence; and it was considered necessary to England that it should continue to do so. Towards the close of 1855, it was evident that the Persian government intended to violate this agreement; and negotiations were being carried on at Constantinople, between a Persian envoy and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, to effect an understanding both on this point and the insult offered to the ambassador. An engagement satisfactory to both parties was concluded; but, in the interim, the Persian prince, Moorad Meerza, at the head of 9,000 men, had marched on Herat, defeated the Heratees, and besieged, captured, and occupied the city. As he refused to withdraw his troops, on the 1st of November, 1856, Viscount Canning declared war against Persia. Intelligence of these events reached Constantinople in December, just after the agreement or treaty had been signed by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and Ferokh Khan. The latter immediately declared the engagement into which he had entered to be null and void; and, before the year closed, he quitted Constantinople.

Hostilities were not of very long duration. As soon as war was declared, a military force, under the command of General Stalker, was sent from Bombay to the Persian Gulf. This force was landed near Bushire on the 8th of December; and on the 10th that city was taken possession of by the British.—In January, 1857, the gallant Sir James Outram, who has been termed the Bayard of India, was appointed commander-in-chief of the troops in Persia. On the 15th he sailed for Bushire; and was followed, on the 19th, by several regiments of foot and one of horse, forming the second division of the Persian army, of which the command was given to Colonel Havelock. The troops already in Persia formed the first division, and remained under the command of General Stalker. The second division landed near Bushire on the 31st of January.—On the 3rd of February, the second division marched into the interior, and, on the 5th, approached an intrenched camp of the Persians at Brasjoon, which it prepared to attack. But whilst the division halted, to allow the men to get into position, the enemy retreated; and the camp and stores were taken possession of, without fighting, except a "smart brush," as the affair was termed by an officer engaged in it, between the Persian rear-guard and a few cavalry. After everything had been destroyed which could not be carried off, the troops set out on their return to Bushire, in the evening of the 7th of February. In the night, the march was arrested by a numerous opposing force; and the next day the battle of Khoosh-aub was fought, in which the Persians—numbering about 6,000 foot, and 2,000 horse —were broken and driven from the field, leaving behind them more than 700 dead, and two very handsome 9-pounder brass guns. The English had nineteen killed, and sixty wounded.

After the troops had remained some days in idleness —at least as much idleness as a camp life affords—an expedition was planned against Mohammerah—a frontier town between Asiatic Turkey and Persia, situated on a canal, cut between the Shat-ul-Arab, a branch of the Euphrates, and the Karoon. The expedition reached the mouth of the river on the 8th of March, and waited there for the arrival of General Outram. But on the 14th of March, General Stalker committed suicide. Sir James, therefore, resolved to remain at Bushire, and gave the command of the troops engaged in the projected operations on Mohammerah, to Brigadier-General Havelock. Sir James, however, arrived before those operations were concluded. The enemy had a strong camp at the town, and there was a little fighting; but having received a slight defeat in the morning of the 26th of March, the Persians almost immediately fled from their camp, blowing up some ammunition, but leaving every tent standing, and "the ground strewed with arms, accoutrements, ammunition, band-instruments, saddlery, carpets, grain, bedding—even their dinners." On the 27th, the army took possession of Mohammerah; and as the enemy had retreated on Akwaz, a town on the Karoon, about 100 miles from Mohammerah, Sir James Outram sent 300 troops up the river, expecting to surprise the town before the enemy could arrive. The steamers convey-

ing the troops left Mohammerah on the 29th of March; but the enemy was beforehand with them, and when they made the shore, about fourteen miles below Akwaz, on the 31st, his position was discovered on the opposite bank of the river. The British, notwithstanding, landed, and took possession of Akwaz, the garrison of 500 men retreating; and, soon after, the army of 10,000 men, which had been shelled from a gun-boat accompanying the steamers, was also seen to be marching away. Pursuit was out of the question; and after destroying everything of a public character, and carrying off some guns, the little body of daring fellows returned to Mohammerah. This was the last operation; for, a few days after, it was known that peace between Persia and England had been signed at Paris, on the 4th of March.—In May the British troops returned to Bombay.

Before the year closed we were involved in the dispute with China which led to the animated discussion in the House of Commons already noticed. Subsequent to the treaty of 1842, if an English subject became the owner of a Chinese vessel, a certificate of register was given, it was authorised to bear the British flag, and to trade with those ports which were, under that treaty, opened to foreigners. In September, 1855, a small vessel, called the *Arrow*, was thus registered, but only for twelve months, which expired on the 27th of September, 1856. In the following month of October that vessel was lying in the Pearl river, and a trader, whose vessel had been destroyed by pirates, informed the authorities that some of those pirates formed part of her crew. On the 8th, the *Arrow* was boarded by a party of Chinese soldiers, and the crew taken prisoners, when, as the master, who claimed to be an Englishman, alleged, the British flag was flying at the mast-head. By the provisions of a treaty, concluded in October, 1843, and supplementary to that of 1842, before an arrest could be made on board a British vessel by Chinese officials, they were bound to communicate with the British consul, and receive from him the necessary authority. With respect to the *Arrow*, this communication was not made; and Mr. Parkes, our consul at Canton, demanded from Yeh, the Chinese governor, the release of the men, and an apology. He also wrote to Sir John Bowring, the British plenipotentiary at Hong-Kong, who supported him in his demands; although, in Sir John's own words, "the *Arrow* had no right to hoist the British flag," as "the license to do so expired on the 27th of September, from which period she had not been entitled to protection." Yeh gave up the men seized, except two, deposed to as pirates; but as they were sent privately to the consulate, and not publicly to the vessel, Mr. Parkes would not receive them: and as Yeh refused to make an apology, contending that the *Arrow* was a Chinese vessel, and the British had nothing to complain of, hostilities were resorted to. Sir Michael Seymour, the rear-admiral in command of the British fleet in the Chinese waters, went to Canton in compliance with orders received from Sir John Bowring, who, writing to Yeh, stated that "the *Arrow* lawfully bore the British flag under a register granted by him." There were then in the Canton waters twelve British vessels, carrying 301 guns; and before November closed, the forts in the Canton river were attacked and taken, the war-junks destroyed, and part of Canton occupied by British troops. The Chinese collected from 17,000 to 20,000 soldiers at Canton; and, on the 14th of December, they set fire to some houses near the factories; and the flames reaching to the latter, destroyed them all except the English factory: the foreign residents removed, in consequence, to Macao and Hong-Kong, and trade was suspended.

Early in 1857, Sir John Bowring received despatches from England, announcing that the Earl of Clarendon, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, had consulted the law-officers of the crown; and, in consequence of their opinion, he considered the "act of the Chinese authorities constituted an infraction of Art. 9 of the supplementary treaty;" he, therefore, approved of the conduct of the plenipotentiary and Rear-Admiral Seymour. The government appointed General Ashburnham commander of the forces in China; sent Lord Elgin as her majesty's ambassador extraordinary to the emperor; and ordered several regiments of troops, ships of war, and gun-boats, to proceed to Hong-Kong. Whilst these steps were being taken, the Chinese authorities made several attempts to destroy the British ships by contact with junks filled with explosive and combustible materials, and Commodore Elliott, with several vessels of war, in operations which occupied from the 25th to the 27th of May, destroyed forty-two war-junks, in Escape, Tszekee, and Second-bar Creeks, on the east side of the Pearl river. On the 1st of June, a small squadron, under Rear-Admiral Seymour, entered the Fatshan Creek, on the west side of the river; captured a fort at its mouth, mounting nineteen guns, and between seventy and eighty armed junks, "mounting, on an average, from ten to fourteen guns, many of them long 32-pounders."—On the 16th of June, Commodore Keppel captured Chucupee fort; and then a long period of inaction ensued.

General Ashburnham had arrived at Hong-Kong on the 10th of June, and Lord Elgin on the 1st of July; but the troops that followed them had been met, at the island of Ceylon, with the startling news of the mutiny in India, and their destination was, in consequence, changed to Calcutta. On the 16th of July, Lord Elgin left Hong-Kong for that city, taking with him 1,500

sailors and marines to serve against the mutineers. In his absence, Admiral Keppel established a blockade of the Canton river. His lordship returned to Hong-Kong in September; and, on the 14th of October, he was joined by the Baron Gros, sent to co-operate with him as commissioner extraordinary from the Emperor of France, who also complained of injuries received from China; and the two negotiators were "to seek, by vigorous action, explanations for past, and security against future wrongs." Several gun-boats and some troops were also sent from France; and the United States, whose flag had been fired upon in the Canton waters, had sent several men-of-war to join the English: there were also Portuguese, Dutch, and Russian vessels off Canton; and all were hostile to the Chinese.

English troops did not arrive at Hong-Kong till the autumn. General Ashburnham had, before their arrival, gone to Calcutta, leaving the command to General Van Straubenzee; and as Lord Elgin and Baron Gros could obtain no satisfactory answer from Yeh, it was determined, in pursuance of a notice given to him, to attack Canton with the united English and French forces. There was then a considerable armament collected in the Canton waters. The English fleet comprised forty-nine vessels, mounting 417 guns; Lord Elgin also had at his disposal 800 British soldiers, 2,500 marines, and a naval brigade, 1,500 strong; making a total of 4,800 men. The French had twelve vessels of war, carrying 195 guns, and about 700 troops. The commanders-in-chief, on the 16th of December, took possession of the island of Honan, opposite Canton, where they established their head-quarters. Lord Elgin and Baron Gros followed them; and, on the 21st of December, formally handed over to the naval and military authorities the further arrangement of affairs.—On the 28th, at day-break, a bombardment of Canton from the gun-boats commenced. While it was going on, the land forces were transferred from Honan to Kuper Creek, where they landed; and before dark, had taken the Lin, or the east fort, and established themselves on that side of Canton. The next morning the assault was made. The walls were breached, escaladed, and carried by 10 A.M., though the Chinese fought well, and were more numerous than the assailants; and by half-past 2 P.M., the allies had gained the complete command of the city. All the defences were taken or abandoned; and that night the victors bivouacked around the walls of the city. They remained there till the 5th of January, 1858, awaiting the surrender of Yeh; but as he did not come forward that day, the English entered the city in three columns, supported by one column of the French. No resistance was offered; but still Yeh did not make his appearance. The English marched forward, and they took the Tartar ruler and the Treasury, containing fifty-two chests full of dollars and sixty-eight parcels of Sycee silver. The Tartar general was taken by the French. A body of British sailors, under the command of Vice-Admiral Elliott and Captain Key, rushed into the *yamun*, or house of Yeh, where they succeeded in capturing him as he was in the act of making his escape over one of the walls. He was sent on board the *Inflexible;* and, on the 17th of March, was brought a prisoner from Canton to Calcutta.

The allies reorganised the government of Canton: they placed the Tartar ruler Pequi at the head of affairs, in which position he was assisted by Brigadier-General Holloway, Captain Martineau, and Mr. Parkes. After the four ministers had held several consultations, they resolved to proceed to the north, and then to forward their demands to Pekin. The first destination of the plenipotentiaries was the gulf of Pecheli, where Lord Elgin and Baron Gros arrived on the 14th of April. The next was the river Peiho; and on the 20th, the allied fleet of nineteen vessels anchored in that river, eleven miles from its mouth, and 140 miles from Pekin. Communications were immediately opened with the Chinese government; the emperor sent a commissioner, whose powers were found quite inadequate to come to any agreement; and Lord Elgin and Baron Gros having been joined by Count Putiatin and Mr. Reed, it was resolved to proceed up the river. First it was necessary to capture the Taku forts which defended the passage, in order that the return of the plenipotentiaries might not be impeded. There were five of these forts; two on the north, and three on the south side of the river. Besides the forts, which were very formidable defences, earthworks and sand-bag batteries had been erected, on which eighty-seven guns in position were discovered; the shores had also been piled to oppose a landing; two strong mud batteries, one mounting thirty-three, the other sixteen guns, had been constructed about 1,000 yards up the river; and, in the rear, several intrenched camps were visible. The attack was made on the 10th of May: the vessels opening a fire upon the forts on the north and south sides simultaneously, which the Chinese returned with great rapidity. They, however, had no wish to come to close quarters with the English and French. Soldiers and marines landed as soon as possible, and rushed to the attack of the forts; but the garrison did not wait to receive them. They made off as the assailants advanced, and that not only from the forts, but from the batteries and camps. By two o'clock all were in possession of the assailants, who took 150 brass guns, some of them of excellent workmanship. The allies lodged, during the night, on the spot; and a melancholy accident alloyed the joy felt at the successful termination of the undertaking. One of the forts allotted to the French blew

up, and thirty-six rank and file and four officers were killed.

After the capture of the forts, the plenipotentiaries proceeded up the river to Tien-tsin, eighty miles from Pekin, where they arrived on the 20th of May, and were met by two commissioners from the emperor, who had full powers to treat. A separate treaty was made with each of the four powers—England, France, Russia, and the United States. The British treaty, which was signed on the 26th of June, confirmed the treaty of 1842, and abrogated the supplementary one of October, 1843. Stipulated that there should be a British minister at the court of Pekin, and one from China at that of London, who were to transact business with the Secretary of State, or some high officer nominated by the sovereign, on the footing of equality. Guaranteed the toleration of Christianity throughout the Chinese empire; and the privilege of British subjects, with a consul's passport, to visit any part of the interior of China, and to purchase landed property. Removed all restrictions on the employment, in any lawful capacity, of the Chinese by British subjects; and on the entry of British ships to Chinese ports. Pledged both powers to take measures for the suppression of piracy. Provided for the proper regulation of the commercial tariff. Opened five new ports to foreign trade—New-chwang, Tang-chow, Chow-chow (Swatow), Tai-wan in Formosa, and Kiung-chow in Hainan. And stipulated that the Chinese "*I*" (barbarian) should not, in future, be applied in official documents to British subjects. A separate article provided that an indemnity of 4,000,000 taels should be paid for the expenses of the war, and the losses of the British merchants by the events at Canton.

The treaty with the United States was not so favourable to that country, on several points, as the English treaty was to this country; those with Russia and France were similar to the latter.—The document signed, the plenipotentiaries left Tien-tsin; and Lord Elgin, taking with him several ships, proceeded to Japan, where he was admitted to audiences with the Tycoon (or emperor), at his capital city of Jeddo. He remained a fortnight; and, before he left, concluded a treaty with the government, opening the Japanese empire to British commerce. It was signed on the 26th of August. Lord Elgin returned to Hong-Kong, and, before he left China, succeeded in arranging a commercial tariff, which appeared to be satisfactory to all parties. Soon after his lordship returned to England.—In the *London Gazette* of January 14th, 1859, the appointment of his brother, the Hon. F. W. A. Bruce, appeared, as envoy extraordinary to the Emperor of China. Consuls were also appointed to reside at Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, Tang-chow, New-chwang, Foo-chow-foo, Chin-kiang, Ningpo, and Swatow; and a consul-general in Japan.

The Sepoy mutiny in India now demands our attention; the announcement of which occasioned more excitement in England than any event that has occurred for a number of years. At the commencement of 1857, "the whole of the British empire in India" was said to be "apparently in a state of profound tranquillity;" but the public mind in that country was not unprepared for the announcement of discontent amongst the native troops, though no one expected the horrible events to which it gave rise. Opinions differ much as to the causes of the mutiny. They were, no doubt, numerous; some arising from those feelings which a conquered people naturally imbibe towards their conquerors; others from religious opinions, and the fear of the Hindoos that their system of *caste* was to be interfered with. The loss of *prestige* by the English, from the occurrences at Cabool, though it was amply redeemed by subsequent events, was not without its effect. The annexation of Scinde was a great grievance; and the disallowance, by the Marquis of Dalhousie, of the Indian system of adoption—by which a native prince, with no son, might adopt a friend or relative, or make him his heir—was a still greater. The same nobleman's annexation of Oude was also very unpopular. When that annexation became known in England, Syed Abdoollah, a Hindoo and professor of Hindostani in University College, London, in an interview with the Earl of Albemarle, declared his conviction, that, if the measure were persisted in, the result would be a mutiny in the Anglo-Indian army. That army was greatly recruited from Oude; the recruits being what would be termed in England freeholders, or representatives of freeholders; and they feared the same course would be pursued, with respect to Oude, as had been almost invariably adopted when other annexations had taken place—viz., that a searching inquiry into the title of every proprietor would be made, with a view of invalidating his tenure. Then came the introduction of the Enfield rifle, which rendered greased cartridges necessary. The grease was a compound of mutton fat and wax; but it was asserted to be the fat of cows and pigs, which it was alike an abomination for Hindoos and Mohammedans to taste, as they must do, in biting their cartridges. This last seems to have been the culminating cause; for the outbreak almost immediately followed the introduction of the rifle and the greased cartridges, which the Sepoys generally refused to take.

The first outbreak took place on the 24th of January, 1857, at Barrackpore—a military station on the banks of the Hooghly, about fifteen miles above Calcutta. There were other acts of insubordination at Berhampoor, a station also on the Hooghly, a few miles further from Calcutta. It was the 19th native infantry which had

been insubordinate at the first-mentioned station. As soon as a European regiment could be marched there, the 19th was paid off and discharged. Two insubordinates of other regiments were hanged. At the same time agents were passing from one regiment to another, telling the Hindoo Sepoys that the greased cartridges were used to abolish their *caste;* and *chupaties* (pieces of unleavened bread about the size of a small gingerbread nut or biscuit) were distributed from village to village, through the hands of the chowkeydars, or watchmen; being first sent out, it is asserted, from Cawnpore, the capital of a district of that name, in Allahabad, a province in the north-western district of Bengal. This circulation of the *chupaties,* said to have been "spread over the provinces with a velocity of speed never yet equalled by the bearers of government despatches," threw the whole country into a state of excitement. The messengers were arrested and examined, but nothing at all could be learned from them: and W. C. Erskine, Esq., commissioner in the Saugor division of Bengal, where the distribution also took place, writing to C. B. Thornhill, Esq., the officiating secretary to the government in the north-western provinces, on the 5th of March, said, "Nothing has yet been discovered beyond the fact of the spread of the cakes, and the general belief that such distribution, passed on from village to village, will prevent hail falling, and keep away sickness." Mr. Erskine also understood that the practice was adopted by dyers, when the dye would not act properly; and closed his letter by declaring that "there appeared to be no harm intended."

Many people believe, however, that the circulation of the *chupaties* was the signal for the Sepoys to mutiny. At all events, shortly after, the cartridges were refused by several regiments; and on the 3rd of May, when they were offered to the 7th regiment of irregular infantry at Lucknow, the capital of Oude, the men not only refused them, but committed acts of insubordination, and threatened to shoot one of their European officers. Order was restored by the Queen's 32nd and the artillery; but the discontent continued. At that time, "the demeanour of the native troops had become insolent and threatening throughout the whole of the Bengal presidency, and, to observant persons, was a cause of much anxiety."

It was at Meerut—a military station between the Ganges and the Jumna, thirty-eight miles N.E. of Delhi—that the first decided movement was made by the mutineers. At the beginning of May, the 11th and 20th regiments of native infantry, and the 3rd regiment of light cavalry, were stationed at Meerut; the three comprising 2,700 men. There was also a European force of 1,717 men, composed of the 60th Rifles, the 6th Carabineers, and some artillery.—On the 6th of May, eighty-five of the native cavalry refused the cartridges, were tried by a court-martial on the 9th, sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour, and taken to prison. The next day was Sunday. During the time of divine service, in the evening, the native infantry assembled on their parade-ground, shot several of their European officers, and, being joined by the cavalry, made for the prison where the mutineers were confined; murdered all the Europeans—men, women, and children—they met with on their way. Having reached the gaol, they liberated the mutineers, and set off for Delhi. They were pursued by the Carabineers and Rifles; but succeeded in reaching that city with little loss. There were three native regiments and a company of native artillery—in all, 3,361 Sepoys, and forty-eight European officers—stationed in the cantonments, about a mile from the city walls. In Delhi there was a large magazine in charge of two officers of artillery, Lieutenant George Dobson Willoughby and Lieutenant Forest, with three or four subalterns; who, when the mutineers from Meerut approached, secured the gates, and loaded the 6-pound guns with grapeshot. Three of the subalterns were also employed in laying a train to ignite the ammunition. When the mutineers entered Delhi, some began to murder the European inhabitants, most shamefully ill-treating the females; and others made for the magazine, where the demand to surrender in the name of the king was received with discharges of grapeshot. Some Europeans escaped, got to the cantonments, and the officers there led the Sepoys to Delhi, in hopes they would aid them in putting down the mutiny. But as each of the regiments arrived, they no sooner got within the gates, than they shot their European officers, and joined the mutineers. In the meantime the struggle at the magazine was going on; and the natives who were withinside first refused to obey their officers, and then, when the mutineers on the outside threw up ladders, and attempted to scale the walls, those on the inside climbed up the sloped sheds in the interior of the magazine, and, descending on the exterior, joined the assailants. Many of the latter fell from the discharge of grapeshot; and when defence was no longer possible, Lieutenant Willoughby ordered the train to be fired. This was done; and the explosion was terrible, killing many of the Sepoys. The Europeans were all wounded; but they made their escape in the confusion, except Lieutenant Willoughby, who was seen no more. Delhi was then entirely in the hands of the mutineers, who massacred the Christian inhabitants, and many of the natives who were in their employ; plundered the bank (cruelly murdering the manager, his wife, and five children), and the government treasury; destroyed the

church and other buildings; and proclaimed Mohammed Suraj-oo-deen Shah Ghazee, the old Mohammedan king—who was living there with some of the remains of royalty about him, but as a pensioner of the British—Emperor of Hindostan.

It was a providential thing for the Europeans that the telegraph wires had been so extensively spread across the country. By this medium, intelligence of the mutiny at Meerut, and the occupation of Delhi, was transmitted to Calcutta on one side, and, on the other, to Lahore, the principal city of the Punjaub; where Mr. Robert Montgomery, the judicial commissioner, was acting for Sir John Lawrence, the chief commissioner, during his temporary absence. The information was received on the evening of the 12th of May, when a ball and supper were to take place. The commissioner summoned the leading military and civil officers to a conference; and it was resolved to disarm and deprive of their ammunition the 16th, 26th, and 49th native infantry, and 5th light cavalry, which were stationed at Meean Meer, a large military cantonment, five or six miles from Lahore. The European troops were mustered, and marched to Meean Meer, where the native troops were summoned, and confronted with a dozen pieces of artillery charged with grape. They were ordered to pile their arms; and, as they had no alternative but to obey or to be mowed down with grapeshot, they reluctantly complied, and the Europeans put the weapons in places of security. The intelligence of the events at Delhi was received, on the 13th of May, at Ferozepore and at Peshawur, where the same prompt steps were taken as at Lahore; and at the latter place a corps of European troops was concentrated, of which Major-General Reed, as senior officer, took the command; and it was to act as a movable column, "to move on every point in the Punjaub where open mutiny required to be put down by force." Sir John Lawrence, who returned to Lahore as soon as he heard of the outbreak, skilfully organised the small European force in the Punjaub, and raised fresh troops among the Mooltanese, Sikhs, and hill tribes. The governor-general took equally effective steps to reinforce the Europeans in the disturbed districts, as far as the force at his disposal would allow; and he wrote for fresh troops to be sent from Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, the Mauritius, Burmah, the Eastern settlements, and England; and from all those places reinforcements, in time, were received. The Hon. General George Anson, commander-in-chief of the forces in India, who was at Simla when the mutiny broke out, as soon as he received the intelligence, proceeded to Umballah, in the Cis-Sutlej territory, where the principal part of the European forces in the north-west were concentrated; and where he made immediate preparations to march to Delhi, to relieve that city from the hands of the mutineers.

During the remainder of the month of May, and in June, there were mutinies in the Upper Punjaub, at Umballah, Murdan, Allahabad, Benares, Ferozepore, Allyghur, Nusseerabad, Bareilly, Shahjehanpore, Lucknow, Cawnpore, and various other places. Before the latter month closed, the movement had spread most rapidly in all directions. The revolt had become universal in the Bengal army, which was converted from a body of brave and disciplined troops, into bands of desperate rebels, or unarmed malcontents. "From Calcutta to Peshawur, and from Delhi to Hyderabad, had become a scene of savage strife, of anarchy, and of pitiless carnage." From the rapidity of the movements, and the uniform conduct of the Sepoys, there can be no doubt that the mutiny was pre-arranged and organised; and that the mutineers kept up an understanding with each other by an agency, of which the authorities were not aware. Wherever they obtained a temporary success, the Europeans, without respect to age or sex, were massacred; and the general treatment of the females was barbarous in the extreme. Every indignity that can be named was frequently inflicted upon them before their lives were taken. The murderers seized any artillery, muskets, and ammunition which they could lay hands upon. Most of them, when they had succeeded in murdering or eluding the Europeans, made for Delhi.

The most serious occurrences took place at Lucknow and Cawnpore. At the former city, Sir Henry Lawrence was the chief commissioner; and, after the occurrences of the 3rd of May, his promptness and vigilance succeeded in procuring a temporary calm. There were three regiments of native infantry and one of light cavalry at Lucknow; her majesty's 32nd regiment, a battery of artillery, and a small detachment of irregular horse. Sir Henry had deemed all safe, except from external influences, on the 23rd of May; but on the 29th, he informed the government at Calcutta, by telegraph, that there was "great uneasiness at Lucknow," that "disturbances were threatened outside," and that "tranquillity could not be much longer maintained unless Delhi was speedily captured." On the 30th, the commissioner was warned of danger; but the day passed over, and he began to think it was not likely to occur at the moment. At about 9 P.M., however, he heard a discharge of musketry from the direction of the cantonment where the 71st native regiment was stationed; and it appeared there was a general outbreak of the Sepoys, who had fired the bungalows; shot General Handscomb, who commanded the brigade, and thought he could induce the men to return to their duty; and cruelly murdered Lieutenant Grant, who

was in charge of the cantonment guard, and was deserted by his men. Sir Henry Lawrence, when he heard the firing, rode to the encampment of the 32nd regiment, which he found already under arms; and placing one part of the men to guard the Residency, he, with the remainder and two guns, took up a position on the road from the cantonment to Lucknow, to be enabled to check the mutineers should they contemplate a raid on the city. They did not immediately turn their steps in that direction, but went and set fire to the cavalry quarters at Moodkeepore, a short distance from the cantonments. Then they retraced their steps, and the commissioner met them, at the head of 200 Europeans, the 7th native light cavalry, a few of the irregulars, and two guns. About 300 men of the three infantry regiments, who had continued faithful, also joined the commissioner's little force. The mutineers fled as the Europeans approached, some of the light cavalry joining them; and the remainder of that regiment evinced no zeal. A few round shots were discharged at the runaways, whom the Europeans could not overtake, and Sir Henry returned to Lucknow with thirty prisoners.

The commissioner's first steps were to punish the guilty who were in his power, and to reward those who had nobly done their duty. But as time progressed he found his difficulties increase. In Oude the mutiny was general; and before the middle of June, every station, except Lucknow, was in the hands of the rebels, who were favoured by the inhabitants, and there were no Europeans to resist them. Sir Henry took every precaution for the defence of the Residency, where the European inhabitants were assembled; and there the guns from the Mushee Bhawun—a strong fort, and one of the principal defences of the city—were removed, with as much of the ammunition and stores as could be conveyed away; as it was found that the force under the chief commissioner could not defend that place and the Residency. Thus the month of June was passed in incessant preparation and watchfulness. On the last day, there were reports that the mutineers were marching to attack the city. Sir Henry Lawrence, at the head of about 300 troops, some pieces of artillery, and an 8-inch howitzer, advanced to meet them. It was a disastrous movement. The rebels were found to be so overwhelming in numbers, that, after a short but severe contest, the commissioner and his small force were compelled to retire, leaving the howitzer and three field-pieces in the hands of the rebels. Their approach rendered it necessary to complete the withdrawal from the Mushee Bhawun fort; and as all the ammunition could not be removed, 240 barrels of gunpowder, and nearly 600,000 rounds of cartridge, were blown up. The enemy occupied the town; loopholed the houses, for the purpose of firing out of them; and planted the 8-inch howitzer they had captured on the other side of the river on which Lucknow stands, from which position they shelled the Residency. On the 2nd of July, Sir Henry Lawrence having been employed all the night in posting and stationing the men who came from the Mushee Bhawun fort, entered the Residency about 8 A.M., and, going to his room, laid down on his bed. Soon after, a shell from the 8-inch howitzer fell through the window, and, exploding, a fragment struck his excellency on the right thigh, inflicting a fearful wound, which occasioned his death on the 4th. As he felt the wound was mortal, he appointed Major Banks to succeed him as chief commissioner, and nominated Colonel Inglis the commander of the troops. The death of the chief commissioner occasioned great grief to the garrison. Before the month closed Major Banks was also killed by a musket-shot, and the operations for the defence of the Residency were conducted by Colonel Inglis. This position was then entirely beleaguered; and few parties have been called upon to endure greater privations and hardships, or to display more energy and fortitude, than the heroic band collected within the walls of the Residency at Lucknow, and the females who were with them, till they were relieved, some time after, by Havelock and Outram.

The occurrences at Cawnpore were more distressing and horrible than those at Lucknow. On the 16th of May, it was known at that town that the Sepoys at Meerut had mutinied, and that the mutineers had taken Delhi. General Sir Hugh Wheeler was then in command at Cawnpore, with three native regiments (the 1st, 53rd, and 56th), the 2nd regiment of Bengal light cavalry, and some artillery. To this army there were attached 115 European officers; and there was a European detachment of infantry and artillery, but it only numbered 170 men. The town stands on a plain, and was entirely without any fort or other building, either for defence or refuge. A military hospital was being erected in the middle of the grand parade, which had some other unfinished buildings on the north-west, and on the north-east a partly built church. Sir Hugh resolved to convert these buildings into a place of retreat. For that purpose he connected them with breastworks, surrounded them with intrenchments, and placed there a supply of ammunition, with provisions and other stores sufficient to support 1,000 persons for thirty days. Till the end of May, with one exception, the only unusual symptoms evinced by the troops were, that they sent home their families, and held meetings nearly every night, not at any public place of assembly, but in their own lines. The exception was the refusal of the Sepoy guard at the collectorate at Nawabgunge, four miles from Cawnpore, to

allow the revenue lying there—amounting to about seven lacs of rupees (£70,000)—to be removed to the fortified intrenchment. This caused Sir Hugh Wheeler to apply to Nana Sahib, the Rajah of Bithoor (a place about twelve miles from Cawnpore), to send him some men to protect the Treasury. Nana promptly complied; and when 300 Mahratta troops arrived from Bithoor, the general felt that the money was safe: he soon discovered that the chief he had applied to was in league with the Sepoys, and that the British had not a more bitter enemy than Nana Sahib. The proper name of that individual was Nana Dhoondu Pant; he had been adopted by the ex-Peishwa, Bajee Rao, who was Rajah of Bithoor, and had no son. Bajee Rao enjoyed a pension of eight lacs of rupees, settled upon him by the East India Company when he surrendered much of his territory and dignity to them, and also held a jaghire close to the town of Bithoor. He left Nana his heir; but the Indian government refused to recognise him, as he was only the adopted, not the real, son of the Peishwa; and when he petitioned to have the titular and other rights of the deceased continued to him, his petition was refused, the jaghire was taken possession of by the company's officers, and the pension was withheld.

In the last days of May, there were several circumstances observed in the conduct of the troops which alarmed the inhabitants; and a corps of irregular Oude cavalry, sent by Sir Henry Lawrence to General Wheeler, with fifty men of her majesty's 32nd regiment, were especially unruly. On the 30th, two companies of her majesty's 84th regiment arrived from Calcutta; and this arrival induced Sir Hugh to send the men of the 32nd back to Lucknow, and order the Oude irregulars from the town to protect the communications by road between Cawnpore, Agra, Benares, and other places. Sir Hugh, knowing something of the position of Lucknow, thought himself also justified in sending one-half of the men who had arrived from Calcutta to join the force at that city. This detachment was sent off on the 3rd of June; and, on the 4th, it was known that the telegraph wires were broken between Cawnpore and Agra; and that the irregular cavalry sent to protect the roads had mutinied, murdered their officers, and gone to join the rebels at Delhi. That day Lieutenant Ashe, of the Bengal artillery, arrived with three guns, a supply of ammunition, and some gunners. He had been compelled to retire on Cawnpore, a body of troops he was leading to Futteghur having mutinied and dispersed. The guns were very acceptable to Sir Hugh Wheeler, who placed them in position upon his intrenchment. That evening the movements of the Sepoys were so suspicious that he ordered all the European noncombatants and females at the station to be concentrated with the troops. The general had then a defensive force of 240 men, with six guns; and the officers' and privates' wives and children, the servants, the civilians and their families, made an aggregate of near 900 persons collected on the night of the 4th of June, 1857, in the intrenchment at Cawnpore.

On the 5th the native troops mutinied—the 2nd light cavalry setting the example—left their cantonments, set fire to some of the officers' bungalows, plundered others, as also the paymaster's chest, and made a pile of valuable furniture, books, &c., belonging to the European officers, which they burnt. The mutineers proceeded to the collectorate at Nawabgunge, and seized the money there, packing it in bullock-carts, and on the backs of elephants which they had taken from the military stables. They met with no opposition from the Mahratta guard; and while the packing was proceeding, a messenger was despatched to Nana Sahib, to inform him that they were going to Delhi, and to express their desire that he would put himself at their head. Nana at once complied with that desire, joining them at Nawabgunge with 600 men and four guns. He did not take them to Delhi, however. Halting at Kulleanpore—the first stage from Cawnpore to that city—he called upon them not to proceed till they had killed all the English at Cawnpore. They agreed to remain; and he immediately issued a proclamation reorganising the regiments, appointing officers, and promising them all increased pay. The next day Cawnpore was in the possession of the rebels, who treated the inhabitants as if they had been Europeans; plundering the houses, and ill-using the people. Nana Sahib took up his residence in the town—of which, and the surrounding districts, he assumed the government—as the representative of the King of Delhi.

The rebels commenced a regular siege of the intrenchment, which was gallantly defended; and whilst many of the inmates were killed by the shots from the enemy, others fell a sacrifice to the unremitting fatigue and anxiety to which they were exposed. Several sorties were made to drive back the advanced posts of the assailants; and in one of them, led by Sir Hugh Wheeler on the 23rd of June, the general received a severe wound, which disabled him from active service. The next morning a message was received from Nana Sahib—one account says by a half-caste woman, another by a Mrs. Greenway, whom, with her son, he had taken prisoner, and spared their lives on the promise of a lac of rupees for their ransom—offering terms for the surrender of the position. This led to an agreement being entered into with that chief, who, on condition that the inmates of the intrenchment should retire, and leave the treasure, guns, and magazine, guaranteed to them their lives, with their arms, colours, ammunition, and personal

baggage: he also agreed to find boats to convey them in safety down the Ganges to Allahabad.

It was not the intention of the treacherous chief, however, to keep faith with the Europeans. He wanted to get possession of the intrenchment, the treasure, and the magazine; and for that purpose he professed to guarantee the safety of the inmates. But they were no sooner embarked than a fire was opened upon the boats from two guns, and also by the Sepoy infantry. Some of the men steered for the opposite shore, and attempted to land; but they were met and repulsed by the 17th native infantry, just arrived from Azimghur. The majority of the boats pursued their course down the river: they were fired upon from both sides; men, women, and children were constantly falling, dead or wounded. Some men of the native cavalry rode into the river, and slew all they could get near; and when a boat drifted near the shore, it was seized, the men killed—some of them being blown from the cannons' mouths—and the women and children were taken back to Cawnpore, and given up to the Nana, who ordered them to be lodged in a public building, called the Subada Kothee, from whence they were removed to a house near the assembly-room. General Wheeler, with several ladies and gentlemen in one boat, got down the river for twenty-two miles. They were seized by the zemindars of Joagnussar, and sent to the Nana with their hands tied behind them: all were shot.

In a few days many more prisoners were added to these victims of the Nana's treachery. The 41st and 10th regiments had mutinied at Futteghur, a military station near Furruckabad. A few able-bodied men, with women and children, and servants, making about 150 in all, took refuge in the fort, where they defended themselves till several lives were lost; and the rebels having sprung one mine, and effected a breach, were observed to be sinking another mine. As it would have been impossible to defend themselves if a second breach were effected, the survivors (126 in number) left the fort, and, between midnight of the 3rd, and 2 A.M. of the 4th of July, embarked in a boat on the Ganges, having spiked their guns and destroyed the little ammunition they had left. Their flight was discovered. They were pursued, and fired upon. Several were killed. The survivors reached Bithoor, where Nana Sahib made them prisoners, and sent them to Cawnpore, where they were confined, with the women and children who had been snatched from death on the Ganges, to meet a more terrible fate.

CHAPTER CXVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA—CONCLUSION OF THE INDIAN MUTINY.—A.D. 1857—1859.



AT this time the gallant Havelock was marching to the relief of Cawnpore and Lucknow. He had landed at Bombay, on the 29th of May, from Persia; and had immediately proceeded to Calcutta, which city he reached on the 17th of June. On the 25th, he again left Calcutta, at the head of a small movable column, with the rank of brigadier-general conferred upon him by the viceroy. His route was to Allahabad, which important city had been saved from the mutineers by the activity and energy of General Neill. He arrived there on the 30th; and on the 7th of July marched for Cawnpore, at the head of 1,000 European infantry, 130 Sikhs, eighteen volunteer cavalry, and six guns. On the 10th, he overtook Major Renaud, who had been previously despatched towards Cawnpore with 700 men and two guns. On the 12th, the united force—not amounting to 2,000 men—found the enemy strongly intrenched at Futtehpoor, a place of some magnitude, about forty-eight miles from Cawnpore, and seventy-five W.N.W. of Allahabad. Nana Sahib commanded, having with him 3,500 Sepoys and eleven guns. Havelock would fain have rested his men, as they had marched a long distance that morning, and the heat was intense; but the rebels, aware of their approach, opened a fire upon them, at a long range, from their eleven guns, and an immediate contest was inevitable. Most of Havelock's men had been with him in Persia; and reminding them that, when marching to Mohammerah, he promised them a field-day—which he could not give them, as the Persians ran away, but now they would have one, and must let the enemy see what they were made of—he led them to the attack. There was very little fighting; for the rebels broke and fled almost as soon as the Europeans (the 73rd Highlanders) approached; retreating to Cawnpore, with the loss of all their guns, ammunition, and baggage.

The next day was employed in securing and bringing-in the guns, baggage, &c.; and the discovery, amongst the latter, of ladies' dresses, worsted-work, and other

memorials of the victims of the treacherous Nana Sahib, made the men yet more eager to reach Cawnpore. On the 14th of July they were again on their march, encountering the rebels, and defeating them that day at Aong, and the next at Pandoo Nuddee; where, after another brief struggle, the Sepoys fled as before, leaving their cannon; and the pursuers found the road strewed for miles with abandoned tents, ammunition, and other materials of war. The rebels made a stand at a bridge across the Pandoo stream, which they had strongly intrenched; but they were driven from it, and the guns they had there in position captured.—On the 16th, the march to Cawnpore was continued: the Sepoys were found, at least 10,000 or 12,000 strong, cantoned before and in that city, and they made a more determined defence than at Futtehpoor or Pandoo Nuddee. The fighting lasted from 2 till 7 P.M. The Europeans and Sikhs were outflanked; the enemy got in their rear; and, for some time, less than 1,000 men were combating with at least 5,000. But the mutineers had no general capable of regulating their movements. The Europeans and Sikhs kept together, and fought desperately; the latter even more so than the former, as they had learned that the throats of some of their countrymen had been cut by the Bengal Sepoys. The determined bravery of the few was successful. One by one the positions of the enemy were taken, and their guns captured. Before nightfall they had retreated, and ceased firing; and the English force, being concentrated, bivouacked on a fine plain adjoining the grand parade-ground of the city. The next morning, while the little army was waiting for the arrival of the baggage, they saw "a huge, dense, white pillar of smoke slowly rising in the air." It was accompanied by a loud explosion; and it was soon after ascertained that Nana had blown up the grand magazine of Cawnpore, and fled to Bithoor. "Thus, in four days, the force had marched 126 miles, fought four actions, and taken twenty-four guns, light and heavy; and that, too, in the month of July, in India."

On the morning of the 17th of July, about nine o'clock, the conquerors marched into Cawnpore; and then it was discovered that Nana Sahib had crowned his atrocious treachery by murdering his captives. This had been done the previous day, when he had ascertained that the battle was going against him. They had been again removed to the Subada Kothee, being, in all, upwards of 200 women and children. All were massacred; and when the court-yard was entered, it was found to be covered with blood, which rose over the feet of the soldiers. Of the victims, 163 were the inhabitants of Cawnpore, and forty-nine were fugitives from Futteghur, who only fled from one series of horrors to encounter others even more dreadful. One of the victims [was the dau]ghter of General Wheeler. Her remains were found by the 78th Highlanders, who removed the hair from her head, dividing it amongst themselves; each vowing, that as many hairs as he held, so many mutineers should die by his hands. And, as far as lay in the power of the conquerors, their deaths were avenged, the rebel Sepoys captured alive being tried by a drum-head court-martial, and hanged. We may add, that many of the bodies of the women and children had been thrown into a large well; and several ladies leaped into that well alive, to escape the insults of the brutal soldiery. In this well the mutilated bodies of upwards of 200 women and children were found. General Neill had it decently covered in, and built as one large grave. A monument has since been erected over it.

On the 19th of July the troops marched to Bithoor, where Nana had 5,000 men and thirteen guns. When they reached that place, it was found that he had fled, and his palace was in flames.—On the 20th, General Neill, who had, at Havelock's request, marched from Allahabad to reinforce him with as many Europeans as could be spared from that station, arrived at Cawnpore. Leaving him in command there, Havelock crossed the Ganges on the 21st; and on the 25th, with 1,500 men, he commenced his march for the relief of Lucknow. The Residency at that town was then completely environed. Sir Henry Lawrence had died on the 4th of July, from the effects of his wound; and the command devolved entirely upon Sir Thomas Inglis. A daily fire, more or less severe, was kept up from the rebels' guns; the heat was excessive, and the fatigue of the garrison far beyond what a soldier on ordinary duty can conceive. Relief was anxiously looked for, but none arrived; and a staff officer wrote, on the 1st of August—

"Still no intelligence of any kind, which caused much anxiety, more particularly as some of our supplies were likely to be at an end in twenty days' time. Weather very hot and sultry; small, painful boils, covering nearly the whole body, very prevalent. Many deaths among the children, and sickness on the increase. Great inconvenience felt in the hospital for want of space; the sick and wounded sadly crowded, and the building very badly ventilated, as the lower storey was hardly safe from shots."

All this had to be endured for several weeks longer, as Havelock was unable to reach Lucknow. The rainy season was at its height, the enemy lay in his route, and he had a flooded country to wade through, as well as to fight that enemy when he appeared. On the 20th of July the foes met, and Havelock defeated the rebels between Unao and Busserut-Gunge, taking nineteen guns. Sickness, however, was so prevalent amongst his men, that, on the 31st, he was obliged to retire to Mungulwar, six miles from the Ganges. There his rear was threatened by Nana Sahib, who had again collected

round him a large number of Sepoys. The English intrenched themselves till the 4th of August, when they again advanced: and, on the 5th, drove the enemy from the town of Busserut-Gunge and the surrounding villages. As they marched, however, through a richly-cultivated country, covered with hamlets, they found themselves emerge upon an extensive open plain, over which about half-a-dozen different camps were spread, occupied with troops. Very reluctantly Havelock found himself compelled to retire again to Mungulwar. There a council of war was held, and it was resolved to return to Cawnpore; and the commissariat and stores were sent across the river, when Havelock heard that the Sepoys were again advancing, and had re-occupied Unao, Busserut-Gunge, and other places from which they had been driven; and, with 4,000 infantry, 500 cavalry, and a small battery of horse artillery, had intrenched themselves before Busserut-Gunge. It was determined to attack them there. Leaving 200 men to guard the approaches to the river, on the 12th of August that attack was made, and was completely successful; but the loss—140 men put *hors de combat*—was one which could be ill sustained. After the battle, the troops returned to Mungulwar. They then moved down to the river; and owing, we are told, "to the excellent arrangements of the engineer," they all crossed over, and bivouacked before Cawnpore that evening.

Nana Sahib had collected a large force before that town; and Havelock had only 1,415 men, 335 being sick of the cholera, or wounded. On the 15th of August, he wrote, "I do not despond. I must march to-morrow against Bithoor; but it seems advisable to look the evil in the face, for there is no chance but between reinforcements and gradual absorption by disease." On that day, General Neill attacked the left wing of Nana's army at the Pandoo Nuddee, threw it into confusion, and drove it back to Bithoor. The next day, Havelock, with all the forces at his command, marched to Bithoor, where the main body of the rebels was posted. Havelock described their position as "one of the strongest in India;" and Nana had stationed there "the flower of the mutinous soldiery," strengthened in numbers, and inflated in spirit by successful mutinies and defections which had just taken place at Saugor and Fyzabad. There were not more than 1,300 British to attack this post; and for one hour the Sepoys defended it obstinately. Then they gave way; and if Havelock had possessed cavalry, not one would have escaped. As it was, they left 250 killed and wounded behind them, the English loss being forty-nine in battle; but it was increased by sunstroke and cholera: and on the 19th of August, out of his small force, Havelock had seventeen officers and 466 rank and file on the sick list.

It was absolutely necessary that the few troops at Cawnpore should take some repose; and they remained there for about a month.—On the 14th of August, Sir Colin Campbell had arrived at Calcutta, and, on the 17th, in a general order, he announced that her majesty had been pleased to appoint him commander-in-chief of the forces in India: and in that post, arduous indeed was his position, great his responsibility. The entire Bengal army, 105,000 strong, had mutinied; the populations of Oude and the north-western provinces had revolted; the Doab was in the hands of the rebels; Lucknow and Agra were invested by numerous forces of the revolted Sepoys; and Havelock, with his small force reduced by war and sickness, had to maintain himself at Cawnpore. Some native chiefs joined the rebels; others, especially the Maharajahs Scindia and Holkar, the Rajahs of Bhurtpore, Jheend, and Puttiala, declared their friendly allegiance to the British, and offered assistance. And such aid was needed; for, with a garrison at Calcutta scarcely strong enough to at once overawe the native population, and watch three regiments of disarmed Sepoys which were dispersed in the vicinity, the commander-in-chief had not more than 7,000 Europeans and 2,000 native troops at his disposal. Before his arrival, Lord Canning had appointed Major-General Sir James Outram to supersede Havelock in the military command at Cawnpore; and that gallant officer arrived there, with 1,500 troops, on the 15th of September. He found the brigadier-general on the point of again starting to relieve Lucknow; and he chivalrously declined to deprive him of his command, feeling, as he declared in a division order to the troops, that after "the strenuous and noble exertions" Brigadier-General Havelock had already made to effect that object, "to him should accrue the honour of the achievement." When, therefore, on the 19th of September, the English again crossed the Ganges, and advanced to Lucknow, Outram accompanied them as a volunteer in his military capacity, but acting in his civil capacity as chief commissioner of Oude.

This time the troops succeeded in reaching Lucknow; arriving in front of the enemy there on the 23rd. The rebels were posted in the enclosure of the Alum-bagh (or Garden of Beauty), a country seat of one of the royal family of Oude, about three miles from the city. It was a formidable position, and capable of being defended for a long time; but the rebels fled before Havelock's men, and the latter occupied the Alum-bagh the same evening. The enemy, however, returned, after having been pursued for some distance by a small corps led by Sir James Outram, and cannonaded the position for several hours, but was finally driven off. At the Alum-bagh, Havelock left all his baggage, ammunition, sick and wounded, with 300 men to protect them; and, on

the 25th, he marched to the Residency. The enemy was driven before him on the route, which was one of successive conflicts; and in the evening the relieving force reached its beleaguered countrymen. "The immense enthusiasm with which they were received defies description." The deliverers and the delivered interchanged loud hurrahs. Officers and privates mingled together, and shook each other by the hand; the rough soldiers taking children out of their mothers' arms, kissing them while tears rolled down their cheeks, and thanking God that they had arrived in time to save them from the fate of those at Cawnpore.

This success had not been obtained without great loss when the amount of the force was looked at. The number of killed, officers and rank and file, was 119; wounded, 339; and missing (wounded prisoners in the hands of the enemy), 77: total, 535. Amongst the killed was Brigadier-General Neill, who had so gallantly exerted himself, first to preserve Allahabad, and then to join Havelock at Cawnpore. Sir James Outram was also wounded; yet he did not quit his horse till he arrived at the gate of the Residency, where, the next day, he assumed the command. But it was found impossible to remove the women and children, so large was the rebel force, and so rapidly did it again collect in Lucknow; and the inhabitants of that city being hostile to the English, could not be induced to assist them in obtaining supplies. The arrival of the additional troops, therefore, for the time, added to the privation of the garrison and the other inhabitants of the Residency. The new troops occupied some buildings in the vicinity, from which they had driven the enemy; Colonel Inglis and the old garrison continued to occupy the Residency; and patiently, under the command of Sir James Outram, all waited for further reinforcements, feeling confident that Sir Colin Campbell would not lose any time in sending them.

At this period the rebels had instituted something like a regular government in Oude. They had chosen as their king (recognising him as a tributary to the King of Delhi), a child eight years of age, a son of the deposed King of Oude, who resided at Fort William, Calcutta, as a pensioner of the British government. A minister—Shirreff-u-Dowlah, a dignitary of the old court of Oude—and a council of state were appointed to carry on the government in the name of this infant sovereign; and Hissamut-u-Dowlah was made commander of the rebel troops.

As time progressed, and their resources continued to diminish, without any apparent means of repairing them, the spirits of the garrison began to fail, though they were not without hope: and now that hope had a better chance of being realised. Sir Colin Campbell resolved to lead reinforcements to Lucknow himself. He left Calcutta on the 27th of October; arrived at Cawnpore on the 3rd of November; crossed the Ganges on the 9th; and on the 13th reached the Alum-bagh, between which and the Residency a communication was kept up by the telegraph. Sir Colin, including a naval brigade, under Captain Peel, had about 2,700 infantry and 700 cavalry under his command; and on the 14th he commenced active operations to relieve the Residency. His first effort was to drive the rebels from the Dilkoosha (or Heart's Delight), a hunting palace of the late kings of Oude, situated in a beautiful and extensive park. This was done on the 14th of November; and on the 15th the rebels were attacked in another post they occupied—a very extensive and strong building in the centre of a large garden, encircled with a high wall loopholed for musketry in every direction, and known as the Secunder-bagh (or Alexander's Garden). The contest was long and fierce. The rebels never fought more desperately: they neither gave nor asked for quarter; and about 2,000 of them were killed before they could be driven from that stronghold.—Whilst attacking the Secunder-bagh the English had been cannonaded from the Shah Nujeeff, a large mosque converted by the rebels into a defensive fort, and strongly barricaded. The naval brigade, led by Captain Peel, attacked this position with several pieces of heavy artillery. The attack was supported by Brigadier Hope and his Highlanders; and the mosque was carried by assault. The next day some posts that still intervened between the relieving army and the garrison were attacked by the latter on one side, and by the former on the other; and, in the midst of the fighting, Sir Colin Campbell was met by Generals Outram and Havelock, and the occupants of the Residency felt at last that they were free.

But they had to leave Lucknow. With his then resources, and the enemy, at least 50,000 in number, hovering near the city, it would have been very imprudent for Sir Colin Campbell to remain there, encumbered with all the wounded and invalids, and the women and children, who were no longer beleaguered in the Residency. Orders were therefore given for their removal to Cawnpore. Care was taken to render the journey as little irksome as possible to the women and children; and whilst the first movements were taking place, Havelock—who had been raised to the rank of major-general, and honoured with the Order of the Bath—was attacked by dysentery, and died on the 25th of November, at Dilkoosha. A feeling of deep regret pervaded all military men and civilians at the loss of this great and good officer. Two days after his death, the Queen created Havelock a baronet, and the title was transferred to his son. His sad death did not arrest any of the movements: the troops, to facilitate them, were put in two divisions—one under Major-General

Outram, the other under Brigadier-General Hope Grant; and on the evening of the 25th all were safe at the Alum-bagh.—A hurried removal took place on the 28th, in consequence of the receipt by Sir Colin Campbell of unpleasant news from Cawnpore. Brigadier-General Windham had been left in command there; and he had been attacked by a daring band of Gwalior troops, who had mutinied against the maharajah because he continued faithful to England.—The troops of Holkar had also mutinied at Indore, and murdered many Europeans of both sexes. These mutineers joined those of Gwalior; and, on the 5th of September, they marched from Gwalior to the Chumbul, crossing that river on the 8th, and taking possession of the fort of Dholpore, about thirty miles from Agra. They attacked the latter city on the 10th of October, and were repulsed with great loss.—They continued moving about during the month; and, on the 11th of November, a column of 3,000 men, with eight guns, occupied Calpee, on the Jumna, about forty-five miles S.W. of Cawnpore. There it was so largely reinforced, that, by the 21st of November, the 3,000 had been increased to 20,000, with thirty-eight pieces of cannon; and on that day they began to cross the river, preparatory to an attack on Cawnpore. General Windham had some knowledge of their movements; but they had advanced to within twenty miles of his position before he was aware of their vicinity. On the 25th of November they were only fifteen miles away, and the general determined to make an effort to arrest their further advance. He had taken up a position at Dhuboulie, a village on the Calpee road; and he marched on the 25th, at 3 A.M., with 1,200 men of her majesty's 34th, 82nd, 58th, and Rifle regiments, 100 mounted Sowars, and eight guns, to attack the enemy, who were met at Bhowsee, near the Pandoo Nuddee. The English commenced the fight; and successfully at first, having caused the mutineers to make a disorderly flight in one direction, leaving behind them two howitzers and a gun; they then found the main body close at hand, in such numbers that General Windham resolved to return to Cawnpore. Leaving, therefore, the position he had occupied in the morning, the general encamped that night on the Jewee plain, a short distance from the city. There he was attacked, the next day, by the enemy in great force in front and on his right flank. An interchange of firing continued for five hours, the enemy having several heavy guns. Then the general found that the assailants had turned his flank, penetrated into the town, and were attacking his intrenchment on the river. He immediately ordered his men to retire to the fort; and this was done so precipitately, that the camp and baggage were abandoned, and seized by the rebels, to their great joy and exultation.

The success of the 27th was followed up on the 28th. The mutineers from Gwalior and Indore had been joined by Nana Sahib, and his brother, Bhola Sahib, both at the head of detachments; and the united army, 21,000 strong, followed by an immense horde of plunderers, marched on Cawnpore, where the troops had been drawn up in four divisions. One of these, under Colonel Walpole, repulsed the enemy, and captured two 18-pounder guns. But the rebels succeeded in the attack on the other divisions, which had to retreat before overwhelming numbers to the intrenchments, officers and privates falling at every step. That night "the mutineers revelled as victors in the city of Cawnpore;" and they had reason to boast of their success; for amongst the booty they acquired, were "10,000 rounds of Enfield cartridges, the mess-plate of four of the Queen's regiments, the paymaster's chests, and a large amount of miscellaneous property."—Sir Colin Campbell arrived in the evening, on the opposite bank of the Ganges; and his first care was to secure the safety of those whom he had rescued from imminent peril. They had to cross the Ganges by a bridge of boats, which was commanded by the fire of the enemy; and on the morning of the 29th of November, Captain Peel and Captain Travers took up their position near that bridge, on the left bank of the river, with several heavy guns. The rebels opened a cannonade upon them; but, after a short time, the Sepoys' guns were silenced. All that day there was a brisk bombardment kept up by the enemy, and returned from the intrenchment; and whilst it was going on, "a procession of human beings, cattle, and vehicles, six miles long, was coming up to the bridge of boats." As soon as it was dark, the passage of the bridge was commenced; but it was not till the evening of the 30th that the last cart of the convoy crossed; and then the safe removal of the helpless beings from Cawnpore had to be arranged. On the 3rd of December, the women, children, and wounded started, under the escort of 500 men of the 34th regiment, for Allahabad. They arrived there in safety, and met with an enthusiastic reception.—On the 9th of January, 1858, they reached Calcutta, and landed under a royal salute, amidst the cheering of several hundred Europeans.

Only half the wounded could be despatched with the convoy; and the 4th and 5th of December were occupied in consigning the remainder to places of safety. About 3 P.M. on the 5th, the enemy attacked the pickets on the left with artillery, assailed the right flank with infantry, and the pickets in the General-gunge—a bazaar of very considerable extent, in front of the British camp, and standing on the bank of the canal which crosses the city from east to west. The sorties were all repulsed; and arrangements were then made for a general attack on the enemy the next day. The rebels had been joined by four regiments from Oude,

and the remains of various mutinous corps that had been defeated and broken up by the Europeans. Sir Colin Campbell estimated the number at 25,000 men; and they had more than forty guns. The centre of this force was in front of Cawnpore, where the houses and bazaars were filled with men, and the principal street barricaded. The right abutted beyond the angle formed by the canal and the Grand Trunk road, which unites Cawnpore to Delhi in one direction, and to Allahabad and Calcutta in another. Two miles in the rear was the camp of the Gwalior contingent; and the left of the enemy extended beyond it. On this occasion the usual success awaited the English. At 9 A.M. a heavy bombardment was opened from the intrenchment to cause the enemy to believe that the attack was coming from that direction. But it was made on the right and left, the infantry being greatly aided by the fire of the artillery, the naval brigade handling the 24-pounders as if they were light field-pieces. The enemy did not long stand to the guns, but fled on the Calpee road; was pursued for fourteen miles, the camp being taken, and every gun and cart of ammunition captured by the assailants. In this affair Major-General Dupuis, Brigadier-General Greathed, the Hon. A. Hope, Walpole, Inglis, and Hope Grant, greatly distinguished themselves; as did Brigadier Crawford and Major Payne, of the royal artillery; Captains H. W. Norman, Herbert Bruce, J. H. Smyth, and William Peel, and Lieutenant Vaughan, of the royal navy. Whilst the rebels were attacked and beaten in this direction, Major-General Mansfield, with some artillery, Rifles, and the 93rd Highlanders, attacked a body of Sepoys concentrated in a position called the Subahdar's Tank, in the rear of his left, and drove them from it. The British, during the night, bivouacked on the ground from which they had driven the enemy.

These successes entirely disconcerted the previously organised operations of the rebels; and thenceforth all was dismay and confusion; whilst the British completely shook off the gloom which the affairs of the 26th and 27th of November had thrown over them.—On the 7th of December, Sir Colin Campbell devoted himself to secure and concentrate his resources. On the 8th, Brigadier-General Hope Grant, with a force of the three arms, amounting to 2,797 men and eleven guns, was despatched to Bithoor, to clear that locality of any rebel force he might find there; to destroy the public buildings belonging to Nana Sahib; and to press on to Serai-Ghât (a ferry over the Ganges, about 25 miles from Cawnpore), if he heard of the enemy in that direction. The general met with no enemy at Bithoor, and advanced to Soorajpore, three miles from Serai-Ghât, where he bivouacked for the night. The next morning, leaving a portion of his column to guard the baggage, he advanced with the main body, and found the rebels concentrated on the banks of the river. A discharge of artillery commenced, and a body of the rebel horse made a dash at the British guns, but was met by Grant's cavalry, and at once broke and fled; a number of them being cut down in a pursuit which the British kept up as long as the nature of the ground would permit them. Before the infantry could get into action, all the enemy's troops had fled, leaving fourteen brass guns and howitzers, and a large store of waggons and ammunition. In this affair there was not a single man killed or wounded on the side of the British.—By these movements, Cawnpore and the roads around it were cleared of the enemy, and Sir Colin Campbell made preparations for a final advance upon Lucknow.

Before we close the year 1857 we must go back to Delhi, which we left in the hands of the mutineers, who had proclaimed the aged king Emperor of Hindostan. On the first outburst of the mutiny, the European troops, under Brigadier-General Wilson, marched from Meerut, and after several encounters with the rebels, in all of which they were victorious, were joined by the troops from Umballah, under General Barnard. The united army advanced to Delhi in two columns, under Generals Barnard and Wilson; and driving the rebels from the ridge in front of the city, they encamped behind it. This force consisted of about 3,000 British troops and a few Ghoorkas. On the 27th of May, General Anson, the commander-in-chief, died of cholera at Umballah. He was succeeded by Major-General T. Reed, who reached the camp before Delhi, where General Barnard commanded, on the 7th of June. It is said of the latter officer, that if he "had shown a happy audacity," his army was strong enough to have taken Delhi. The attempt, however, was not made. The British were soon reinforced by the Guides; a distinguished corps, originally raised on the conclusion of the Sutlej campaign, to act in a threefold capacity—as regular troops, guides, or spies. Its force, limited by Lord Hardinge (by whom it was first levied) to one troop of cavalry and two companies of infantry—in all, 284 men—was increased by Lord Dalhousie to three troops of horse and six companies of foot; and such was its conduct when called into action, that "it is not too much to say that a braver, more intelligent, more faithful, or better disciplined corps does not exist in the military service of the British empire."

For several weeks the little army before Delhi remained in its encampment, having frequent encounters with the rebellious Sepoys. Sometimes the British were the assailants. In all the rebels were beaten; and no event occurred before Delhi to lower the British *prestige*.—On the 5th of July, General Barnard was attacked by cholera, and died the same day. He was

succeeded, but only for a few days, by General Reed, who, on the 16th, was compelled, by failing health, to resign the command to Brigadier-General Wilson.—On the 8th of August, Brigadier-General Nicholson arrived at the camp; and he was followed, on the 14th, by a movable column which had been operating in the Punjaub under his command, and on the 12th of July had utterly routed a large body of mutineers from Sealcote, in that province, which was *en route* to Delhi. This column consisted of 1,000 Europeans and 1,400 Sikhs. It was a welcome addition to the army; and what was equally so, it reported the approach of a heavy siege-train from Ferozepore. After the arrival of this column, there were encamped before Delhi 9,700 men, of whom 4,600 were English.

The rebels heard of the approach of the siege-train, and they marched from Delhi, to the number of 7,000 men of all arms, and eighteen guns, with a view to intercept it, and also to operate upon the rear of the British. Information of this movement was conveyed to the camp; and, on the 25th of August, Brigadier-General Nicholson, at the head of 1,000 European and 2,000 native troops, was despatched to operate against the rebels. The same day, at half-past five o'clock, having been guided by information received from some natives, this force arrived at Nujuffghur, and found the Sepoys in position on the left and front, extending from the bridge over the Nujuffghur canal to the town, a distance of a mile and three-quarters, or two miles. As soon as they caught sight of the English force, a sharp fire of musketry and light guns was opened on the advanced column. Brigadier Nicholson then formed his men, after a hasty *reconnaissance*, in which he ascertained that the rebels' strongest position was an old serai on the left centre. He determined to force this point, and then, changing front to the left, to sweep down their lines of guns towards the bridge. After a few rounds of shot were fired, a charge was made by the infantry with the bayonet, and the enemy was driven out, with little loss to the British, except in the death of Lieutenant Gabbett, a promising officer, who was mortally wounded. When the British changed their line, and attacked the rebels going down to the bridge, they made little resistance, but retreated across the bridge, the British guns playing upon them; their own guns, thirteen in number, being left behind. Some rebels had concealed themselves in the little village of Nuglee, a few hundred yards in the rear of the British; and the general ordered Lieutenant Lumsden—who, at the head of the 1st Punjaub infantry, had just cleared the town of Nujuffghur of the enemy—to drive them out of the village. They made a firm resistance, refusing quarter; and some of the hardest fighting of the day was with this little band of desperadoes. Nicholson had to send the 61st to support the 1st Punjaub; Lieutenant Lumsden was killed, Lieutenant Elkington dangerously wounded, and more rank and file put *hors de combat* than in the engagement with the main army, before this village was cleared. The next morning, the bridge, and all the waggons and tumbrils which Brigadier Nicholson had not the means of bringing away, were blown up, and the force returned to the camp.

The arrival of the siege-train caused the preparations for the siege to be actively carried on. At this time, General Wilson had a force under his orders of 8,748 men, of whom the British numbered 2,294 infantry, 443 cavalry, and 580 artillery; making a total of 3,217: of the entire force, 2,977 were in the hospital. In Delhi there were 12,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, of disciplined troops; and 3,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry which might be called a non-military force, being armed, but not disciplined. Great as was the difference in their numbers, the besiegers were not at all disheartened. They worked with a will in preparing the ground for the breaching batteries, and in removing all obstructions between them and the city walls. On the 7th of September, the erection of siege batteries was commenced; on the 12th they were completed; and on that day and the next an incessant fire was kept up against the walls. Two breaches being effected, it was resolved that the assault should be made on the morning of the 14th; two columns entering the breaches, and a third the Cashmere Gate, which a small party—consisting of Lieutenants Home and Salkeld, Sergeants John Smith and A. B. Carmichael, and Corporal F. Burgess, all of the sappers and miners corps; with Bugler Hawthorne, of her majesty's 62nd regiment, Havildar Madhoo, and thirteen sappers and miners (natives), and ten Punjaubs—undertook to blow up, under the protection of the fire of her majesty's 60th Rifles. At daybreak on Monday, the 14th of September, the troops moved out to the assault. The Cashmere levies and Ghoorkas, sent under Major Reid to attack two of the suburbs merely as a diversion, were repulsed with considerable loss; but the object was effected. In the meantime the first and second columns, led by Brigadier-Generals Nicholson and Jones, advanced under a perfect storm of ball poured upon them from the walls, cleared the ditch, and carried both the breaches. The third, under Colonel Campbell, preceded by the exploding party, made for the Cashmere Gate; Lieutenant Home, Sergeants Smith and Carmichael, and Havildar Madhoo leading and carrying the powder-bags. Part of the drawbridge in front of the gate had been destroyed; but the party got over safe notwithstanding, and deposited their bags, Sergeant Carmichael being killed, and Havildar Madhoo wounded whilst performing that act of devoted heroism: then Lieutenant Salkeld ad-

vanced to fire the charge, and was wounded in the leg and arm before he could accomplish that daring feat. He handed the slow-match to Corporal Burgess, who succeeded in setting fire to the train, but was mortally wounded at the same moment. Two of the natives were also wounded. Instantly the gate exploded; and Lieutenant Home, who was unhurt, ordered the bugle to be sounded: thrice the call to advance was given, and the third column rushed to the gate, which it carried; and soon after the three columns were hailing each other within the walls of Delhi. So determined was the stand made by the rebels, however, at the various defences of the interior, that it was not till the 20th of September, when the gates of the royal palace were blown open, that the city was won, with 206 pieces of artillery, besides enormous quantities of shot, shell, percussion-caps, and other warlike *matériel*.—The loss to the assailants had been great:—

	English. Officers.	English. Privates.	Natives. Privates.	Total.
Killed	8	162	103	273
Wounded	52	510	310	872
	60	672	413	1,145

Thus near one-third of the storming party was put *hors de combat;* but the survivors took possession of the city; and on the 21st of September, General Wilson established his head-quarters in the palace of the old king—the famous Dewan-i-Khas, where, we are told by an inscription on it walls—

"If paradise be on the face of the earth,
Here it is."

In the Hall of Audience, after the last enemy had fled from Delhi, the British officers assembled; and whilst the British flag was hoisted over the royal edifice, the "Health of Queen Victoria" was pledged amidst reiterated cheers.

The aged king, his two sons and grandson, had fled from Delhi. Captain Hodson, of the Guides, was sent in pursuit. He found the monarch, on the 21st of September, at Durgah Nizam-oo-deem, within six miles of Delhi, accompanied by his favourite wife, the Begum Zenat Mehal. Her sons and grandson had taken shelter in the tomb of the Emperor Humayoon, where they were captured. Between 5,000 and 6,000 of the refuse of the city and palace were congregated in the purlieus of this tomb, who were armed with weapons of all descriptions. They began to fire upon Captain Hodson's band, when he ordered them to surrender, and lay down their arms. On the order being sternly repeated, and his men being about to charge, it was complied with; and about 500 swords, and 1,000 fire-arms of different kinds, were hastily picked up by the Guides. A number of horses, and several elephants, were also taken possession of. But, in the meantime, the princes had got into a carriage, and returned to Delhi. Captain Hodson, the arms being collected, had rapidly followed them, and overtook the carriage when near the city. It had halted, and was surrounded by thousands of the people, who appeared to be quite disposed to resist the capture of the princes. But Captain Hodson made his way to the carriage; and telling the crowd that the inmates "had not only rebelled against the government, but had ordered and witnessed the massacre and shameful exposure of innocent women and children, and that, therefore, he should punish them," he shot the three in succession, many of the spectators exclaiming, "Well and rightly done; their crimes have met with their just penalty." The crowd then dispersed; and the bodies being taken into the city, were exposed for two or three days, when they were thrown into the stream. The old king was subsequently tried on charges of being a partisan in the crimes of mutiny and rebellion, and with being accessory to the murder of forty-nine persons, chiefly women and children, of European and mixed European descent. He was found guilty, sentenced to be transported for life, and was taken to one of the Andaman Islands, where all his wants were provided for till his death. It was elicited, on this trial, that the intended revolt was known to, and encouraged by, the Shah of Persia; and that a native, Mohammed Dervish, wrote to Mr. Colvin, lieutenant-governor of the north-western provinces, revealing the plot six weeks before it actually broke out. Unfortunately, that gentleman — very strangely, we must think—neither acted upon this information himself, nor transmitted it to the governor-general.

Prompt measures were taken to pursue the fugitive rebels, who took flight in various directions; to punish the overt actors in mutiny and murder who were in the hands of the British; to re-establish order at Delhi; and to effectively control the discontented native population, which still remained hidden in the ruined edifices, and lurking in every out-of-the-way and concealed place. Colonel Burn was appointed military governor; Colonel Innes, commandant of the palace; Mr. Saunders, civil commissioner; and General Penny to the provisional command of the army at Delhi, in the room of General Wilson, who was compelled to resign that command in consequence of ill-health. Before his retirement, General Wilson issued a proclamation, promising protection and encouragement to all the inhabitants who had not been actually concerned in the foul murders and outrages of the 11th of May; but very few, at first, availed themselves of this lenity. Early in the following year, the administration of the

province of which Delhi was the capital, was transferred to Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., the chief commissioner of the Punjaub.

We must now return to Lucknow. The commander-in-chief having put Cawnpore in an efficient state of defence, and installed Brigadier-General Inglis in command there, in the place of General Windham, who was removed to Umballah, on the 24th of December, with a force of about 8,000 men, commenced his march to Futteghur. On the 29th, at Jellalabad, a large body of rebels appeared, and seemed, at first, determined to oppose his progress. However, one discharge of grape and round shot dispersed them, and they fled, leaving eighteen pieces of cannon, and throwing away numerous small arms as they ran off. On the 4th of January, 1858, the army reached Futteghur, which was found entirely deserted; the camp of the mutineers having been broken up, and its occupants gone. They had only carried off two guns; the remainder, with large quantities of stores and ammunition, fell into the hands of the soldiers.—On the 1st of February, Sir Colin and his army left Futteghur on the return march to Cawnpore; and on the 27th of February, left again for Lucknow.

There Sir James Outram had continued to hold the Alum-bagh, where the force he had with him was encamped; the fort of Jellalabad forming the right extremity of his position. Having learned that the rebels contemplated surrounding that position, in order to cut off his supplies, and intercept his communications; and that about 5,000 men were collected for that purpose at a village called Guilee, about three miles from the camp—at 4 A.M. on the 22nd of December, with 100 infantry, 150 cavalry, and six guns, he marched to the spot, hoping to surprise them. He succeeded. The rebels were found in position, from which, after they had discharged one volley at the troops, they were driven with the bayonet, and lost four artillery guns, much ammunition, besides elephants and baggage.—From that time till the middle of January, 1858, the rebels continued to receive re-inforcements: and their number is estimated to have been near 87,000 men, who were cantoned and encamped in and around Lucknow.—On the 12th and 16th of January they attacked the Alum-bagh; but were, on both occasions, driven back with great loss. Still their numbers increased. From Goruckpore, Rohilcund, Etawah, Allyghur, Futteghur, and many other places where the Sepoys had mutinied, and been beaten, the leaders and their desperate bands resorted to Lucknow; and in February, the force there amounted, it is supposed, to 100,000 fighting-men, with from eighty to 100 guns, and plenty of ammunition. "The fortifications of the city had," also, "been carefully restored, the streets intrenched, and most of the houses loopholed for musketry." The queen, Mummoo Khan, greatly encouraged the insurrection, and frequently taunted the leaders with doing so little against a force so notoriously inferior to their followers in numerical strength. General Outram had spies amongst those followers: they informed him, that, irritated by the remarks of the queen, the leaders had arranged an attack for the 21st of February; and he prepared to receive them. Just before daybreak on that day, 20,000 men commenced a movement round both flanks of the position: in each, instead of taking the English by surprise, the rebels were received with rapid discharges of grapeshot, and a general rout was the result. On this occasion the enemy lost 500 men; and had not the greater part of the British cavalry been absent escorting a convoy of provisions from Cawnpore, the loss would have been still heavier.—Another attempt was made on the night of the 24th of February; but although "the queen, with her son, and the officers and members of her court, came out of the city, on state elephants, to encourage the assailants," the rebels were again routed, and four guns captured.

The troops with which Sir Colin Campbell intended to march to relieve Lucknow, had been collected from every available quarter. They were nearly 50,000 in number; and were accompanied by 200 pieces of field and siege artillery. These troops commenced crossing the Ganges on the 11th of February. The passage occupied some days; and it was not till the 26th that they were ready for the onward march. In the evening of that day it was arranged they should start the next morning, and, in three days' march, reach Bunthura, a large plain nine miles from Lucknow, and there await further orders. This arrangement was carried out; and on the 2nd of March, Sir Colin, with a detachment of his force, advanced on the Dilkoosha, and seized that position after a smart skirmish, in which a gun was taken from the enemy.—From that day till the 8th was occupied in concentrating the forces and artillery near the Dilkoosha, and in forming bridges with casks, brought from Cawnpore for the purpose, across the Goomtee, on the right bank of which river Lucknow is built. While these operations were going on, Sir James Outram, at the head of the force from the Alum-bagh, crossed to the left bank of the Goomtee, to co-operate with the commander-in-chief. There were slight actions with the enemy on the 6th and 7th: and on the 9th the siege of Lucknow was formally commenced by the bombardment of a large building called the Martiniere, which the rebels had converted into a formidable position. Sir James Outram opened a fire upon this work in reverse; and when, on the 10th, Brigadier-General Hope led his division to the assault,

he met with no resistance. A succession of buildings, erected in the midst of gardens, between the city and the river—"forming," said Sir Colin Campbell, "a range of massive palaces and walled courts of vast extent," every outlet of which had been covered with a work, and on every side were prepared barricades and loopholed parapets—had to be successively sapped into or stormed. Several of these buildings were taken on the 10th and 11th of March; and on the latter day, the Maharajah Jung Bahadoor joined the army with several thousand Ghoorkas, and took part in the further operations of the siege.—The attack on the buildings and other positions of the enemy continued till the 21st. On the 16th, the rebels began to leave the city in large numbers: but it was on the 21st that the last post was taken by Sir Edward Lugard. Then Lucknow was free, and it became possible to invite the return of the inhabitants.—On the 22nd, the commander-in-chief congratulated the army on the reduction and fall of the city; the attacks on both sides of the Goomtee having been successful, and every man engaged having done his duty, and deserved well of his country.

The conquest of Lucknow was followed by the departure of the Ghoorkas, whose services were no longer needed. There was some trouble in getting rid of them; but at length it was effected. It was a more difficult undertaking to settle Oude.—A proclamation from the governor-general was sent to Sir James Outram—whose authority, as chief commissioner, superseded that of Sir Colin Campbell when the city was taken—promising reward to those who had been steady in their allegiance; confirming the title of a few rajahs, who had remained faithful, as hereditary proprietors of the lands they held; but declaring that, with those exceptions, the proprietary right in the soil was confiscated to the British government. That their lives and honours should be safe, was promised to all those talookdars, chiefs, and landholders who should surrender their arms, and thenceforward obey the orders of the governor-general. For any further indulgence and the condition in which they would hereafter be placed, they must throw themselves upon the justice and mercy of the British government. To those who came forward properly, and gave their support to the chief commissioner in the restoration of peace and order, the indulgence would be large; but every participator in the murder of Englishmen and Englishwomen would be excluded from all mercy.—The chief commissioner did not approve of this proclamation, as it confiscated all land except that of those who had been steadfast in their allegiance. These were very few; Sir James Outram did not believe there were a dozen proprietors who had not, directly or indirectly, taken part in the rebellion. As their property was to be declared confiscated, he thought it useless to attempt to enlist the landowners on the side of order; and, under the circumstances in which they were placed, he thought they ought not to be treated as rebels, but as honourable enemies. The governor-general ordered a slight modification in the proclamation, but adhered to its general terms; and it formed the subject of much discussion both in and out of parliament. The difference of opinion on it between Viscount Canning and Sir James Outram, probably led to the appointment of Mr. Montgomery as chief commissioner. He arrived at Lucknow to supersede Sir James on the 3rd of April. In that city itself order was re-established, the civil power resumed its authority, and the police was restored. The inhabitants began to return, but not in very large numbers; for the absence of the court, of the nawabs, and the rajah—whose palaces were destroyed, and houses desolate—rendered all who were dependent on them destitute of the means of subsistence.

The city in the hands of the English civil authorities, Sir Colin Campbell broke up the army of Oude, reorganising the regiments into new brigades and divisions; which, a sufficient number of men being left to protect Lucknow, were sent on service elsewhere. And there was yet much to do, though the two great centres of the rebellion, Delhi and Lucknow, had been captured. The greater part of the vast province of Rohilcund still continued in the hands of the rebels; and Nana Sahib, with another rebel leader, Khan Bahadoor, was known to be concerting a plan to make it the theatre of operations. The Begum of Oude was at Khyrabad with 10,000 men, and 2,000 were encamped at Shahjehanpore. The other principal positions held by the rebels were Kotah, in Rajpootana; Jhansie, in Bundlecund; Calpee, the capital of the pergunnah of that name; and several strongholds in Rajpootana and Central India. Fyzabad, on the eastern borders of Oude, was also occupied by an insurgent force; and Koer Sing, a rebel leader who had particularly distinguished himself, had taken possession of Azimghur, in the north-west provinces. Sir Colin Campbell sent divisions of his army against most of these places. General Walpole's division was sent to Rohilcund; and the commander-in-chief proposed to conduct the campaign in that province with him. Sir Hope Grant went to Fyzabad; Sir Edward Lugard to Azimghur; Kotah, Jhansie, and Calpee were left to General Rose and Major Roberts: and against most other places where rebels were known to be in force, troops were despatched.

There was much fighting for some time, the result being in favour of the British, who drove the rebels from all their posts one after the other, the odds being always against them as to numbers; but victory, almost

as uniformly, settled upon their flag. One of the most important expeditions was that of Sir Hugh Rose and Major Roberts, whose first movements were directed against Jhansie. That strong town was held by a large body of rebels, under the orders of the Ranee of Jhansie; who, to great cunning, added a spirit of manly bravery. When Sir Hugh Rose arrived before the town on the 20th of March, the Ranee proposed to visit his camp, with a view to come to terms of accommodation. Sir Hugh knew the character of the woman, who had ordered the commission of many murders, and sanctioned those committed by others; and he refused to hold any intercourse with her. He invested the town; and, on the last day of March, a large rebel force, commanded by Tantia Topee, a relative of Nana Sahib, came in sight, its object being to relieve Jhansie. —On the 1st of April a battle took place, the English force being divided into two columns, one of which continued the bombardment of the town, while the other attacked the enemy in front and flank. The rebels fought well; they stood a cannonade for some time without being thrown into confusion; and when the cavalry advanced to a charge, they formed squares to receive them. However, they were ultimately broken, and fled, closely pursued, to the Betwa; and in that river hundreds who rushed into it to escape the sword were drowned. In this battle the enemy lost 1,500 men, eighteen guns, and a large quantity of ammunition.—On the 3rd of April, Jhansie was assaulted, and gallantly captured; it was found, however, that the Ranee and 2,000 troops had previously left the town, and had escaped.—It was before the palace of the Ranee that the rebels who remained made their last resistance. There were 3,000 Sepoys on the spot. They were shattered, and driven before the English; and then some of them fired the magazine. The explosion was terrific; nine officers and 200 rank and file of the British were killed or wounded. The rebels lost no men by the explosion: but 1,500 were either killed in the assault, or cut down as they fled.

The Ranee, with her 2,000 followers, went to Calpee; and Sir Hugh Rose, having secured Jhansie, followed them. Konch lay in the route, where a considerable force was concentrated under Tantia Topee.—On the 7th of May, the British first "drove the enemy's infantry and cavalry out of the woods into the town with artillery fire;" and then the town was carried by storm, being in possession of the assailants in less than an hour.—On the 16th of May, Sir Hugh Rose arrived before Calpee, having been preceded by Brigadier Maxwell, whose column occupied a position on the left bank of the Jumna.—On the 22nd of May, a heavy fire was opened on the town. Whilst it was going on, the rebels attacked Sir Hugh's camp on the right and in front. The attack failed. The enemy, charged with the bayonet, broke; and as the English advanced, the rout became general. At the same time the town was abandoned, and the garrison joined the fugitives. They were pursued by the cavalry and horse-artillery, who killed many, and took all the rebels' guns and ammunition.

Similar movements took place in the other districts where the rebels were in force, which it would be tedious to describe; but we must devote a few words to the events in Scindia's territory.

The fugitives from Calpee, accompanied by the Ranee of Jhansie, her general, Tantia Topee, and the Nawab of Banda, fled to Indoorkee, on the road to Gwalior. There two other rebel chiefs, Rahim Ali and Koogar Daulap Sing, with 1,500 men, joined them: and there it was resolved to attack the maharajah in his capital, Gwalior, and punish him for his loyal allegiance to the British. Scindia's contingent, 12,000 strong, had, in the previous July, joined the rebels; but the defection of his army, though it endangered his position, had no effect on him; so, foiled in their intended vengeance on the British, the rebels determined to wreak it on the maharajah. Tantia Topee took the command of the force, which reached the vicinity of Gwalior on the 31st of May. Tantia had with him 7,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry (all, or nearly all, well-disciplined men of the former Bengal army), and twelve guns: Scindia's force at Gwalior was 6,000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and eight guns. He was apprised of the approach of the rebels, and, on the 1st of June, put himself at the head of his troops, and marched to meet them. They encountered each other about two miles from Morar, the Gwalior cantonment. At first Scindia's men fought loyally and bravely, especially his body-guard. But in a charge, the rebel cavalry captured his guns; and 2,000 of his troops went over, at the same time, to the enemy, and commenced firing on their comrades. Soon the remainder retreated, and Scindia and his surviving guard reached Agra, where they got shelter. The rebels immediately took possession of Gwalior, and chose Nana Sahib peishwa, or chief of the Mahratta confederacy of princes. The property of the principal inhabitants was sequestrated; the maharajah's treasurer placed an immense sum, belonging to his master, in the hands of the rebel leaders; and all the royal property was declared to be confiscated. But the triumph of the rebels was of short duration. Sir Hugh Rose, as soon as he heard of these events, leaving General Whitlock at Calpee, marched to Gwalior. He was joined by Scindia on the 13th, and arrived within two miles of the cantonments in the evening of the 15th of June. There was skirmishing on the 15th, 16th, and 17th; the Ranee, who accom-

panied the troops in the dress of an officer, being killed on the latter day.* On the 18th, a few long shots were exchanged with the enemy; and on the 19th, the positions of the latter were reconnoitred by Sir Hugh Rose. This occupied some time, and orders were then given to encamp. Seeing the English inactive, the enemy redoubled their fire; and Sir Hugh thought it necessary to put a stop to it. He ordered the whole force to advance; which was done, the men being chiefly in skirmishing order. The 86th regiment stormed and captured a three-gun battery which had greatly annoyed the British. Heights on the right and left, where cannon were mounted, were also stormed and carried; and wherever any rebels appeared they were shot down, or fled. The fighting continued five hours; and by that time the rebels had been driven entirely out of Gwalior, which was occupied by the British. Brigadier Napier pursued the fugitives on the 20th and 21st, cutting them up desperately; returning to Gwalior on the 23rd. He delivered to Scindia—who, on the 20th, had been reinstated in his palace—as a prisoner, the faithless treasurer who had so basely betrayed his trust.

In other parts of India the enemy was powerless. In Rohilcund, in Oude and the Punjaub, apprehensions were entertained of fresh outbreaks: in Central India, Tantia Topee and the Banda nawab, who had gone there with the Gwalior rebels, whom they were enabled to rally, took possession of the town of Jhalra Patnor on the 26th of August, and most of the nawab's troops joined them. Having levied contributions on the town, and taken the treasure, guns, and munitions of war, Tantia led his augmented force in the direction of Rampore. He was pursued by General Michel, with the Mhow field force, who came up with him on the 15th of September, near Heore, and defeated and dispersed his followers, capturing most of their guns. Tantia then became a fugitive, without any place of settlement; and he was heard of in so many different directions, that his powers of motion appeared marvellous.

In several other directions the rebels were defeated; but in Oude, though they never stood before the British in the field, still, encouraged by the queen, they gathered strength; and the commander-in-chief (who had been raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Clyde) resolved on another "Oude campaign." The preparations were made at the close of October, "when Lucknow and Fyzabad were the only two places of importance held by the British."—In the hands of the rebels were seven or eight fortresses, where about 60,000 men were distributed; the Begum had an army of 12,000 men beyond the Gogra; the Nana and Feroze Shah were in Oude, and had also strong bands with them, mostly cavalry; and the people generally sided with the rebels, conveying to them intelligence of the movements of the British.—On the 1st of November, Lord Clyde commenced his campaign. He had a small, well-appointed army of 26,000 men, to oppose to at least three times that force; but in two months, "Oude was completely subjugated; its forts were taken and destroyed; its leaders, with two great exceptions [Nana Sahib and Tantia Topee], captured; its armies beaten down, and fugitive; its people disarmed." There being no longer an enemy to contend with, the commander-in-chief issued orders for the reduction and distribution of the army; and Oude began to enjoy the blessings of peace; its "entire pacification" being reported on the 25th of January, 1859.

In the following April Tantia Topee was taken prisoner, having been betrayed by one of the rebels. He was tried for rebellion at Sepree on the 15th; condemned, and executed on the 18th.—The mutiny and rebellion was by this time virtually at an end; for though the rebels were not extinguished, but were to be found dispersed in the wild country, they had no leaders, nor resources; and the people in those districts where they had for a time been supreme, were heartily tired of their lawless rule.—Charles Raikes, Esq., who was some time commissioner of Lahore, says—

"In January, 1858, I passed from Agra, through the district of Mynpoorie, on my way to join Sir Colin Campbell in the field, as civil commissioner. I had, in former years, been well known to the people as magistrate of the Mynpoorie district. When they heard of my arrival, they turned out in crowds along the roadside, and thanked God that the English had come back again. For, said they, the last six months, every one has been knocking his nearest neighbour on the head."

The mutiny led to the abolition of the East India Company as a ruling power. On the 23rd of December, 1857, the chairman of the Court of Directors informed his colleagues, that Lord Palmerston had communicated to him, that it was the intention of her majesty's government to propose to parliament, as soon as it met, a bill for the purpose of placing the British East India dominions under the direct authority of the crown. On the 12th of February, Lord Palmerston moved for leave to bring in a bill for the above purpose; which, after some debate, was granted. Before it reached the second reading, however, there was a change in the government; and Mr. Disraeli, on the 26th of March, introduced another bill, differing, in some respects, from that of his Liberal predecessor, who did not withdraw his measure, but postponed its consideration till the new bill was before the House. On the 12th of April, however, when the government bill was to have been read a second time, Lord John Russell proposed that the proceeding, in the first instance, should be by resolutions,

not by bill. Mr. Disraeli assented, and he introduced his resolutions on the 20th. The debate on these resolutions was continued, at intervals, till the 17th of June, when they were reported to the House, and leave given to introduce a bill "for the future government of India." This was brought in by Lord Stanley on the 22nd of June, and passed by the House of Commons on the 8th of July. It was read a third time in the House of Lords on the 30th of July; and, on the 2nd of August, received the royal assent. By this act, all the territories heretofore under the government of the East India Company, are to be vested in her majesty, and governed in her name. One of her majesty's principal Secretaries of State, as the Secretary of State for India, is to have all the powers hitherto exercised by the company or by the Board of Control. The secretary is to be assisted by a council of fifteen members, eight to be appointed by the crown, and seven elected by the directors of the East India Company. Vacancies of those nominated to be filled up by the crown; and of the elected, by the members of the council; it being an indispensable qualification for the majority to have resided at least ten years in India, and not to have left that country more than ten years. The salary of each member of the council to be £1,200 a-year, with a retiring pension of £500. All the real and personal property of the company, except the capital stock, is vested in her majesty, for the purposes of the government of India. The naval and military forces of the East India Company are to be deemed the forces of her majesty. After the passing of this act, the directors elected by the General Court of the company, are alone to be the directors of the company.

On the 9th of August, the Court of Directors met, and elected seven of their number to be members of the first council for India. And on Thursday, the 2nd of September, that court assembled for the last time, in its old capacity of a governing as well as a commercial body. Its final act was the recognition of the faithful services of its servants and dependents. It had previously voted pensions to Lord Canning, and some of the other leading officials, for their services in suppressing the mutiny; and medals for the officers and troops. The Queen raised the governor-general in the peerage to the rank of earl, and conferred a baronetcy on Sir John Lawrence. The House of Commons had settled an annuity of £1,000 per annum upon Sir Henry Marsham Havelock, the eldest son of the gallant general.

On the 1st of November, Queen Victoria was proclaimed at Calcutta, and in all the principal towns of her Indian empire, as actual and supreme ruler in that vast territory. A few months after, the mutiny was considered to be finally suppressed; and on the 1st of May, 1859, by order of the Queen, there was a public thanksgiving in her British dominions for that result. From that time there have been no further signs of disaffection in the Indian army; and the Indian people generally have manifested great satisfaction at the transfer of authority from the East India Company to the Queen. The measures of the government have not been always of "the wisest and best" description; but there is no doubt that much has been done to improve the country, and meliorate the condition of the natives. Let us hope that course will still be pursued; and that the people of India, happy and comfortable in themselves, may continue to be faithful subjects of the Queen; and mutually, with those of her European and American dominions, contribute to the general welfare and prosperity of the vast British empire.

CHAPTER CXVIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1859, 1860.

THE people of England, in the first months of 1859, were agitated with the contests between the Whigs and Conservatives. Ere the year had far advanced, the Peelites, moderate Liberals, and Radicals joined the former in their opposition to the ministry of the Earl of Derby, and the four sections were recognised as the "Great Liberal Party." For a brief period attention was drawn from politics by the entrance of the Prince of Wales on his public career. His royal highness joined the army as colonel of the Guards; and his first public act was presenting colours to one of her majesty's regiments—the 100th Foot, called the Prince of Wales's Royal Canadian Regiment. The presentation took place at Shorncliffe, where a camp had been established for the purpose of training the troops, and accustoming them to field duties.—After the ceremony—in which the prince acquitted himself well, making a brief but appropriate address to the regiment—his royal highness took the train to Dover,

where he embarked the same evening on a journey to Rome. He diligently inspected the works of art in that city, and also visited the pope. His royal highness remained abroad for some time. After his return, on the 17th of October, he took up his residence as a student at Frewen's Hall, Oxford, where he soon became very popular.

Before parliament opened, public attention was drawn to the inauguration of the Wellington College, erected by public subscription, a short distance from Blackwater and Sandhurst, as a memorial of the late illustrious Duke of Wellington; at which provision is made for educating young gentlemen; the children of officers of small means being received at merely nominal rates; whilst £100 per annum is charged for the board and education of those of civilians. The building, which is a very handsome one, had been opened for the reception of scholars on the 20th of January; and, on the 28th, her Majesty, the Prince Consort, the Princess Alice, and Prince Arthur rode from Windsor, the Queen having consented to preside at the inaugural ceremony. There was a large attendance of the nobility and gentry, including the Earl of Derby, the president of the college, and most of his colleagues; and her majesty took great interest in all the proceedings.—The ceremony over, the royal party returned to Windsor.

The agitation for reform was continued during the month of January; and at Bradford, on the 17th, Mr. John Bright entered fully into the details of the bill he then intended to bring forward, in compliance with the resolution passed at the meeting in London on the 5th of November. It comprised an extension of the franchise to all rated householders; with a disfranchisement of boroughs, and a re-distribution of seats extending to nearly every county in England, and to many in Scotland. The measure, however, was never submitted to parliament.—That assembly met on the 3rd of February, and was opened by the Queen in person. It was known that the government meant to bring forward a Reform Bill, and its introduction was anxiously looked forward to.—On the 28th of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer—after an eloquent and appropriate speech, which a political opponent describes as "worthy of an occasion so remarkable"—detailed the outlines of the government measure. It proposed—

To extend the suffrage to all persons who held property in the funds, the Bank, or East India stock, producing £10 per annum; to those who had invested £60 in a savings-bank; to the recipients of pensions in the naval, military, and civil services, of the amount of £10 per annum, and upwards; to lodgers, or persons occupying parts of houses for any purposes, who paid £20 per annum rent; to graduates of the universities; to clergymen of the established church, and ministers of the dissenting persuasions; to the members of the legal and medical professions; and to schoolmasters of the higher class. To reduce the county franchise for householders to £10, the same as in boroughs; to prevent those who were freeholders for counties and householders in boroughs, from voting for the county; to take one member from a number of the smallest boroughs then returning two; and to dispose of the seats thus obtained by giving four members to West Yorkshire, two to South Lancashire, and one each to Hartlepool, Birkenhead, West Bromwich, Wednesbury, Burnley, Staleybridge, Croydon, and Gravesend.

The introduction of this measure was opposed very warmly by Lord John Russell, Mr. Bright, Mr. Baxter, and other leading reformers of the House. But leave was given to bring in the bill, and the second reading was fixed for the 21st of March.—On the 1st of that month, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley announced their withdrawal from the cabinet, as they could not agree to several provisions of the government Reform Bill; and on the 21st, when the motion for the second reading was before the House, Lord John Russell moved the following amendment:—

"That this House is of opinion that it is neither just nor politic to interfere in the manner proposed by this bill with the freehold franchise as hitherto exercised in counties both in England and Wales; and that no re-adjustment of the franchise will satisfy this House and the country, which does not provide for a greater extension of the suffrage in cities and boroughs than is contemplated in the present measure."

The debate on this amendment was six times adjourned. On the seventh night, the 31st of March, the division took place, and Lord John Russell's resolution was carried by 330 votes, only 291 members supporting the ministry. The next day the two Houses adjourned to the 4th of April, when Lord Derby informed the Lords, and Mr. Disraeli the Commons, that having obtained the sanction of her majesty, they should not resign their seats, but dissolve parliament. Only measures essentially necessary were, therefore, proceeded with; and, on the 19th of April, the legislature was prorogued by commission, her majesty's intention to dissolve parliament, "with a view to enable the people to express, in the mode prescribed by the constitution, their opinion on the state of public affairs," being announced at the end of the speech, which the Lord Chancellor read.

On the 23rd of April the writs for the new parliament were issued; the 31st of May being the day fixed for its meeting. Both parties used all their influence in the elections, which resulted in the return of more than 300 Conservative members; the Whigs, Peelites, moderate Liberals, and Radicals being singly far beneath the

ministerialists in number; but superior when united. On the 31st of May, when the two Houses met, the Right Hon. John Evelyn Denison was re-elected Speaker; and the swearing-in of members occupied that and five following days. There were three Jews returned: Baron Lionel de Rothschild, for London; Baron Meyer de Rothschild, for Hythe; and Mr. Alderman Salomons, for Greenwich: by resolution, they were permitted to take the oaths and their seats on the 6th of June.

On the 2nd of June, about 300 members of the "Great Liberal Party" met at Willis's Rooms, the leaders of all sections being present. Lords John Russell and Palmerston were the principal speakers; and the result of the meeting was a resolution, that all the Whig and Liberal members—differing as they did on many important questions—should unite in opposing the ministry, upon the understanding, that, in the succeeding administration, there was to be a fair and equitable distribution of places amongst the different sections.

On the 7th of June the Queen opened the session; and in the Lords the address was carried; but, in the Commons, in pursuance of the resolution adopted at Willis's Rooms, after the address had been moved and seconded, the Marquis of Hartington (eldest son of the Duke of Devonshire, who had been returned for North Lancashire) moved an amendment, declaring that the confidence of the House in her ministers was essential to the discharge of her majesty's high functions; and that the present ministers did not possess that confidence.—The debate extended into the early hours of the next morning; excellent and telling speeches being delivered on each side. The result was the triumph of what Lord Derby termed the "unnatural combination" of parties—313 members voting for, and 310 against the amendment.—In consequence of this vote the ministers came to the determination to resign; and the Queen entrusted the reconstruction of the cabinet to Lord Palmerston, whose administration was composed of the following members:—

In the Cabinet.

First Lord of the Treasury	Lord Palmerston.
Lord President of the Council	Earl Granville.
Lord High Chancellor	Lord Campbell.
Lord Privy Seal	The Duke of Argyll.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	W. E. Gladstone.
Secretaries of State — *Home Department*	Sir G. C. Lewis, Bart.
Foreign Department	Lord John Russell.
Colonial Department	The Duke of Newcastle.
War Department	Sidney Herbert.
India	Sir Charles Wood, Bart.
First Lord of the Admiralty	The Duke of Somerset.
Chief Secretary of State for Ireland	Edward Cardwell.
Postmaster-General	The Earl of Elgin.
President of the Board of Trade	Thomas Milner Gibson.
President of the Poor-Law Board	Charles Villiers.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Sir George Grey, Bart.

Not in the Cabinet.

Vice-President of the Education Committee of the Privy Council	Robert Lowe.
Lords of the Treasury	Sir William Dunbar, Bart.; John Bagwell, and E. Knatchbull Hugessen.
Lords of the Admiralty	Vice-Admiral Sir R. S. Dundas, Rear-Admiral Hon. F. T. Pelham, Captain Charles Eden, and S. Whitbread.
Attorney-General	Sir Richard Bethell.
Solicitor-General	Sir Henry Keating.

Scotland.

Lord Advocate	James Moncrieff.

Ireland.

Lord-Lieutenant	The Earl of Carlisle.
Lord High Chancellor	Maziere Brady.
Attorney-General	J. D. Fitzgerald.
Solicitor-General	Richard Deasy.

When these ministerial arrangements were announced, there was much murmuring amongst the extreme Liberals, the most numerous division in the House, next to the Conservatives and Whigs; all the places in the executive, the duties of which involved the real powers of government, being given to Whigs and Peelites. The cabinet had never before been so numerous. The number of members was extended to sixteen, to admit the most influential supporters of Lords Palmerston and John Russell, the leading Peelites, and the only two members of the extreme party on whom seats in that council were conferred—Mr. Milner Gibson and Mr. Charles Villiers. If the resolution adopted at Willis's Rooms had been fairly carried out, the organs of that party contended, they ought to have had more seats than were given to the Peelites; and so, no doubt, they ought, if the number of members belonging to each in the House was considered.—However, there appeared to be no redress but by ceasing to support the Whigs, and thus readmitting the Conservatives to power. So the Radicals submitted, but with an ill grace; and Lord Palmerston was frequently assailed in the columns of the Radical papers as severely as ever Earl Derby was.—Mr. Cobden was in America when the elections took place, but was returned for Rochdale in his absence. He arrived at Liverpool on the 29th of June; and Lord Palmerston immediately offered him a seat in the cabinet, as President of the Board of Trade. He, however, declined to take office, on account of fundamental differences between his lordship and himself with respect to the measures necessary to be adopted for the defence of the country.

The session passed over quietly, being prolonged till the 13th of August. Mr. Gladstone brought in his budget on the 18th of July. The revenue for the financial year had been estimated at £63,900,000: it

produced £65,477,000. The expenditure had been £64,663,000; leaving a surplus of £814,000. The revenue for 1859-'60 was estimated at £64,340,000; but the expenditure, from repayment of exchequer bonds and other causes, was raised to £69,207,000; leaving £4,867,000 to be provided for. This was done by adding 4*d.* in the pound to the income-tax.

During the two sessions there were few acts of general interest passed — except one, in the first session, repealing acts for the observance of the 30th of January, the 28th of May, and the 5th of November—the anniversaries of the martyrdom of Charles I., the return of Charles II., and the Gunpowder Treason; and for excluding the proper services for those days from future editions of the Prayer-book: and two in the second session, authorising the government to establish a reserve volunteer force of seamen, to be called the Royal Naval Volunteers, the number not to exceed 30,000 men; and a reserve military force of 20,000 men. The former were to be raised by voluntary entry among seafaring men; the latter enrolled from men who had previously served either in her majesty's other land forces, or in the Indian army. These forces were to be trained a few days in the course of each year, and called out for actual service in case of invasion, or if the civil power required their aid.—The volunteer movement, which has been before mentioned, received, during the second session, great encouragement from the government. It was very popular; young men of all classes being eager to enrol themselves.—Lord Palmerston had, originally, discouraged the movement; but now the government took it up; and, on the 1st of July, the Earl de Grey and Ripon, then Under-Secretary of War, announced that volunteer corps would be enrolled throughout the island; and that government would issue twenty-five stand of arms to every 100 men, the uniforms and other accoutrements being found by themselves. On the 13th of July, a circular was issued from the War Office to the lords-lieutenants of the different counties, authorising the formation of rifle and artillery volunteer corps; and, soon after, the Enfield rifles were issued to every man.

Whilst the parliament was sitting in England, a series of important state trials had taken place in Ireland. The Ribbon-men—a society sworn in secret to undermine English authority and the Protestant religion, and to re-establish the Roman Catholic supremacy—had long existed in that country. Of late years its operations had chiefly been directed against landlords and their agents, or, "middle-men;" and, unfortunately, the harsh and oppressive measures of many of the latter—who probably supposed they were only doing their duty to their employers—frequently afforded too much cause for irritation and ill-will on the part of the tenants. In 1858, a secret society, called "The Phœnix," had sprung out of Ribbonism; and so alarming was its progress, that, on the 3rd of December, the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation, declaring "all societies or bodies of persons associated under the pretended obligation of oaths unlawfully administered," to be illegal; that all persons taking or administering such oaths were guilty of felony; and offering rewards of £100 for the apprehension of any person who should have administered the oath; and of £50 for such information as would lead to the conviction of any members of secret societies. A great many arrests were made before the year closed, at Belfast, Bandon, Kenmare, Killarney, Skibbereen, Cork, and other places; and incendiary fires and other outrages, which were, unhappily, frequent, were laid to the charge of the members of the Phœnix secret society; who practised secret drilling with pikes, and sent numerous threatening letters to the Protestant clergymen and the scripture-readers. At that time the disaffected looked for aid from America; and they were told, by their leaders, that before Christmas the Americans would arrive, who would be joined by the French, and Ireland would become an independent republic. Neither Frenchmen nor Americans showed themselves; and in March the trials of those arrested took place. The opposition papers had denied the existence of any conspiracy, attributing the arrests to the falsehood and treachery of the informers. The prisoners were ably defended. In Dublin the jury could not agree, and had to be discharged without giving a verdict: at Cork and Belfast there were several convictions, and the offenders were sentenced to various terms of penal servitude. Apart from these transactions, Ireland was flourishing and tranquil under the government of the Earl of Eglinton, who was generally popular, and his policy as generally approved.

During the year, the Princess Royal visited England twice—in May, and early in November, to be present at the Prince of Wales's birthday, on the 9th, when his royal highness completed his eighteenth year; and was eligible, if the throne became vacant, to take his seat as king of the realm. The princess did not return to Prussia till after her own birthday, on the 21st of November. The King of the Belgians, and the Grand Duke Constantine, of Russia, also visited England during the summer. The Queen, Prince Consort, and the younger members of the royal family, visited the Channel Islands in August, and spent part of the autumn at Balmoral. On her return, her majesty came to England by way of Glasgow, where, on the 14th of October, amidst great rejoicings, she formally opened the works for supplying that city with water from Loch Katrine.

On the 18th of July, a dreadful storm passed over the greater part of England. Several persons were killed by lightning, and much property destroyed, in and near London, in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and in many other parts of the kingdom. There were also several serious accidents during the year; but the most important domestic occurrence arose out of the differences between the employers and the employed. On the 6th of August, the workmen of Messrs. Trollope and Sons, one of the largest building firms in the metropolis, struck work, the masters having refused to shorten the hours of labour from ten in the day to nine, without any reduction in the rates of wages. As the men were liberally supported by those in the employ of other builders, the masters, after a short time had elapsed, also combined, and resorted to what was termed a "lock-out," closing all their establishments; the consequence being a general suspension of building operations; and the progress of many works was arrested. The masters also resolved that every man should, before he was allowed to resume work, sign a document, pledging him not to connect himself with any society interfering with the hours or wages of labour. The strike continued till the end of October, causing great distress to the families of the workmen; for although the trades' unions throughout the kingdom granted allowances to them, those allowances fell far short of their regular wages. At length, many of the employers agreeing to pay by the hour, and not by the day, leaving the men to work as many hours as they pleased, the latter gradually returned to their work; and before November was far advanced the strike entirely ceased. The masters had, previously, generally abandoned "the document."—These events do not appear to have affected the material prosperity of the country. In the twelve months, ending December 31st, 1859, the revenue amounted to £66,070,469 *9s.* *8d.*; and the value of exports was £130,411,529.

Early in the year, the mutiny in India was entirely quelled; and on the 1st of May there was a public thanksgiving for the success of our arms in that quarter. —In our other colonies, in America, the West Indies, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, and in Africa, peace prevailed; and all were progressing in prosperity.—British Columbia—which, by arrangements entered into with the directors of the Hudson's Bay Company by Sir E. B. Lytton, when colonial minister, included a large portion of the region in North-west America, belonging to that body—was becoming almost as famous for its gold-fields as California or Australia.—With foreign countries we maintained peace; though, at one time, it was feared that we should be embroiled with the United States of America. But three of the European powers were involved in a war that must be briefly noticed, on account of the results, which affected several of the ruling dynasties. The powers involved in hostilities were Austria, France, and Sardinia—the future of Italy being the cause of battle.—Before the war broke out, the peninsula of Italy was divided into the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, which, by the treaty of Vienna, of 1815, belonged to Austria; the kingdoms of Sardinia and of Naples, or the Two Sicilies; the Papal States; the Grand Duchy of Tuscany; and the Duchies of Modena and Parma. The island of Sardinia was attached to the kingdom of Sardinia; and that of Sicily to the kingdom of Naples.—The presence of the Austrian power in Italy had long been greatly obnoxious to many Italians. By treaties concluded by that power with the King of Naples and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1815, and with the Dukes of Parma and Modena in 1847, those sovereigns had engaged not to admit any changes in their governments, "irreconcilable with monarchical institutions, or with the principles adopted by his imperial and royal majesty in the internal government of his Italian provinces." The Italian sovereigns faithfully observed these treaties; and the Austrian ascendancy led to the employment of officials from the empire, or in immediate connection with the government of Vienna, much to the disgust of the Italian nobles. As liberal principles prevailed in the rest of Europe, they extended to Italy. In 1820, an attempt was made to constitute the arbitrary government of Naples more in accordance with the opinions of the day. A liberal constitution was proclaimed; but, in 1821, an Austrian army entered Naples, and the despotism was restored.—In that year a revolutionary movement took place in Piedmont—the object, the establishment of a constitutional government. Again Austria interfered, and her army assisted the royal troops to put down the insurrection.—After the expulsion of the Bourbons from France, in 1830, insurrections broke out in Modena, Parma, and the Papal States. These were also put down by the Austrian troops: as were disturbances in Parma in 1846. In that year and 1847 secret societies were organised throughout Italy, with a view to expel the Austrians, and to compel the despotic sovereigns to give liberty to their people. In 1848, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, resolved, in the words of a royal proclamation, issued on the 8th of February in that year, "to adopt the bases of a fundamental statute for the establishment in the state of a complete system of representative government." He did introduce the representative system; and when the revolutionary spirit which so effectually manifested itself that year in France, broke out in Lombardy, Charles Albert assisted the insurgents, and proclaimed his intention "to support them in their struggle for freedom by the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy." He took

the command of the united armies of Lombardy and Piedmont; and for a time victory followed his steps, and crowned all his exertions. The Venetians also revolted; and for a time the Austrian power in Italy seemed to be threatened with immediate extinction. The courage of the Austrian troops, and the admirable tactics of their commander, Field-Marshal Radetsky, however, changed the aspect of affairs. After several minor struggles, in which he had ill-success, Charles Albert was finally defeated at Novara on the 23rd of March, 1849. On the 25th, he resigned in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel, the Duke of Savoy, who was proclaimed King of Sardinia the next day. He soon after concluded an armistice, and, on the 6th of August, signed a treaty of peace with Austria, who re-established herself in all her Italian dominions. Insurrections in Tuscany, Parma, and the Two Sicilies, had also been suppressed; and to Rome—where the pope had been expelled, and taken refuge at Mola di Gaëta, the government being placed in the hands of a triumvirate (Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi; whilst Garibaldi commanded the troops)—a French force was sent, under the command of General Oudinot, which besieged and took the city, and reinstated the pope. Garibaldi and the triumvirate sought safety in flight.

Soon after Pope Pius IX. returned to Rome—which was not till the 13th of April, 1850—a firm alliance was formed between Austria and the pontiff; and there is little doubt that Victor Emmanuel, from that time, contemplated renewing his efforts to expel the Austrians, even if he did not anticipate the result that has followed—so favourable to himself.—Travellers tell us that the Austrian government, though despotic, was not oppressive in Lombardy and Venetia; but it was distasteful to the people, especially to the nobles, who felt themselves expelled from their natural position by the foreigner.—In Naples, on the contrary, the government was tyrannous, in every sense of the word. No symptom of opposition was permitted; and those who, by word or deed, evinced the slightest disapprobation of the acts of the government, were immediately thrown into prison; those places of confinement being the worst in Europe, and the treatment of the inmates the most cruel. This treatment of political offenders in Naples had been carried on for years. In 1851, Mr. Gladstone had detailed the horrors of the prisons there, after personal inspection, in a pamphlet which was widely circulated in England. The system practised there, the right honourable gentleman described as "an outrage upon religion, upon civilisation, upon humanity, and upon decency." The exposure of his barbarity, and the remonstrances of England and France, did not cause Ferdinand II. to discontinue it; but at the commencement of 1859, finding himself to be near death, he ordered a number of the prisoners to be released, and sent to America as exiles. They compelled the American captain to land them in England, where they were cordially received. A committee was formed, with Lord Shaftesbury at its head, by which a subscription was raised; and they were kept in a comfortable position while they remained in this country. But their aim was, as they declared, in reply to an address presented to them at a public meeting, held at St. Martin's Hall, London, on the 15th of April, "to free Italy from all internal and foreign despotism;" and they ultimately went to Sardinia.

The Sardinian king joined the western powers in the war against Russia in 1854, no doubt to gain their support in his designs against Austria; and after the peace, the hostile movement towards that power was kept up throughout the Peninsula. It was notorious that this movement was encouraged in Sardinia, where troops were gathering—many of them "volunteers" from the Austrian provinces; and Austria, early in 1858, sent reinforcements to Lombardy, concentrating strong bodies near the Sardinian frontier. England, which, when Lord Palmerston was the foreign minister, in 1848, had strongly advised Austria to give up her Italian dominions, if suitable terms were offered—now, when Lord Malmesbury presided at the Foreign Office, advised her as strongly to peace. Probably, through her agents in Italy, Austria knew more of what was going on in Sardinia and France, than had come to the knowledge of the English government; for although she abstained from all overt acts of hostility, she continued to strengthen the Lombardo-Venetian army, and to advance her military positions there to the Sardinian frontiers.

Thus things went on during 1858. In the autumn of that year, when the French court was at Plombières, Count Cavour, the principal minister and adviser of Victor Emmanuel, arrived there, and had repeated interviews with Napoleon. Everything that subsequently occurred tends to strengthen a belief in the statement, which has been confidently made, that at these interviews the future of Italy was discussed; and it was resolved to cause a quarrel between Austria and Sardinia, and thus lead to a war. At all events, on the 1st of January, 1859, when Napoleon, as usual, received the foreign ambassadors, he addressed himself to M. Hubner, the Austrian minister, and said, "I regret that our relations with your government are not so good as they were; but I request you to tell the emperor that my personal feelings for him have not changed." These few words produced a startling effect upon the public mind of Europe, which had not subsided when the Piedmontese chambers were opened, on the 10th of January; and the king, in his speech, after saying,

"the horizon in which the new year rises is not perfectly serene," and making some remarks on the position of the country, added—"This condition is not free from danger, since, while we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of grief which reaches us from so many parts of Italy."—On the 30th of that month, Prince Napoleon, the cousin of the emperor, in his thirty-seventh year, was married to the Princess Clotilde, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel, not yet sixteen: and as it was reported that the marriage was quite against the wishes of the youthful bride, the belief that the king had sacrificed his daughter to forward his own ambitious views, filled Europe with disgust.

January, February, and March were spent in negotiations by all the European powers, the object being to preserve peace; and Earl Cowley, in February, went to Vienna on a special mission, with the same view. All efforts, however, failed to remove the cause of mutual complaint between the Austrian and Sardinian governments, each charging the other with being the cause of producing the unpleasant state of affairs; which, as the spring of 1859 passed away, was rapidly coming to a crisis. In March, Russia proposed that the questions in dispute between Austria and Sardinia should be referred to a congress of all the powers, to be held at some neutral town. The proposal was published in the *Moniteur* of the 22nd of March, and was favourably received. But there was a tedious negotiation as to the preliminaries to be agreed to before the congress assembled. It had not come to a close, when Austria—which power, up to that time, whatever the agents and friends of Sardinia may urge, had been acting strictly upon the defensive—put herself decidedly in the wrong. On the 19th of April she addressed an *ultimatum* to the court of Turin, requiring Sardinia immediately to disarm her own troops, and to disband the Italian volunteers. Three days were allowed for the answer to be returned—a refusal to be followed by a declaration of war. As might be expected, Sardinia did refuse; and whilst England, Prussia, and Russia protested, diplomatically, against the conduct of Austria, the Emperor of France prepared to join his army to that of Piedmont; one division being despatched to Italy by way of Genoa, a second crossing the Alps. The Austrian army, commanded by General Gyulai, received strong additional reinforcements; and, on the 29th of April, it crossed the Ticino.—On the 3rd of May, the Emperor of France announced his intention to join the army; on the 10th he left Paris; embarked at Marseilles on the 11th; landed at Genoa on the 12th; and, on the 14th, established his head-quarters at Alessandria. A short campaign followed, in which the Austrians were defeated at Montebello, on the 10th of May, by the French and Piedmontese; at Varese, on the 24th, by a body of 5,000 Italian volunteers from the Austrian dominions, which Garibaldi had quietly raised and trained; and this force, on the 27th, occupied Como, from which the Austrians were compelled to retreat in the direction of Milan. Then the inhabitants of the Valtellina rose in insurrection; the leaders fixed their head-quarters at Sandrio, the capital, and thus closed to the Austrians the great military road to Milan, over the Stelvio Pass, and secured the northern flank of Lombardy against the return of the army from Piedmont.

The allied armies of France and Piedmont, and that of Austria, made various movements between the 21st and 30th of May: on the latter day the Emperor of Austria arrived at the head-quarters of his army; and on the next day, had the great mortification of hearing that his troops were defeated at Palestro, which town the Piedmontese had occupied, and the Austrians endeavoured to retake. On the 4th of June, the latter suffered a still more serious defeat at Magenta; the Emperor of France commanding in person the Imperial Guards and the Zouaves; and, on the 8th, Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel made a triumphant entry into Milan, the capital of Lombardy. On the same day Garibaldi entered Bergamo. On the 12th, Bologna, in the Papal States, was abandoned by the Austrian troops; Ancona and Ferrara, part of the pope's territories, were declared free, and the Duke of Modena was also compelled to leave his capital, and follow the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Parma, who had been expelled from their territories, after bloodless revolutions, about a month before. Victor Emmanuel was declared dictator in the free Papal States. The Austrian army in Piedmont was obliged to retreat, "abandoning successively the lines of the Adda, the Oglio, and the Chiese," where it had previously been stationed; and, on the 22nd of June, it crossed the Mincio. The Emperor of Austria now assumed the command-in-chief, fixing his head-quarters at Villafranca. On the 20th of June he had 170,000 men concentrated; and on the 23rd they recrossed the Mincio, again occupying the positions they had evacuated. On the 24th of June the battle of Solferino was fought, about 150,000 men of the allied armies being opposed to the Austrians. Both emperors were present, and partly directed the operations. The Austrians were thoroughly and completely defeated; retiring in the midst of a severe storm of thunder, hail, and wind, that continued nearly an hour. Their loss in killed and wounded must have been great: the allies, who had about 12,000 men put *hors de combat*, took 7,000 prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon.

This was the last of the fighting. On the 8th of July an armistice was concluded; and on the 11th, the

two emperors met at Villafranca, and agreed to preliminaries of peace. By these preliminaries—with the exception of Lombardy, which Austria ceded to France, and France to Sardinia—Italy was to have remained in the same divisions as existed before the war, the various states to form an Italian confederation, under the honorary presidency of the pope: Venetia, though remaining under the sovereignty of Austria, was to be one of the confederated states. After a short interval, the plenipotentiaries of France and Austria met at Zurich where a treaty was concluded upon the bases of the preliminaries. To facilitate the return of the exiled sovereigns, and the establishment of the confederation, France proposed that a conference of the great powers should be held, to consider and promote the future settlement of Italy. But the Italians had taken their affairs into their own hands. They were determined that the treaty of Zurich should not be carried out, and it remained a dead letter. The duchies refused to receive their old sovereigns; the popular voice there—as it did in the Roman Legations—declared in favour of annexation to Sardinia; and the French troops still remained at Rome, to protect the pope, for whom there was not the slightest prospect of becoming the head of an Italian confederacy. Victor Emmanuel, at the close of the year, found himself King of Lombardy, as well as of Sardinia, and dictator of no unimportant part of the Papal Legations. In 1860, his dominions were still further extended.

As in a proclamation, issued when he entered Italy, Napoleon had promised to free the peninsula "from the Alps to the Adriatic," the terms granted to Austria excited great astonishment. It was conjectured that the unpopularity of the war in France, and the arming of the German confederation, which threatened to invade the empire—whilst the press of England almost unanimously expressed grave doubts as to the sincerity of the professions of the emperor, that he was only in Italy to combat the enemies of his ally, and to preserve order—led him to think that it was not safe to prolong the contest; that his wisest course was to seize the moment of victory for the conclusion of peace; and that, by making Italy a united confederation, he might contend he was setting it free. There is reason to believe, however, that if these circumstances had some weight—and no doubt they had—others had as much or more. The quarrel with Austria was planned, as already stated, [illegible] the Plombières conferences of 1858: and if that [illegible]er had remained strictly on the defensive, there is [illegible] doubt, that a pretence would have been found to [illegible] peace. But the "unification," as it is termed, [illegible] not the object contemplated. On the con[illegible] Victor Emmanuel was to have been left to [illegible]y he could in Austrian Italy, it was intended to form Central Italy into a kingdom for Prince Napoleon; and Southern Italy into another for Lucien Murat. The prince, however, was unpopular both with the army and the Italians; so was Murat. The emperor found that there was not the slightest likelihood of inducing the people of Italy voluntarily to acknowledge either; and the emperor shrunk from engaging in a war to win crowns for them. On the other hand, he was averse to the creating of such a formidable power as a united Italy must be, under a clever, energetic, and determined ruler. Therefore he resolved that Victor Emmanuel should acquire only Lombardy and the Legations; leaving the rest of the peninsula under its ancient sovereigns—strengthening those states by forming a confederation, and thus enabling them to resist the aggressions of Sardinia, should Victor Emmanuel attempt to carry out the scheme of uniting Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. These, we are told, were the motives that led to the preliminaries of Villafranca and the treaty of Zurich; and there is a great probability that such was the fact.

The year 1860 opened favourably for England. Except differences which had again arisen with the Chinese, owing to the treachery of the latter, peace prevailed at home and abroad; and the trade and commerce of the country were steadily increasing. Parliament met on the 24th of January, and was opened by the Queen in person. The principal topic in the speech was Italy. Her majesty intimated that she had been invited to send a plenipotentiary to join in a conference of the representatives of the great powers of Europe on the affairs of Italy. She expressed her willingness to join the congress, where her plenipotentiary "should steadfastly maintain the principle, that no external force should be employed to impose upon the people of Italy any particular government or constitution."—Her majesty also stated, that she was "in communication with the Emperor of the French, with a view to extend the commercial intercourse between the two countries, and thus to draw still closer the bonds of friendly alliance between them."—The breach with China was alluded to; and her majesty announced, that she was, "in concert and co-operation with the Emperor of the French," preparing "an expedition, intended to obtain redress" for injuries committed; "and a fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty of Tien-tsin."

It was a long and a busy session, and there were animated debates on various questions.—The address was carried, in both Houses, without amendment—one moved by Earl Grey, in the House of Lords, being negatived.—The financial statement was made on the 10th of February; on which day Lord John Russell laid on the table a treaty of commerce with France, which had been just concluded, Mr. Cobden having been the

principal negotiator on the part of England, and M. Chevalier on that of France. Mr. Gladstone's budget was very voluminous. He had a deficiency to provide for; and whilst he proposed to augment the income-tax to 10*d*. in the pound upon incomes above £150 per annum, and to 5*d*. upon those between £100 and £150, his budget contained proposals to reduce or repeal a number of stamp, custom, and excise duties—the abolition of the paper duty being one of his measures. He succeeded in carrying all his proposals through the Commons after warm debates. The reduction or repeal of other custom duties was proposed chiefly with a view of carrying out the treaty with France; and on the 20th of February, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the House should go into committee on the Customs Act, Mr. Disraeli moved an amendment, to the effect, that the House did not think fit to go into committee, with a view to reduce or repeal the duties referred to in the treaty of commerce concluded with France, till the engagements of that treaty had been considered and assented to.—This amendment was negatived by 293 to 230 votes; and the alterations in the customs duties were carried.—There was a more formidable contest when the abolition of the paper duties came before the House; the opposition contending, that taxes which pressed more immediately on the people—such as the duties on tea, sugar, and malt—should be first mitigated. The third reading of the bill for repealing the paper duty was carried in the Commons, on the 8th of May, by 219 ayes to 209 noes.—On the 21st, when the motion for the second reading of the bill was before the House of Lords, Lord Monteagle—generally a supporter of the ministers—moved, as an amendment, that it be read a second time that day six months. This amendment was carried, the votes being 193 for, to 104 against it; and the bill was lost. Many of the ministerial members in the House of Commons contended, that the Lords—who had long since ceased to attempt to amend or alter a money bill—had exceeded their privileges by rejecting a financial measure that had received the sanction of the Commons. A committee was appointed to inquire into the subject, which reported in favour of the peers. Lord Palmerston, however, on the 5th of July, introduced three resolutions, the purport of which was to assert, that the House of Commons had "in its own hands the power to remit and impose taxes;" after two nights' debate, these resolutions were adopted.—The war with China—for which £4,000,000 were required; and the defence of the country, by erecting fortifications in the Medway, at Spithead, and other places offering facilities for the attack of the enemy, at an expense of £2,000,000 for executing the first portion of the plans—rendered two supplementary budgets necessary.

The debates on the financial measures, and on the French treaty, were long and animated, and, at times, angry. The treaty was approved of by good majorities in both Houses; and from the ministerial side, Mr. Cobden was highly complimented for the ability he had displayed in treating with the French statesmen, and heartily congratulated on the success of his efforts. On the other hand, he was as severely censured by many for having agreed to the admission of French produce and manufactures into England free of duty, while the French government was left at liberty to impose duties upon English goods imported into France, to the amount of 25 per cent. There does not appear to be either fairness or equity in that arrangement; and as the ribbon-weavers of Coventry, and the silk-weavers in all parts of the country, found themselves seriously affected by the competition of the Lyons manufacturers, the treaty was very unpopular in Coventry and the silk districts. Generally, however, the new commercial arrangement worked well for both countries; but France, of the two, has been most benefited by it.—The question of the ballot and that of church-rates also caused exciting debates. The Commons refused to sanction the former by a large majority—254 to 147. They passed a bill to abolish church-rates; which was rejected by the Lords. On the 1st of March, Lord John Russell brought in a bill to amend the representation of the people in England and Wales. Mr. Cardwell introduced a similar measure for Ireland; and the Lord Advocate one for Scotland. All three were received very coolly by the supporters of the ministry; and so many notices were given of amendments to be moved in committee, that, after the English bill had been read a second time, the three were withdrawn; Lord John Russell saying it would be impossible to get through with them during the session.—On the 28th of August parliament was prorogued.

Numerous acts, public and private, were passed during the session; but only a few require notice in this epitome.—One act was important to the success of the volunteer movement; it prevents members of benefit societies from forfeiting their interest therein by becoming enrolled in volunteer corps. The financial scheme of the Chancellor of the Exchequer included an act for allowing confectioners, and the keepers of refreshment-houses, to take out licences for the sale of wines or malt liquors—a measure which has been productive of much benefit to those who are so frequently compelled to resort to such places for necessary refreshment when engaged in business or in pursuit of pleasure. The Jewish question was at last settled by passing a bill to allow any member of the House of Commons, professing the Jewish religion, in taking and subscribing the usual oath, to omit the words, "upon the

true faith of a Christian."—The condition of women, young persons, and children employed on bleaching-grounds, and in dyeing-works, had been long complained of, on account of the hours they were employed, and other hardships attendant upon their position. An act of the session placed them under the regulations of the Factory Acts. An act "for the regulation and inspection of mines," forbids the employment in mines of boys under the age of ten years; and from ten to twelve they are not to be employed without a certificate from a schoolmaster that they are able to read and write.—Another act inflicted fines upon persons adulterating or selling adulterated food or drinks.

Of home events during the year, the most remarkable was the rapid progress of the volunteer movement, which received every encouragement from all classes, the Queen setting the example; as her majesty generally does in everything tending to the benefit or the improvement of the people over whom she so beneficently rules.—On the 7th of March, her majesty held a *levée* especially for officers of the volunteer rifle corps; when no fewer than 2,500 gentlemen were introduced, and had the honour of kissing the Queen's hand.—In the evening there was a "volunteer banquet" at St. James's Hall, Piccadilly, over which the Duke of Cambridge presided; and a "volunteer ball," at a fine spacious room which the Duke of Bedford had recently erected, adjoining Covent Garden Theatre, for a flower-market, and which was called the Floral Hall. At that time about 70,000 volunteers were enrolled.—On the 23rd of June, the Queen reviewed nearly 26,000 volunteers in Hyde Park. And on her way to Balmoral with the Prince Consort, on the 7th of August, her majesty reviewed about the same number at Edinburgh. On both occasions, the way in which the amateur soldiers went through their evolutions astonished the military men who were present. The movement received no check: before the year closed, about 175,000 men were enrolled; and most of them were reported, by the military officers by whom they were regularly inspected, to be fit for effective service in time of need.

During the year two of our royal princes went abroad—the Prince of Wales to the West, Prince Alfred to Africa and the East; where Englishmen and natives were alike eager to render due homage, and pay every respectful attention to the son of England's Queen.—The Prince of Wales, travelling as Baron Renfrew, and attended by the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, embarked at Plymouth on the 9th of July, for Canada. It had been previously announced that his royal highness was about to visit North America; and Mr. Buchanan wrote to the Queen, inviting him to Washington. To this friendly communication the Queen sent an autograph letter in reply, accepting the invitation. His royal highness arrived at Quebec on the 18th of August, and he visited most of the other towns in Canada, being everywhere received with great enthusiasm.—He spent rather more than a month in Canada, entering the United States on the 18th of September, and proceeding to Washington. The citizens under the republican rule of President Buchanan, gave his royal highness as warm a welcome as he received from the subjects of his royal mother; and he returned home, highly gratified with his excursion; landing at Plymouth on the 15th of November.

In August, the Queen and Prince Consort visited Balmoral; and in the following month went to Germany, to spend a short time with the relatives of the prince. At all the places the royal pair stopped at on their tour, whether in England or on the continent, they were most cordially welcomed.—In November the Empress of the French arrived in England. Her imperial majesty was travelling *incognita;* her destination being Scotland; and it is said she was travelling for the benefit of her health, which was seriously affected by the death, in the summer, of her beloved sister, the Duchess of Alba. She arrived in London on the 14th of November; at York on the evening of the 16th; and at Edinburgh at 8 P.M. on the 17th.—On the 21st, her majesty proceeded to Dalkeith, Perth, Dunkeld, Birnam, Taymouth Castle (the seat of the Marquis of Breadalbane), Crieff, Glasgow, and Stirling; leaving the latter city for Manchester on the 29th of November. The 30th was spent in that city. On the 1st of December the empress proceeded to Leamington; and on the 4th to Windsor, upon a visit to the Queen, and to the Duchess of Kent at Frogmore. From Windsor her majesty went to London; and, after a few days' residence, returned to Paris; her health being much improved.

Notwithstanding that amicable relations between the two governments of France and England existed, and that a combined force of the two nations was acting against China, the English people were strongly impressed with the idea that danger "loomed in the distance," and that the Emperor of France was not in reality the friend he seemed. Some expressions of the emperor, in one of his public speeches, after receiving an address from a departmental municipality, strengthened this impression; which was not removed, though it might be somewhat weakened, by a letter addressed, on the 25th of July, by his majesty to the Count de Persigny, his ambassador in London, disclaiming any hostile feeling towards this country. It was the apprehension of hostility—the fear of invasion—which gave an impetus to the volunteer movement, and caused the public voice to sanction the expenditure for fortifi-

cations, as well as to look with complacency upon th large sums expended upon the navy, and on gunnery experiments. Plans were adopted for fortifying Portsmouth, Plymouth, Pembroke, Portland, the mouth of the Thames, the Medway and Sheerness, Chatham and Cork.—In the navy, iron-plated ships were substituted for our old ships of oak; the first that was completed, the *Warrior*, being launched in 1860. It was a most magnificent vessel, and was then considered to be a "model ship." The march of improvement, however, soon cast a shade over her.—The "trials of the guns,' also, were repeatedly taking place. Just before the Crimean war, a Mr. Lancaster had invented a large cannon, which was so constructed as to throw a heavy ball further than any ordnance then existing. But it proved unsatisfactory; and since that period, Mr. Whitworth, of Manchester, and Sir William Armstrong, who was in the ordnance department, have invented cannon of a peculiar internal construction, which imparts great force to the ball—a 32-pound ball, with a charge of six pounds of powder, striking an object at the distance of nearly 10,000 yards. After repeated trials, the officers to whom the decision was left, deemed that Sir William Armstrong's guns were the best; the government then purchased his invention; and a number of cannon were manufactured under his superintendence.—The experiments have since been resumed: there are, also, other inventors in the field; and it is far from certain who produces the best gun.

In the spring a war commenced in New Zealand, between the colonists and the Maoris, as the native inhabitants are called. It arose out of a dispute relative to lands, which one chief had disposed of, whilst another claimed them. It continued, more or less actively, for many years afterwards; for although the natives could make no head against the colonists in the open field, whatever their number, yet such is the nature of the country, and they defended themselves so well in their retreats amongst the hills and ravines, that, though frequently beaten, they were not subdued.—Our other colonies continued quiet and improving; especially Australia, British Columbia, Canada, and India. The "gold-digging" still did much for the two former; and the steady industry of the Canadians met its reward. —The prosperity of the colonies, no doubt, aided in producing that of the mother country, which exported produce and manufactures, in 1860, to the amount of £135,842,817; the revenue for the same term being £71,967,494 14s. 8d.

From the East very alarming accounts were received early in the year. The Druses and the Maronite Christians of Lebanon had long been jealous of each other; their quarrels were frequent; and the European powers were often appealed to, by both, for protection; the Maronites, on account of their connection with the Roman Catholic church, chiefly looking to France; and the Druses, who maintained that their enemies were constantly scheming to expel them entirely from the Lebanon, for that reason regarded England as their friend; though the English authorities at Beyrout, Aleppo, and elsewhere, strongly censured them for their constant outrages upon their neighbours. After repeated quarrels, extending over the years 1858 and 1859, Europe was, in July, 1860, startled with reports of horrible massacres perpetrated in the Lebanon. In May, it seems, of that year, active hostilities broke out between the two tribes; and the Druses, having the advantage, burnt numerous villages, and cruelly put to death many of the inhabitants; a Turkish force, under Khoosheed Pasha, being unable or unwilling to prevent them.—In June the strife continued, the advantage still being with the Druses. Early in July, the war became extended beyond the Lebanon; and at Aleppo and Damascus the Mohammedans joined the Druses; more than 5,500 Christians being murdered, and their houses burned and plundered. The massacres "spread over the country from Sidon to Antioch, and from the sea to the Hauran." There "the Christians, previous to the 28th of May, 1860, had been numerous and prosperous; but, on the 15th of July, not an entire Christian village was to be seen." The number of persons murdered in cold blood, since the outrages commenced, was estimated at 12,000. It was also affirmed, that "163 villages, 220 churches, and seven convents were destroyed, and 200 priests butchered."—As soon as this terrific intelligence was known, a conference of England, France, and other European nations was held; and it was resolved to send commissioners from the powers, and also a military force, to Syria, to restore peace and order, and to protect the Christians. To France was left the task of sending the troops; and a French force accordingly sailed for Syria on the 4th of August; an English fleet being also despatched to the coast, to protect British subjects and property, and to afford a refuge to native fugitives. The Porte had already taken steps to avenge the murders. As soon as the events were known at Constantinople, the sultan sent Fuad Pasha, with full powers to do justice; he took a sufficient force to restore peace; and on the 20th of August, he had 111 members of the police force at Damascus, who were implicated in the massacre, shot; and fifty-six persons, also implicated, were hanged in the most public part of the city. He sent 553 others to Constantinople, to be imprisoned, and put to hard abour.—He took similar steps at Beyrout; and appears o have acted heartily with Lord Dufferin, who was sent o Syria as English commissioner, to restore order.—The French troops, which landed at Beyrout, under

General Beaufort d'Hautpoul, between the 16th and the 22nd of August, joined by the Turks, marched into the desolated country—the Druses flying before them. They re-established the Christians, some of whom displayed the same spirit as their enemies, murdering the Druse fugitives when they fell-in with them; and before the year closed, the Turks had re-established regular government in the Lebanon.

The war with China has been alluded to. It arose out of the bad faith of the government at Pekin, which refused to ratify the treaty of Tien-tsin; and when Sir Frederick Bruce, the English ambassador, and his French colleague, escorted by several armed vessels—one object being to force the ratification of the treaty—arrived at the mouth of the Peiho river on the 25th of June, 1859, on their way to Pekin, their progress was arrested by the Taku forts and obstructions in the river. An attempt to force their way was defeated, so inadequate was the fleet: two vessels, the *Plover* and *Lee*, grounded, and were taken by the Chinese, the crews having been transferred to other ships; two others were sunk; and, in the fighting, eighty-nine men were killed, 345 wounded. The two governments resolved to take immediate steps to repair this disaster, and they were supported by the public voice in both countries. The expedition was not ready, however, till 1860. It sailed early in the year, being accompanied by the Earl of Elgin and Baron Gros. The former was succeeded, as Postmaster-General, by Lord Stanley of Alderney. In the middle of August, the allies arrived off the Peiho. On the 20th, the troops (English and French) landed, and after some hard fighting, captured the Taku forts on the 21st, the Tartar troops, by whom they were garrisoned, making a most determined resistance. The allies had 400 killed and wounded. They then proceeded up the river, as far as Tien-tsin, where the treaty was signed. Leaving a competent force in that place, the ambassadors and the army marched towards Pekin. On their way they encountered the Tartar army, under Prince Sankolinsin, which was attacked, and though the men fought well, defeated. Several officers and civilians attached to the allied army were, however, taken prisoners, and barbarously used, some of them dying from the effects of their ill-treatment. The survivors were ultimately released, as the Chinese feared to retain them, the allies being then close to Pekin; having taken and sacked the summer palace of the emperor. Finding resistance useless, Prince Kung was commissioned to meet Lord Elgin and Baron Gros; and on the 24th of October, peace was concluded, the ratifications of the treaty of Tien-tsin being also exchanged. The allied troops occupied Pekin for several days; and the French having replaced, on the summit of the Pekin cathedral, a cross which had formerly surmounted it, on the 29th a *Te Deum* and the *Domine Salvum* were solemnly chanted in that building, to celebrate the triumphs of the allies.—On the 5th of November, the allied forces left Pekin: on the 26th of March, 1861, Sir F. Bruce arrived there, and took up his residence as the British minister; and though we have had some differences with China since, the peace between the two powers has not been disturbed. The English, during that time, have assisted the emperor's forces in their war with the rebels, who have, for some years, been seeking to replace the Tartar dynasty by a Chinese race; and British ships of war have frequently made captures of piratical junks in the Chinese waters.

Little interest attaches itself to European affairs, except as far as Italy is concerned. At the close of 1859, there had been rumours that France claimed some additional territory on the side of Italy, as a compensation for the increased power and strength gained by Sardinia. Before parliament assembled, these rumours took a different form. It was confidently affirmed, that the *pacte de famille*, concluded at Plombières in 1858 (by one article of which the union of Prince Napoleon and the Princess Clotilde was arranged), also contained another, by which, if the plans of Cavour and his master were successful, it was stipulated that Savoy and Nice were to be ceded to France. All these rumours were positively contradicted by M. Walewski (now Count Walewski), the French foreign minister; and Lord Cowley and Lord John Russell "had no information" respecting them. However, on the 10th of March, the French government formally demanded those provinces from the King of Sardinia and Lombardy; and, on the 24th, a treaty between France and Sardinia was signed at Turin, by which they were declared annexed to the empire. On the 14th of June the formal transfer took place.

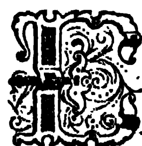
In the meantime Garibaldi—who had returned to the service of Victor Emmanuel, which he left in the previous November—had joined an insurrection raised in Sicily against the Neapolitan government. Unsuccessful till he put himself at their head, the insurgents now defeated the royal troops wherever they met them. On the 17th of May, Garibaldi declared himself dictator of Sicily; on the 29th, the ministers of the King of Naples resigned their functions; on the 1st of June, an armistice was signed between the insurgents and the Neapolitan troops in Sicily, and the authority of the king was at an end. The victor employed himself in organising the government of the island; and soon after disturbances were fomented in Naples. A conflict took place in the streets of the capital, on the 15th of July, between the soldiers and the people; and on the 20th, the king, Francis II., who had succeeded to the throne in 1859, recalled his troops from Sicily, where they had

peaceably remained since the armistice was signed. Garibaldi then prepared an expedition to attack the continental dominions of the king. With a few troops he landed in Calabria in August; the royalist soldiers retreated before him, or were defeated if they attempted to check his progress. On the 7th of September, the king left Naples for Gaëta; on the 8th, Garibaldi entered the city, accompanied only by his staff; and on the 9th, he proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy. That sovereign had been carrying on a war in the Papal States, where he had overrun more of the Legations; Ancona, which had been reoccupied by the pope's troops, capitulating on the 29th of September; when what remained of those troops, with their commander, General Lamoricière, surrendered prisoners of war. The Sardinian army then entered Naples, joined the troops under Garibaldi, and, on the 1st of October, the battle of the Volturno was fought, in which the royal army was defeated; and it was driven in, first to the Garigliano, and then to the walls of Gaëta. That town was defended by a body of troops, with the king at their head, and its siege was not then undertaken; but on the 2nd of November, Capua capitulated; and the votes of the people of the kingdom having been taken on the question of annexation to Sardinia, the numbers were declared, on the 3rd, to be—ayes, 1,302,064; noes, 10,312.—On the 7th, Victor Emmanuel entered Naples as King of Italy; when Garibaldi again left the army, and, on the 9th of November, retired to the island of Caprera.

In 1860, there was a strong contest for the presidency of the United States, which ended in the election of Abraham Lincoln. The slave question had long been a source of disagreement between the Southern and the Northern States; in the former negro slavery being recognised, in the latter abolished. The Southern planters considered that slave labour was necessary to their very existence; and hitherto they had been enabled to hold their own, and to protect what President Buchanan called their "peculiar institution." For some years their representatives had formed the minority of the House of Representatives, as each state returns members to that house in proportion to the number of its population: but they had generally, by their own unanimity and the divisions of the North, found the president to side with them; and they had, till a short time previous to 1860, a majority in the senate, to which each state returns two members; and, as there were fifteen slave states, they had thirty senators—outnumbering, for many years, those sent from the North and West. The number of states, however, in 1860, was thirty-four; and thus the South was in a minority of all the departments of the government. Though slavery was the cardinal point of difference between North and South, there were other causes of complaint. The North supported protection, whilst the South wanted free trade, that they might dispose of their raw produce—chiefly cotton, tobacco, sugar, and rice—for the manufactures of Europe. The public money, contributed by all, they also contended was chiefly expended for the benefit of the North; especially in the construction of navy-yards, docks, arsenals, forts, and lighthouses. After the election of Abraham Lincoln—who had the votes of all the nineteen states opposed to the South, whilst the votes of the latter were given against him—the leading men of the South determined to carry out a project which had long been talked of, and to secede from the Union. In his message to congress on the 4th of December, 1860, the president (Buchanan) deprecated the threatened secession; and recommended such an amendment of the constitution as would enable the dissatisfied states to remain in the Union. Nothing was done; and a convention which had assembled at Charleston led the way, by declaring, on the 20th of December, the secession of South Carolina. It was anticipated (as it turned out correctly) that more would follow.

CHAPTER CXIX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1861, 1862.



IGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY closed, and the new year was ushered in by an unusually keen winter. In the last week of December the frost had been very severe; and the working classes—many of them impoverished by the long strikes—suffered greatly; none more so than the silk-weavers of Coventry, for whose special relief £40,000 was raised.—Subscriptions were opened in London for the distressed operatives of the metropolis; and most liberally were the appeals answered, and well did the poor, unemployed men behave. As was truly observed by one residing amongst them—"The teeming crowds of London poor, cut off from their wonted fields of labour, went through

the ordeal that would have produced a revolution in almost every other capital of Europe, with a patience and forbearance which elicited a general feeling of estimation and respect." As the spring advanced, trade improved; and the men in all branches but one were pretty well employed. That one was the cotton manufacture, which was most disastrously affected by the civil war in America; but not so much in 1861 as in the following year.

The session of 1861 was opened by the Queen on Tuesday, the 5th of February. In her speech, her majesty stated that tranquillity had been re-established in Syria; that the operations of the allied forces in China had been attended with complete success; and thus alluded to the schism which had sprung up in the United States of America:—

"Serious differences have arisen among the states of the North American Union. It is impossible for me not to look with great concern upon any events which can affect the happiness and welfare of a people nearly allied to my subjects by descent, and closely connected with them by the most intimate and friendly relations. My heartfelt wish is that these differences may be susceptible of a satisfactory adjustment. The interest which I take in the people of the United States cannot but be increased by the kind and cordial reception given by them to the Prince of Wales during his recent visit to the continent of America."

The subject of reform was, this session, dropped by the government. Mr. Locke King brought forward his measure to reduce the county household franchise to £10: Mr. Baines introduced a bill to extend the franchise in towns to £6 householders; and Mr. Berkeley again moved the adoption of the mode of voting by ballot.—All these measures failed. Sudbury and St. Alban's had been, for some years, disfranchised for bribery; and the ministers introduced a bill to transfer the four seats thus vacant to Chelsea and Kensington. It was, however, proposed, that instead, one seat should be given to Birkenhead, one to South Lancashire, and two to West Yorkshire: this amendment was carried.

The budget, introduced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 15th of April, was much simpler than that of 1860. The right honourable gentleman estimated the expenditure for the financial year 1861-'62 at £69,900,000; the revenue at £71,823,000: leaving a surplus of £1,923,000. He proposed to reduce the income-tax 1*d*. in the pound; to repeal the paper duty; to vote the tea and sugar duties only for a year, in order that the subject of their reduction might then be again considered; to increase the duty on chicory to 8*s*. 6*d*. per cwt. till April, 1862, and after that time, to 11*s*.; and to make alterations in the excise duties payable on hawkers' and victuallers' licences. It was not customary to comprise the income-tax, the customs duties, and the excise duties in one measure; each class of imposts being brought separately before the House. But, this year, to ensure the repeal of the paper duty, Mr. Gladstone adopted the unusual course of including all the above proposals, except that relating to licences, in one bill; concluding that the Lords—who, if they insisted upon their right to *reject*, could not *amend* a money bill—would pass the complex measure, however reluctantly, rather than, by its rejection, throw all the Treasury arrangements into confusion. A resolution, moved by Mr. Newdegate, to treat each duty separately, being negatived by the large majority of 196 to 34, little opposition was made in the Commons to any of the proposals of the finance minister, except that for the repeal of the paper duty, which was carried, on the 30th of May, by the small majority of 15—296 "ayes" to 281 "noes." The Lords did not attempt to reject the bill; and thus the duty on paper was abolished. That abolition has been very beneficial generally, more particularly with regard to the penny papers; and even by this means alone has greatly increased knowledge. During the session the approaching marriage of the Princess Alice to Prince Louis of Hesse was announced; and an annuity of £6,000 per annum, with a dowry of £30,000, were voted to her royal highness.

Several important acts were passed in the session. One, introduced by Mr. Gladstone, has had a more beneficial effect upon the industrious classes than perhaps any other of his measures—the act establishing post-office savings-banks, especially intended to receive the savings of the working-men. The government security is given for these deposits, which have been made to a large amount.—An Act, "to place the Employment of Young Women, Young Persons, Youths, and Children, in Lace Factories, under the Regulations of the Factories' Act;" an Act "to Exempt the Horses used by Volunteers, when on duty, from Tolls;" and an Act "to Amend the Laws relating to Bankruptcy and Insolvency"—which abolished imprisonment for debt, except in cases of fraud, and did away with much of the cumbrous and expensive machinery of the old bankruptcy laws—were also passed.—Before the session closed, Lord John Russell was called to the upper House by the titles of Earl Russell and Viscount Amberley; and Lord Campbell, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Herbert of Lee, the Secretary at War, died; both being greatly regretted by the public. The Attorney-General, Sir R. Bethell, was elevated to the woolsack, and to the peerage, by the title of Baron Westbury; Sir William Atherton became Attorney-General, and was succeeded, as Solicitor-General, by Sir Roundell Palmer. Sir George Lewis took the war department; Sir George Grey succeeding him as Home Secretary.

Mr. Cardwell gave up the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland, and was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and Sir Robert Peel became Chief Secretary in his place.

Early in the year the Queen met her first domestic calamity in the death of her mother, the Duchess of Kent, who departed this life on the 16th of March. Her royal highness was in her seventy-fifth year. She was the daughter of Francis Frederic Anthony, Duke of Saxe-Coburg; and Leopold I., King of the Belgians, was her brother, and uncle to Queen Victoria. Her royal highness first married, in 1803, Enrich Charles, the Prince of Leiningen, who died on the 4th of July, 1814. On the 11th of July, 1818, she married Prince Edward, Duke of Kent and Strathern, who died on the 24th of January, 1820, when his daughter, the Princess Victoria, was only eight months old. The duchess was an excellent mother, and to her judicious training may be attributed the many domestic virtues and high social qualities that distinguish our excellent Queen. For this loss the Queen found consolation in the society of her beloved husband; and together, after parliament broke up, they visited Ireland, where, on the 24th of August, her Majesty and the Prince Consort were present at a review of the troops in the Curragh camp, by the commander-in-chief. The Prince of Wales, who had been for some months at Curragh, going through the strict routine of military duty, was, throughout the day, at the head of his regiment, the Grenadier Guards. It was estimated that there were not fewer than 60,000 spectators on the ground, by whom the Queen, Prince Consort, and their son were loudly and heartily cheered. From the Curragh the Queen and Prince Consort went to Killarney; and having enjoyed the beautiful scenery of the lakes, they proceeded to Balmoral for the usual autumn residence.—In the summer her majesty instituted a new order of knighthood, called the Star of India, to be conferred on those who had distinguished themselves in the civil and military service of the Indian empire. It comprises the sovereign, the grand master, and twenty-five knights; with such extra and honorary knights as the sovereign may be pleased to appoint. The insignia consists of a star, a collar of gold, and a badge suspended from a light-blue riband, with narrow white stripes near each edge. The motto, "Heaven's light is our guide," is inscribed on the star.—After her return from Balmoral to Windsor Castle, her majesty held the first investiture of the order. The Governor-General of India for the time being was declared to be grand master and principal knight; and the Prince Consort (as an extra and honorary knight), Field-Marshal Lord Gough, Sir George Russell Clerk, and General Sir George Pollock were invested with the insignia, which has since been conferred upon several native sovereigns of India, and distinguished members of the Indian military and civil service. The Prince of Wales, after he left Ireland, pursued legal studies at Cambridge. On the 31st of October he was in London, and on that day opened a new library erected in the Temple Gardens, and called "The Middle Temple Library." The same day his royal highness was called to the bar, and admitted as a bencher of the Middle Temple.

On the 8th of April, the census of the United Kingdom was taken; papers having been left at every house, on which were to be inscribed—1. The name and surname of every individul in the dwelling.—2. The relation of each to the head of the family.—3. Whether they were single or married, or widowed.—4. Sex.—5. The age on the last birthday.—6. Rank, profession, or occupation.—7. Where born.—8. If deaf and dumb, or blind.—These papers were expected to be filled up on the morning of the 8th of April; and they were collected the same day. After a careful examination and classification, the returns were published, and the following is the result:—

POPULATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.—APRIL 8, 1861.

	Persons.	Males.	Females.
England and Wales ..	20,061,725	9,758,852	10,302,873
Scotland	3,061,329	1,447,015	1,614,314
Ireland	5,764,543	2,804,961	2,959,582
Islands in the British Seas	143,779	66,394	77,385
Army, navy, and merchant seamen	303,412	303,412	
	29,334,788	14,380,634	14,954,154

Notwithstanding the check which the industry of Lanashire—the chief seat of the cotton manufacture—sustained, 1861 was, on the whole, a fairly prosperous year. The weather was favourable for the harvest, and the crops produced an average quantity, and of a quality seldom exceeded. The reduction of prices that followed was a great relief to the working-men. The trade with France also considerably increased, and thus in some degree balanced the falling-off in the traffic with the United States. The supply of cotton from those States entirely failed. Our manufacturers had directed their attention exclusively to that market; and instead of encouraging, had stood aloof from all others, whether in our own colonies or elsewhere. Now attention was turned to the East and West Indies, to China, to Egypt, and to Algeria; and a great impetus was given to the cultivation of the cotton-plant in those countries. But the growth of that plant was the work of time;

and while cotton plantations were springing up in Jamaica, India, and other places, our factories, one after the other, were discharging their hands, and stopping their mills. Thousands of honest, industrious persons, male and female, were thrown on the poor-rates; but there were no outbreaks, no riots. The people in the suffering districts were perfectly tranquil. Attempts were made to revive the reform question, but it had little success in the north; and an address, issued on the 10th of July, calling upon the people of Great Britain and Ireland to join in "a national reform movement," for the purpose of obtaining manhood suffrage, the ballot, and an equitable redistribution of seats, met with little response at the time.—The falling-off in the trade with the United States affected the exports; their value being, for the year ending December 31st, 1861, £125,115,133. The revenue for the same period, according to the returns from the Treasury, published on the 1st of January, 1862, produced the sum of £68,603,851 7*s.* 4*d.*

The war continued in New Zealand. On the 19th of March, a number of the insurgents surrendered to the British; and, for a time, peace was restored: but hostilities were subsequently renewed.—In Australia and all our other colonies peace and tranquillity prevailed; though in the former, where extreme democratic constitutions had been established, the ministries and the legislatures were adopting measures not at all likely to promote the general prosperity.—Early in the year, the north-western provinces of India suffered severely from famine, the result of a long drought. This calamity had one good effect. The Indian government came forward liberally to the relief of the sufferers; a subscription was opened among the English at Calcutta, and others in London and Liverpool; all being well supported. From England upwards of £100,000 was transmitted to India, being the contributions of the people of Great Britain to the relief of their fellow-subjects in the East. This liberality did much to extinguish any lingering remains of the spirit that caused the mutiny. The rains of the summer produced an abundant rice crop in 1861; and the distress was removed. Apart from this visitation in the rice districts, the general prosperity of the Indian empire, under the genial government of Lord Canning, was remarkable; whilst, under the successive administration of two able financiers from England, the Indian revenue was greatly improved, and its financial equilibrium nearly restored.

The transactions in Europe with which England was connected were not important. Those in which she was most interested took place in Poland and Italy. The Emperor Alexander, of Russia, engaged in emancipating the serfs in Russia proper, was accused of wishing to establish a tyranny over the Poles. The Polish Agricultural Society, whose central place of meeting was Warsaw, had the Count Andrew Zamoyski for president. He was suspected of entertaining designs to throw off the Russian yoke, and of converting the society into an engine for promoting them. The emperor, by an imperial ukase, dissolved the society at the latter end of March—a step which gave rise to popular demonstrations in Warsaw, and led to encounters with the troops. In one of these, on the 8th of April, the soldiers fired upon the populace; and on that and subsequent days, more than 1,000 of the latter were killed and wounded. From that time, for many months, rebellion raged in Poland; the movements being directed by a secret council, whose place of meeting was never discovered. The insurgents frequently fell-in with the Russian troops, and dispersed them; but the resources of the empire were too extensive and overpowering for the old kingdom successfully to contend with; and the Poles could get no foreign aid. The people of England and France were very anxious to assist them; especially those of the former country, where a society of the "Friends of Poland" had existed for many years. A long correspondence subsequently took place between the governments of Great Britain, France, and Austria on the one side, and that of Russia on the other; the three former powers urging the latter to adopt lenient conduct and liberal measures with respect to the Poles. Russia persistently refused to recognise any foreign intervention in her domestic affairs, or between the imperial government and any parts of its subjects; and the negotiation produced no result, except a coolness between Russia and the Western powers. In the meantime the civil war continued, till the insurgents were completely crushed; and since then, the government of St. Petersburg has been gradually replacing the Polish functionaries by Russians; and, on the 12th of January, 1867, three imperial ukases were published, assimilating the civil, military, and financial administration of Poland to that of Russia. So all that Poland has gained by an insurrection, which her friends admit to have been very ill-timed, is a more stringent government, and the abolition of all her national privileges and distinctions.

In Italy we left Francis II., of Naples, shut up in Gaëta, where he was blockaded by the troops of Piedmont by land; but Napoleon, still professing a desire to carry out the treaty of Zurich, stationed a French fleet off that port, to prevent any attack by sea. This state of things did not long continue. The emperor found that he could not carry out his temporising policy; and, after an unsuccessful bombardment of Gaëta by the Piedmontese, in January, 1861, he withdrew his fleet. Still Francis held out; refused all

foreign intervention, the object of which was the surrender of his rights; and only when the defences of Gaëta were found to be no longer tenable, did he consent to abandon that, his last stronghold on Neapolitan soil. On the 14th of February, he embarked, with his queen, court, and ministers, on board the French frigate *Mouette*, which landed them at Rome; and the same day the Piedmontese troops, under General Cialdini, took possession of Gaëta. All Italy, except Venetia, Rome, and a small papal territory surrounding that city, was then nominally subject to Victor Emmanuel, and it was supposed fighting would cease. But large bodies of the Neapolitan troops dispersed themselves over the mountainous country in the south, and long kept up a guerilla warfare, being supported in many places by the inhabitants, who were not only hostile to the Sardinian rule, but gave information of the movements of the king's troops, and supplied his opponents with provisions.—On the 1st of June Count Cavour died, and was succeeded by Baron Ricasoli; one of whose first official acts was, to announce to the Chamber of Deputies at Turin that France had recognised Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy: England had recognised his title some time before.

During the year, two European sovereigns—Frederick William IV., King of Prussia, and Abdul Medjid, Sultan of Turkey—died. Both were succeeded by their brothers—William, the Crown Prince of Prussia, and Abdul Aziz. The former ascended the throne as William I.; and he has done more to increase the power of Prussia than any sovereign since Frederick the Great. Under the latter Turkey has not retrograded; but she has not increased in strength; and it is only the jealousies of the other European sovereigns that preserve the integrity of the Turkish empire.

At the close of our *résumé* of the events of 1860, we noticed the differences which had arisen between the Northern and Southern States of America, and the secession of South Carolina from the union. In January, 1861, four other states followed the example; and they were joined by six others; North Carolina being the last which gave in her adhesion on the 20th of May. The eleven states were—North and South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, and Tennessee. On the 9th of February, Mr. Jefferson Davis was elected president of the states which had then seceded; and as the government at Washington, supported by all the Northern States, refused to recognise the right to secede, and treated the secessionists as rebels, whom they determined to subdue by force, war was inevitable. Into the details of that war it is impossible to enter in this *résumé*; only those circumstances with which England was immediately connected can be noticed. The British government, supported by France and the other European powers, recognised the Southern States as belligerents, but professed a strict neutrality. On the 29th of April, Lord Wodehouse (then Under-Secretary of State for the foreign department) stated, in the House of Lords, that her majesty's government had decided not to intrude advice or counsel on the government of the United States; but that Lord Lyons, the British ambassador at Washington, had been instructed to express, on every fitting occasion, the earnest desire of her majesty's government that the differences between the North and the South might be amicably arranged. No doubt Sir E. Lyons followed his instructions; but in vain; the war continued; and the Federal government —as that at Washington was now called by foreigners; the government of the South, established first at Charleston, but subsequently at Richmond, being termed the Confederate—complained bitterly that the Southern "rebels" had been recognised as belligerents by the powers of Europe. There was no interruption, however, of the friendly intercourse between England and the States till near the close of the year; and then, for a few weeks, the prospect of a war was imminent.—On the 7th of November, the *Trent* West India mail-packet, on its way to England, called at the Havannah, where she took on board, as passengers, two Southern gentlemen—Mr. Mason and Mr. Slidell; the former as commissioner to England, the latter to France. Each was accompanied by a secretary.—On the 8th, the packet was boarded by a large party of armed marines, commanded by a lieutenant from the *San Jacinto*, a federal man-of-war, commanded by Captain Wilkes. This party forcibly carried off the commissioners and their secretaries; the commander of the *Trent* protesting against the outrage, which he had no power to resist. The four gentlemen thus seized, contrary to all international law, were taken to New York, and put in prison. Information of the seizure reached England on the 27th of November. A cabinet council was summoned for the 29th; and, on the proposition of Lord Palmerston, it resolved to instruct Lord Lyons peremptorily to demand the liberation of the captives. Earl Russell forwarded the instructions to the British ambassador on the 30th; and immediate preparations were made for war, should the demand be refused; several bodies of troops being sent to Canada between the 13th and the 27th of December; the British fleet in the American waters was also strengthened. Captain Wilkes, on his arrival at New York, was promoted to the rank of commodore; on visiting public meetings he was praised and eulogised; and the House of Representatives, on the 4th of December, passed a vote of thanks to him. When, however, Lord Lyons, on the 23rd of December, communicated Earl Russell's despatch to Mr. Seward, the

American minister, and the chief adviser of the president, it was deemed best to liberate the prisoners. They were, on the 28th, delivered to Lord Lyons, who at once despatched them to England. They landed in this country on the 29th of January, 1862; and thus the apprehended outbreak of hostilities was prevented.

The year 1861 appeared likely to close favourably and pleasantly for England; as all her relations with foreign powers were satisfactory; her foreign trade, except with the United States, prosperous; her internal industry, except that branch already alluded to, progressing rapidly; and her people tranquil and contented; for even in Ireland—where turbulent spirits are always to be found ready to create dissatisfaction, and, if they can, to raise a disturbance—a calm prevailed. Preparations were actively going on in London, under the auspices of the Prince Consort, for the second International Exhibition, which would have been held in 1861; but the war raging in Italy in 1859, caused it to be postponed. Great expectations were entertained as to the result of that exhibition, which there was every reason to believe would, in the number of exhibitors, and the variety and excellence of their contributions, exceed the first. All bright prospects were obscured, however, by the death, on the 14th of December, of his royal highness the Prince Consort. He had been indisposed for more than a fortnight previous, with a cold, attended with fever: but the public were not aware of it till the 9th of December, when it was announced, that a party to be held at Windsor Castle had been countermanded, on account of his royal highness's illness; five days after, he was no more. He died in the same room, in Windsor Castle, where George IV. and William IV. expired; and on the 23rd, was buried in the royal vault, in the Chapel Royal, of St. George's.—The Queen had a splendid mausoleum erected at Frogmore, to which the royal corpse has been removed.

His royal highness's character was truly estimable in all the relations of life. He was a dutiful son, a firm friend, an affectionate husband, and a kind and loving father, setting before his children the conduct they should pursue by precept and example.—To the Queen he was invaluable as a counsellor and an adviser; and her majesty has never ceased to lament his loss. Her residence has, since that event, been divided between Windsor, Osborne, and Balmoral; with occasional short visits to Belgium and Germany; but she has not yet resumed her royal state at Buckingham Palace, to the great regret of her subjects; and only on very few occasions has taken part in public proceedings. All the other duties of royalty her majesty, however, continues assiduously to discharge; and her subjects hope yet to see her once more resume her proud position, which no one ever filled better, or with greater propriety.

Soon after the year 1862 opened, on the 16th of January, a shocking accident at the New Hartley Colliery, near Newcastle, excited the sympathy of the entire nation. An explosion shattered the shaft which gave access to the colliery, and killed 204 men and boys, besides injuring many others. The terrible accident was caused by the breaking of the beam which overhung the shaft, and formed part of the pumping machinery. Numerous families were left destitute, and a subscription was opened for their relief, to which the Queen—perhaps sympathising with the widows and the fatherless more deeply from her own bereavement—was the first to send a large contribution.—In a few weeks, upwards of £70,000 was collected, by which the material wants of the sufferers were greatly alleviated; but the loss of relatives no money could supply.

Parliament was opened, by commission, on the 6th of February, the Lord Chancellor, Baron Westbury, reading her majesty's message, in which the following allusion was made to her recent loss:—

"We are commanded, by her majesty, to assure you, that her majesty is persuaded that you will deeply participate in the affliction by which her majesty has been overwhelmed, by the calamitous, untimely, and irreparable loss of her beloved consort, who had been her comfort and support. It has been, however, soothing to her majesty, while suffering most acutely under this awful dispensation of Providence, to receive from all classes of her subjects the most cordial assurances of their sympathy with her sorrow, as well as of their appreciation of the noble character of him, the greatness of whose loss, to her majesty and to the nation, is so justly and so universally felt and lamented."

These sentiments were echoed in the addresses from both Houses; the movers and seconders—Lords Dufferin and Shelburne in the uper House; Mr. Portman and Mr. Western Wood in the lower—and the leaders of both parties, warmly eulogising the character of the late Prince Consort in their speeches.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made his financial statement on the 3rd of April. Two days previously, Mr. Sheridan had, by a majority of 127 to 116 against the government, obtained leave to bring in a bill to reduce the duty on fire insurance, at once, from 3*s.* to 2*s.* per cent., and at the end of five years to 1*s.* per cent. Mr. Gladstone, however, took no notice of this vote in his budget. He estimated the revenue for the financial year at £70,190,000; the expenditure at £70,040,000: and he proposed to reduce the wine duties from four scales to two; to abolish the hop duties, substituting a licence to brewers for that tax; and to reduce the duty on playing-cards to 3*d.* per pack; the seller of such cards, if the maker, to pay 2*s.* 6*d.* for a licence, to be taken out annually; and, if not a maker, £1. The

brewers' licences were to vary from 12*s.* 6*d.* if the quantity brewed did not exceed twenty barrels, to £2 for any quantity not exceeding fifty barrels; after that amount, 15*s.* for every fifty barrels, should the entire number not exceed 1,000; 14*s.* for every fifty from 1,000 to 50,000; and 12*s.* 6*d.* for every fifty barrels beyond that number.—Each brewer also to take out a yearly licence, at 12*s.* 6*d.*—Mr. Gladstone carried all his propositions; and Mr. Sheridan's bill for the reduction of the duty on fire insurances was not proceeded with.

One of the first acts passed in the session of 1862, was to enable the Queen to issue commissions to the officers of her majesty's land forces and the royal marines, and to adjutants and quartermasters of the militia and volunteer forces, without affixing her royal signature. This relieved her majesty from one of her active duties; and as she had ceased to reside in London, contributed to the convenience of her ministers. The practice continues; and although the act does not affect her majesty's right to sign commissions, it is probable that the royal sign-manual has not appeared to any issued since it passed. Commissions of officers in the army are now signed by the general commanding-in-chief, and one of the principal Secretaries of State; for the royal marines, by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty; for military chaplains, commissariat and store officers, and for militia and volunteer adjutants and quartermasters, by one of the principal Secretaries of State.—Acts were also passed to prevent the employment of women, young persons, and children, in the operations of bleaching, dyeing, or finishing yarn or cloth of cotton, silk, wool, or flax, between the hours of 8 P.M. and 6 A.M.; to enable poor-law guardians to send poor children to school, if they are orphans, or with the consent of their parents, if they are not, at an expense not exceeding that which would be incurred for their maintenance, clothing, and education in a workhouse; also to prohibit the opening of any new coal mine, and, after the 1st of January, 1865, the working of any old ones, with a single shaft.—The parliament was closed, by commission, on the 7th of August.

The event of the year was the International Exhibition, held in a building erected for the purpose in South Kensington, upon the estate purchased with the surplus left from the exhibition of 1851. The building was very inferior, in external appearance, to the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park; but choice and rare as was the collection of articles at the first exhibition, the second far exceeded it; presenting, "altogether a sight that had never before been equalled in the variety and the excellence of the things exhibited." Three bodies had been concerned in getting up this display; the royal commissioners of 1851, constituted by patent a permanent body, of which the late Earl of Derby was chairman; the royal commissioners of 1862, at the head of whom was Lord Granville; and the council of the Society of Arts. The arrangement of the building was, in many respects, more eligible than that of the Crystal Palace; and the vast crowds which attended the opening on the 1st of May, were loud in their expressions of admiration both at the really magnificent collection of works of art and industry, and at the excellent arrangement by which the beautiful and the useful were so tastefully displayed. As the Queen could not take the prominent part in the opening ceremony which she had done in 1851, her majesty appointed the Duke of Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Derby, Lord Sydney (Lord Chamberlain), Lord Palmerston, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, to be her special commissioners for the purpose; and there was a very long procession of officials and others in the building.—The exhibition continued open for six months and a fortnight; that fortnight was an extension of the time, to enable the exhibitors to dispose of their goods; and 2*s.* 6*d.* was charged for admission. The number of visitors, during the six months, was 6,130,450; and the receipts were near £500,000. But the expenses were heavier than in 1851; and instead of a magnificent surplus, there was a small deficiency.

An immense number of foreigners visited London during the exhibition. The most important personages were the Viceroy of Egypt, Prince Napoleon, and the Japanese ambassadors. Though, unhappily, there could be no royal receptions, and no balls or banquets at Buckingham Palace, civic hospitality was profusely displayed to the visitors. The corporation of London gave a concert and ball to 3,000 persons at Guildhall; and the dinners at the Mansion-house, given by the Lord Mayor, Mr. Alderman W. Cubitt, were frequent and sumptuous: the French exhibitors also gave a banquet to Prince Napoleon and the various national commissioners. The French minister of commerce, M. Rouher, and M. Michel Chevalier, who had been the principal negotiator, with Mr. Cobden, of the treaty of commerce, were entertained at a public dinner; and the numerous foreign workmen who visited the exhibition were not overlooked. On the 5th of August, an international banquet was given to those workmen at Freemasons' Hall; and on the 26th, one in special honour of the French workmen was given in the British refreshment-rooms at the exhibition building.

The royal family, of course, could take no part in any of these demonstrations, the death of the Prince Consort having been so recent. The Prince of Wales was abroad the greater part of the year, visiting Germany, France, and Turkey; and Prince Alfred went to Sweden and

Russia.. Both princes were heartily welcomed and cordially greeted at every place they visited; though they did not court publicity.—On the 1st of July, the marriage of the Princess Alice with Prince Louis of Hesse took place at Osborne. The Queen was present, but wore deep mourning; and there were no nuptial festivities. The Archbishop of York performed the ceremony.—On the 4th of November, the *London Gazette* announced, that her majesty, in council, had given her consent to the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Alexandra, daughter to Prince Christian, who was, at that time, heir-presumptive to the crown of Denmark, to which he subsequently succeeded. The prince had married, in 1842, the Princess Louisa, daughter of the Landgrave, William of Hesse. The Princess Alexandra was born on the 1st of December, 1844, and was not quite eighteen years of age. The Prince of Wales completed his majority on the 9th of November; and as that day fell on a Sunday in 1862, his birthday was celebrated, with great rejoicings, on the 10th in London and many other places, the toast to his health being accompanied with wishes for his happiness in the married state; of which there was little doubt, as the union was not one of political convenience, but of mutual affection. The princess—to whom his royal highness was introduced by his sister the Princess Royal, after she became Crown Princess of Prussia—was held in the highest estimation by her relatives, and all who knew her on the continent, for her truly amiable character and conduct.

There was very little political excitement in England during the year; and trade and industry prospered, the cotton districts being still an exception; their distress was widely spread. In April, the number of persons receiving out-door relief, in the twenty-four poor-law unions of those districts, was 105,000. On the 8th of September it had increased to 140,165; and before November closed, to 270,000. Still the applications continued to become more numerous; and it would have been impossible for the rate-payers to have raised the sum required for the moderate relief a board of guardians affords. But a committee was formed in London, with the Lord Mayor at its head, and others in various parts of England, to raise subscriptions in aid of the rates. A central committee, to receive and dispose of these contributions, sat at Manchester, of which the Earl of Derby was chairman; and his lordship, who headed the Lancashire subscription with £1,000, gave up his time—disregarding all other calls upon it—to the arduous duties which his office of chairman imposed upon him. As soon as the subscriptions opened, Sir C. B. Phipps, in the name of the Queen, wrote to Lord Derby, saying that her majesty, as Duchess of Lancaster, "gladly associated herself with those suffering districts; and was pleased to find herself thus entitled to send her aid to those for whom she had long felt deep compassion." Her majesty's contribution to the fund was £2,000. Before the year closed, the central committee had received £407,830; and that sitting at the Mansion-house, London, £236,926. Throughout the keen pressure of distress the greatest tranquillity continued to prevail; and the conduct of the unemployed cannot be too highly praised. Notwithstanding the almost complete suspension of operations in the cotton manufacture, the amount of the revenue for the year ending December 31st, 1862—£70,996,428 16*s.* 6*d.*—exceeded that of the previous twelve months by something more than £2,000,000: the value of the exports—£124,137,812—was very little short of that for 1861.

No event of great interest occurred, during the year, connected with the colonies. There were ministerial disputes and crises in both Australia and Canada; but the people of England took little interest in them.—In India, Lord Elgin succeeded Earl Canning as governor-general. His lordship arrived at Calcutta on the 1st of March, and was installed into office on the 12th. Lord Canning left Calcutta on the 18th of March, and arrived in England on the 26th of April. He did not long survive his return to his native land. He died on the 16th of June, and his remains were interred in Westminster Abbey on the 21st. He left no issue, and the titld is extinct.

The foreign events of the year, except in America, were very unimportant. In the United States the civil war continued; and though the fighting was generally to the advantage of the South, the friends of the secessionists had little hope of their success unaided—so superior were the forces, so overwhelming the resources of the Federal States. It was like the Poles contending with the Russians. The relations of the United Kingdom with the Federal and Confederate States underwent no change during the year, which was distinguished by an act of unexampled benevolence on the part of an American gentleman to the poor of London. Mr. George Peabody had resided some years in the British metropolis as a banker. His business was prosperous; he made a large fortune; and in June, 1862, he placed £150,000 in the hands of trustees—of whom the ambassador from the United States for the time being is always to be one—for the benefit of the London poor. On the 29th of January, 1866, previous to his leaving England for his native country, this truly beneficent man placed £100,000 more in the hands of his trustees, who have built several fine blocks of houses with part of the quarter of a million thus munificently devoted to the benefit of the poor of the metropolis, with a view of affording them convenient, clean, and comfortable dwellings at a low rental. As he was a citizen of

the Union, the Queen could confer no honour upon Mr. Peabody; but her majesty sent him her portrait, which he highly prized, and intended, he said, to make it a heirloom in his family; and the corporation of London admitted him to the freedom of the city.—Every honour to his name!

In Italy, the guerilla war continued, and became, on the part of the friends of Francis II., a species of brigandage, which the forces of Victor Emmanuel were unable to suppress. There was a strong party in Italy—followers of Garibaldi and Mazzini—who were very much dissatisfied with the continuance of the Austrians in Venetia, and of the pope at Rome. They called for Italy, one and undivided, with Rome for its capital. Mazzini kept aloof, and out of the way of danger; but he encouraged the discontented by his letters, as Garibaldi did both by words and deeds. On the 5th of January, 1862, the latter accepted the presidency of the Rifle Association of Genoa; and on that day wrote to the members, advising them to "hasten to prepare themselves to take up arms; for the moment was approaching when they would have to give fresh proofs of their valour." Soon after he left Caprera for the continent; and landing at Genoa, he gathered followers round him, at whose head he marched to Milan, entering that city on the 21st of March, where he was received with enthusiasm, the people shouting, "To Rome and Venice!" The government discountenanced the movement; and as Garibaldi persisted, troops were sent against him. He retreated to Sicily, where he landed in August, and took possession of Catania on the 21st. The island was immediately declared in a state of siege, and Garibaldi left for Calabria, where he landed on the 25th of August. On the 29th he was attacked by the king's forces, and his followers dispersed, he being wounded and taken prisoner. After a short confinement he was liberated, and returned to Caprera, where he remained quiet for some time. "The friends of Italy," in England, were very indignant at Victor Emmanuel for not letting the chief have his own way. On the 17th of October, they held a meeting at the City of London Tavern, in the metropolis; at which resolutions expressive of sympathy with Garibaldi, and of disapprobation at the French occupation of Rome, were adopted.

In Greece, a peaceful revolution took place in October. King Otho quitted the kingdom on the 24th, and a provisional government was appointed; which offered the crown to Prince Alfred, the second son of Queen Victoria. As the British government would not sanction his acceptance of it, it was, after some delay, offered to the second son of Prince Christian, brother to the Princess Alexandra; who ultimately became King of Greece, and now reigns at Athens, over a people neither very orderly nor contented, as George I.

CHAPTER CXX.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1863, 1864.



WITH the exception to which we have so frequently alluded, the United Kingdom was, when 1863 opened, prosperous and happy. The people appeared to be thinking more about the approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales, than of political or religious differences; and there has seldom been a period when greater social equanimity prevailed. The session of parliament was opened by commission, on Thursday, the 5th of February. The royal speech was read by the Lord Chancellor. It commenced by announcing that her majesty had declared her consent to the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Alexandra of Denmark; and that she doubted not, parliament would enable her to make provision for such an establishment as would be suitable to the rank and dignity of the heir-apparent to the crown of these realms. The offer of the crown of Greece to Prince Alfred, and its refusal, from diplomatic engagements and other weighty considerations, were mentioned; also the intention of resigning the protectorate of the Ionian Isles, should the people of those islands express a wish to be united to the kingdom of Greece. Her majesty then alluded to the state of the cotton districts; expressing the heartfelt grief with which she witnessed the severe distress and suffering of the people of those districts, and which had "been borne by them with noble fortitude, and with exemplary resignation." The determination to maintain a neutral position with respect to the civil war waging in America, the favourable result of the treaty of commerce concluded with France, and the conclusion

of a similar treaty with Belgium, were also subjects touched upon in the document; which concluded as follows:—

"It has been gratifying to her majesty to observe the spirit of order which happily prevails throughout her dominions, and which is so essential an element in the well-being and prosperity of nations. Various measures of public usefulness and improvement will be submitted for your consideration; and her majesty fervently prays that, in all your deliberations, the blessing of Almighty God may guide your counsels to the promotion of the welfare and happiness of her people."

The address was carried without a division being taken; though both Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli questioned the soundness of the policy announced with respect to the Ionian Islands. When the Houses proceeded to business, one of the first measures introduced by the government was the bill to provide an establishment for the Prince of Wales. It was proposed to make a grant of £40,000 per annum to the prince, and of £10,000 to the princess, from the consolidated fund; and to settle £30,000 a year on the latter in the event of the premature death of the prince. This bill, introduced on the 19th of February, passed rapidly through both Houses, and received the royal assent on the 5th of March.—On the 24th of March, Mr. Hubbard, one of the members for Buckinghamshire, brought formally before the House of Commons a question which had been often agitated since the imposition of the income-tax—viz., Should permanent and temporary incomes be subjected to the same rate of assessment?—In 1861, a committee had, on the motion of the same gentleman, been appointed to consider this question, and had reported against introducing any distinction between the two classes of incomes.—Mr. Hubbard was not satisfied with this decision; and, on the day above-named, he moved a resolution, to the effect that the tax should fall upon net incomes; and that the net amount of industrial earnings should, before assessment, be so reduced, as "equitably to adjust the burden thrown upon intelligence and skill, as compared with property." This plan, which appears to be perfectly just and equitable, the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared to be impracticable; and the resolution was negatived by 118 votes to 70.

Mr. Gladstone made his financial statement on the 16th of April; and he took a most favourable view of the state of our finances, and of the prospects for the future. The revenue for the financial year had been £563,000 more, the expenditure £806,000 less, than the estimate. The expenditure for 1863-'64 he estimated at £67,749,000; whilst the revenue might be expected to produce £71,490,000: leaving a surplus of £3,741,000. He proposed an equalisation of the duty on chicory and coffee; to equalise certain duties on licences; to make clubs liable to the duty on wines and spirits consumed in those establishments; and to extend the income-tax to charitable trusts. These taxes would produce, he calculated, £133,000 per annum, making the surplus to be disposed of, £3,874,000. This he proposed to deal with by repealing petty charges upon mercantile transactions, including the stamp upon bills of lading; by reducing the income-tax 2*d.* in the pound, allowing persons having incomes of between £100 and £200 per annum to deduct £60 from their taxable incomes; reducing the duty on tea to 1*s.* per pound; and leaving the sugar duty to be dealt with another year.—The right honourable gentleman had to abandon his proposals to extend the licence duty to clubs, and the income-tax to charities: the other parts of his budget were adopted.

There were several debates this session on religious questions; but no constitutional changes or reforms were proposed, unless the bill for the abolition of church-rates is placed in that class. Sir J. Trelawney, as usual, introduced that measure; but, on the 29th of April, when it was moved that the bill should be read a second time, it was negatived; the ayes being 275, the noes 285.—The state of the cotton districts was brought before the House, and ample justice was done to the unemployed for their good conduct, and to the public for its liberality. The act of the previous session, allowing the Lancashire unions to borrow money on the security of their rates, for the execution of public works, was renewed; and the time for repayment extended to fourteen years.—There were also several discussions on the American question. Whilst the government professed neutrality in the contest between North and South, it was alleged by the Federal minister, Mr. Seward, that it connived at the fitting-out ships of war for the Confederates to prey upon the commerce of the North. Two ships, the *Alabama* and the *Alexandra*, had been built, it was alleged, for the service of the Confederate government. Information was given to the authorities in London, but not acted upon till it was too late with respect to the first. The second was prevented from leaving the Mersey; and an action brought against the government by the builders, for its illegal detention, was decided in favour of the latter. The *Alabama* made numerous captures; and for the losses thus inflicted upon the Federal merchants, the government at Washington declared that it held England to be responsible. A long correspondence ensued on the subject between Lord John Russell and Mr. Adams, in which his lordship maintained that England had faithfully fulfilled all her duties as a neutral; and the attorney and solicitor-general took the same view

of the question when it was brought before the House of Commons.

During the session the following acts were added to the statute-book:—An Act "to give to the Inmates of Prisons, not being Members of the Established Church, the Benefit of the Attendance of Ministers of their own Religious Persuasions;" and an Act "to Consolidate and Amend the Acts relating to the Volunteer Force of Great Britain;" by which the crown was authorised to accept the services of any persons desirous of forming themselves into a volunteer corps; giving directions for the regulation of such corps; providing for the payment of the members, if called into actual service; and exempting them from service in the militia while they continue enrolled. Numerous other acts were passed; but it is not necessary particularly to mention any of them in these pages. The session came to a close on the 28th of July.

The event of 1863—as the Exhibition was of 1862—was the marriage of the Prince of Wales. Great preparations were made to receive the princess, who arrived at the Nore on the 6th of March, and landed at Gravesend on the 7th. She was accompanied by her royal parents, her brothers Princes Frederick and William, and her sisters the Princesses Dagmar and Thyra; and received by the prince, who went on board the yacht as soon as it reached the shore. Gravesend, from the display of banners, &c., bore the appearance of a grand *fête* day. The corporation presented addresses to the prince and his intended bride. Mrs. Sams, the wife of the mayor, gave to the latter a rich bouquet-holder, filled with choice flowers; and a number of young ladies, uniformly dressed in white tarlatan skirts, red burnous cloaks, and straw hats garlanded with oak-leaves and acorns, strewed her path with flowers from the shore to the carriages which were to convey the party to the railway station. They proceeded to London by rail; and at the Bricklayers' Arms Station, in the Old Kent Road, were received by the Duke of Cambridge, the Prince of Prussia, the Count of Flanders, Sir George Grey, the Lord Mayor, and other gentlemen. Having entered the carriages prepared for them, the *cortége* proceeded by London Bridge, King William Street, Cheapside, Fleet Street, the Strand, Piccadilly, and Hyde Park, to the Great Western Station, where they took the rail for Windsor. A triumphal arch had been erected at the city end of London Bridge, which was superbly decorated; and along the entire route, the houses displayed banners, garlands, and loyal mottoes; every window being filled with eager faces, looking for the fair bride; whilst thousands of persons of both sexes, and all ages, thronged the streets, whose hearty cheers greeted the party, and conveyed to the princess the assurance of a cordial welcome to her new home.

On the 10th, the marriage took place in the Chapel Royal, at Windsor Castle: and a right royal company was present, consisting of the following personages:—

The Princesses Helena, Louise, and Beatrice; the Princes Arthur and Leopold; the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, Prince and Princess Louis of Hesse, the Duke of Cambridge, the Duchess and the Princess Mary of Cambridge, the Prince and Princess Christian of Denmark (the father and mother of the bride), Princes Frederick, William, and Waldemar, and the Princesses Dagmar and Thyra of Denmark; Prince William of Prussia, the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Prince Augustus of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, the Prince of Leiningen, Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, the Duke of Holstein-Glucksberg, the Duchess of Brabant, the Count of Flanders, and the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh.

The lords and ladies of the Queen's household, and those in attendance on the different royal personages, swelled the procession as it passed through the chapel. The Queen was also present in the royal closet: her majesty was dressed in widow's weeds, and appeared merely as an interested spectator, taking no part in the ceremony; which was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London and Chester, and the Dean of Windsor.—After the ceremony, the wedding breakfast was served in the dining-room at the castle to the royal guests; and a *déjeuner* was given in St. George's Hall, to the diplomatic corps, the lords and ladies in waiting, and the numerous company present at the ceremony, numbering nearly 400 persons.—In the afternoon, the newly-married pair proceeded to Osborne; the demonstrations on the route being of the most loyal description.—In the metropolis, and all over the kingdom, the wedding-day was observed as a holiday; and at night the illuminations were very brilliant, and almost, if not entirely, universal from John-o'-Groat's house to the Land's End. The wedding presents to the princess were very numerous, and most magnificent.

In April, on the 5th, the Princess Louis of Hesse (Princess Alice) gave birth to her first child at Windsor, which was another source of rejoicing to the royal family.—Soon after, the Prince and Princess of Wales arrived at Marlborough House, to the great joy of the metropolitans. On the 8th of June, the prince took up his freedom as a citizen of London, by birth; and the corporation gave a grand ball, on the occasion, in the evening. It took place in the noble Guildhall; but so numerous was the company, that, we are told, "it was not so much a ball as a grand assembly—a *fête* occasionally varied with dancing."—At twelve o'clock the royal guests were conducted to supper in the council-chamber; and on their return, being taken through the

Aldermen's Court, the attention of the princess was drawn to one part of the room, where a pleasant surprise awaited her.

In a large, deep recess, occupying nearly one side of the court, was a moonlight scene of a palace, with a broad-spreading lawn reaching down in the foreground, to where real plants and ferns had been artistically arranged so as to make them seem almost a continuation of the picture. This picture, which, lit from behind, made an exquisite moonlight scene, was a view of Prince Christian's palace at Bernstorff, where the Princess Alexandra was born; and, standing in the centre of the lawn, was a figure of the princess herself, as if in the act of moving forward towards the entrance to the mansion. Regarded only as a most effective scene by moonlight, the picture would have been worth a visit; but it was evidently dearly welcome to the princess, as the picture of what was once her home.

Two days after, on the 10th of June, the prince and princess presided at the inauguration of a fine statue of the late Prince Albert, erected as a memorial to his royal highness, in the Royal Horticultural Gardens at South Kensington. It had been privately visited by the Queen the previous day; and her majesty expressed her entire satisfaction with the workmanship. On the 10th, all the members of the royal family, and a brilliant assembly, were present; and the proceedings were very impressive.—A flourish of trumpets and a salute from a battery of artillery, placed in Hyde Park, announced the uncovering of the statue, which commemorates his late royal highness as the great patron of the Exhibition of 1851.

On the 16th of June, commemoration day, the Prince and Princess of Wales went to Oxford, and the degree of D.C.L. was, on this occasion, conferred on his royal highness. The royal couple remained till the 18th; and the three days were one continued scene of rejoicing. —On the 24th, their royal highnesses were present at the inauguration of a new building at Slough, for the British Orphan Asylum; of which the Queen is patroness, and the names of the prince and princess were enrolled as vice-patron and vice-patroness. It was one of those graceful ceremonials which have a peculiar interest attached to them as being connected with beneficent objects; and the prince and princess are always ready to join in such demonstrations. In August, the prince went to Halifax, to open a new town-hall, just completed in that town. He went alone, the princess being unable to accompany him from temporary indisposition. His royal highness arrived on the 3rd, and the ceremony took place on the 4th. An address was presented to his royal highness, to which he made a very appropriate response; observing, at its close, that, "Conscious of the duties he had been so impressively reminded of, he felt that he could not better perform them than by following the bright example of the Queen and his beloved father."

The distress still prevailed in the cotton districts to a considerable extent; but some mills had resumed work; a few of the factory men had emigrated; more were employed on public works of various kinds, by means of the loans obtained by the guardians of the different unions. This caused the number of persons receiving relief from the rates, and the subscriptions to which the public so munificently contributed, regularly to decrease. In January, it was estimated that 456,786 individuals were thus relieved. In June the number was 256,230; and it continued gradually to grow less and less, being, on the 30th of September, returned at 184,265. The sum raised by the Central Relief Committee at Manchester; the Mansion-house Committee, London; and the committees in various localities, amounted to £2,055,000; and £680,000 was advanced by the Poor-Law Board, in aid of the rates.—It is right to remark that the rich inhabitants of the county of Lancaster were not behind-hand in liberality; for £1,400,000 of the total sum subscribed, was advanced by them.—The workpeople, with one exception, continued their good and orderly conduct.—In March, the local committee at Staleybridge resolved to pay the adult operatives with tickets instead of money, the tradesmen furnishing them with necessaries for the tickets when presented. This led to riots at that town, Ashton, and Dukinfield; and whilst several shops were plundered at Staleybridge, the relief committee's clothing stores were broken into, and the clothes which they contained were thrown into the streets, and carried off. The riots extended over three days; they were suppressed by the military and the police; and a number of prisoners were committed for trial at the Chester assizes. Forty-two were found guilty of rioting, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, from one to six months.—This was a solitary instance of misconduct. At the Liverpool spring assizes, Mr. Baron Martin reminded the grand jury that there was not a single case in the criminal calendar which could be traced to the existing distress. And Commissioner Farnell, who was sent to the central committee by the Poor-Law Board, assured the benevolent people of England, that the rioters at Staleybridge did not represent the operatives of the cotton districts.—In fact, most of the rioters were not factory men at all. They were labourers of different kinds, the majority being Irish.

The country continued prosperous; the revenue for the year, notwithstanding the reduction of taxation, amounting to £70,433,620 5s. 9d. The value of the exports was £146,489,768.

There were no important events in Ireland during the

year; and our colonies were peaceful, except New Zealand. There the Waikatoes, a tribe of Maories dwelling near Auckland, on the 15th of July, murdered two settlers.—On the 17th, General Cameron, with 500 men, fell-in with a large force of these natives, which he defeated, though they fought desperately. The same day, another party of natives attacked a convoy conveying stores, which was obliged to retreat; but the exultation at this small success was soon dispersed. On the 22nd, General Cameron's troops made a descent upon the native settlement of Kiri-Kiri; defeated the Maories who defended it; and took possession of the territory. From that time the natives would not meet the British troops in the field; but their armed men, estimated at about 7,000, kept up a guerilla warfare. The colonists formed themselves into corps of volunteers and militia; and soon about 4,000 men were organised in Auckland and the neighbourhood. By them the natives were held in check; and, early in August, 1864, they made an almost unconditional submission.—In Australia, the last month of the year was marked with a most destructive flood at Melbourne, continuing from the 14th to the 24th. The river Yarra rose forty feet above its usual level, laying nearly the whole city under water. The gas-lamps could not be lighted; the navigation of the river and the traffic on the railway were suspended; and vast quantities of property were carried down the river to the bay. The loss was estimated at £250,000. No lives, providentially, were sacrificed.

Europe, except the revolutionary war in Poland, was at peace; but there was an under-current in motion, which threatened disturbance at no distant period. The illness of Ferdinand VII., King of Denmark, threatened to bring the Schleswig-Holstein question—which had led to a war with Prussia in 1848—again before the public. There was a strife between the King of Prussia, his ministers, and the Chamber of Deputies, which held out fears of internal convulsions.—Austria was dissatisfied with the Federal Bund, or Constitution of Germany, and summoned a congress of the German princes at Frankfort, to consider of a plan to improve it. The congress was opened on the 17th of August, but Prussia refused to attend; and although the majority of princes agreed to the propositions of Austria, no result followed. Italy was still devastated in the south by the brigands; and the demand for the annexation of Rome and Venetia to the kingdom was not silenced. Under these circumstances, the Emperor Napoleon, on the 4th of November, addressed a circular letter to all the European governments, proposing, as "the treaties of Vienna, upon almost all points, were destroyed, modified, misunderstood, or menaced," and thence arose "duties without rule, rights without title, and pretensions without restraint," that a congress should be held, "to regulate the present, and secure the future."—Soon after this circular was issued, the position became more complicated, in one respect, by the death, on the 15th of November, of the King of Denmark. He was succeeded by Prince Christian; and, on the 17th, the states of Holstein declared their intention of refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign; and the Duke of Augustenburg announced his claim to the duchy, though, in 1852, he had solemnly renounced that claim, receiving an ample compensation for so doing; and the great powers, by a treaty signed on the 8th of May in that year, had guaranteed the succession of all the dominions of Ferdinand VII. to Prince Christian. Under these circumstances, to assemble a congress appears to have been a reasonable suggestion. Lord John Russell, however, was of opinion it would lead to no practically good result, but only give occasion to useless debate. It was therefore decided that England should not join in it; and the congress never assembled. The conduct of our Foreign Secretary caused a coolness to arise between the governments of England and France, which continued for some time.

England was engaged in a little war during the year. In September, 1862, Mr. Richardson, who was attached to the English consulate in Japan, was murdered by the adherents of the Japanese Prince of Satsuma. Application was made to the rulers of Japan for the punishment of the murderers, without avail; and a British squadron was sent, under Admiral Kupe, to attack the prince's fortified town of Kagosima. The fleet arrived in the Japanese waters in August, and, on the 15th, commenced the bombardment of the town. The forts kept up a vigorous fire upon the ships, but on that and the next day the town was reduced to a mass of ruins. This ended the actual hostilities; but, as might be expected, a very unfavourable opinion against the English prevailed.

The civil war continued in the American states; and in the adjoining country on the south (Mexico), disturbances had for years prevailed, which occasioned great losses to European merchants and residents—losses that the republican government could not redress, weakened as it was by the contests of various chiefs; Santa Anna, Juarez, and Ortega being the most prominent. A joint expedition of English, French, and Spanish forces was despatched to Vera Cruz, to enforce justice to the merchants of those countries who had been despoiled of their property. It was soon found that the French had another design—to establish an empire in Mexico; and the English and Spanish forces were withdrawn. Under the influence of France, the Assembly of Notables at Mexico, on the 20th of July, 1863, proclaimed the country to be an empire. They declared Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, to be their choice as

emperor, and appointed a deputation to wait upon him, and offer him the crown. He did not accept it immediately; but on the 28th of May, 1864, a proclamation appeared, announcing his compliance with the wish of the notables; and he called upon the Mexicans "to unite to obtain their common object; to forget the past; to bury in oblivion party animosities; and peace and happiness would dawn resplendent on the new empire." From that time, till the commencement of 1867, a French force aided to keep Maximilian on the throne. Then the foreign troops were withdrawn. During the time he had been in Mexico, the republicans had been in arms, under the rival chiefs Juarez and Ortega—the government of the United States siding with the former, eager to prevent an empire from being established, and to carry out the Monroe doctrine, excluding Europeans from interfering with the American continent, except where they are already settled. The result, as is well known, was of the most melancholy nature so far as regards Maximilian, and France was severely reprobated for the part she had taken in the affair.

On the 8th of January, 1864, the Princess of Wales gave birth to a son Her royal highness and the prince were then at Frogmore, which became, for several days, a scene of great excitement, every train bringing cabinet ministers, and other distinguished personages, to offer their congratulations to the prince. Royal salutes were fired at Windsor and London; and there were general rejoicings throughout the kingdom. When parliament was opened, on the 4th of February, the Queen, in her royal speech or message, expressed her gratitude to Almighty God, in which she felt confident the two Houses would join, at the birth of a son to the Prince of Wales—"an event which had called forth, from her faithful people, renewed demonstrations of devoted loyalty and attachment to her person and family." The address was carried in both Houses without a division: but there were several exciting debates during the session. One was on the question of the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland, and the causes of the emigration from that country. It originated in some remarks of Mr. Whiteside, when the report upon the address was brought up, on the absence, in the royal speech, of all reference to the state of the sister country. Mr. Whiteside, Mr. Bentinck, and several other members, attributed the increase in the number of emigrants to the modern financial legislation, which had been completed in 1846, and which was most injurious to Irish industry. Mr. Maguire, Sir Patrick O'Brien, and other Irish members, on the contrary, contended that emigration was caused by the oppression under which the tenantry laboured; and maintained that a modification of the law relating to the tenure of land was necessary. Mr. P. Hennessy moved resolutions, regretting the emigration, and expressing the "trust" of the House that her majesty's government would turn its attention to the subject, "with a view of devising some means by which the Irish agricultural population might be induced to devote their capital and labour to reproductive employment at home."—After a long debate, in the course of which Lord Palmerston pressed Mr. Hennessy to withdraw his resolutions—which he declined to do—the House decided, by 80 to 52 votes, that they should not be put.

The next debate, in which the different parties of the state took a deep interest, arose out of a recent occurrence in France, where some Italians had concerted a plot against the Emperor of the French. The evidence given on the trial of the conspirators who were arrested, had shown that Mazzini, whose name was notoriously connected with the conspiracies against royalty in Italy, was also one of those who plotted against the life of the emperor; and that letters addressed to a Mr. Flowers (said to be Mazzini), had been received at No. 35, Thurloe Square, Brompton, the residence of Mr. Stansfeld, one of the lords of the Admiralty. After the reports of the trial had been made public, on the 14th of March, when the navy estimates were before the House, Mr. Cox, one of the members for Finsbury, alluded to the subject; and as the residence mentioned was that of the member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), he called upon him for an explanation; the procureur-general, at the trial, having intimated that a paper had been found on one of the prisoners, directing him to write for money to a Mr. Flowers, at No. 35, Thurloe Square. Mr. Stansfeld said he felt surprise and indignation at the statement of the procureur-general; admitted that he had been intimate with Mazzini for eighteen years, but maintained that no man had been more cruelly or wrongfully maligned than the signor; and, with respect to his having incited to assassination, he believed that no baser libel could be pronounced. To other questions Mr. Stansfeld replied, that he did live at No. 35, Thurloe Square; but denied all knowledge of a letter being addressed there to a Mr. Flowers; and said he had no knowledge whether Mr. Flowers was M. Mazzini or not. Mr. W. L. Forster expressed his belief that Mazzini had nothing to do with the plot.—The subject dropped for that night; but, on the 17th of March, Sir H. Stracey moved the following resolution:—"That the statement of the procureur-general, on the trial of Greco, implicating a member of the House, and of her majesty's government, in the plot for the assassination of our ally, the Emperor of the French, deserved the serious consideration of the House."

Mr. Stansfeld, on this occasion, repeated some of his former denials. His name had been connected with the revolutionary designs of Orsini; and bank-notes had

been passed with his name on them. He asserted, that it was the first time he had ever heard that his name was associated with the revolutionary designs of Orsini or others; he admitted that it was inscribed on bank-notes, which he believed would have been used, not in the interests of the assassins, but to aid in the establishment of a free and united Italy; he had now, acting on the advice of his friends, withdrawn his name from the notes. He also now admitted that he had, in common with other English friends of Signor Mazzini, allowed the Italian to have letters addressed to his house, not in his own name, but to M. Flori (or Flowers, in the English language). None would be addressed there in the future, Mazzini having taken steps to prevent it. Lord Palmerston, and some friends of the government, deemed Mr. Stansfeld's explanation satisfactory; and Mr. P. A. Taylor said, he, as well as other of Signor Mazzini's friends, knowing that any letters addressed to him from Italy could never be expected to be delivered to him in London, had placed his (Mr. Taylor's) address at the signor's disposal. Mr. Disraeli, and other members on both sides of the House, thought the conduct of Mr. Stansfeld must implicate us with the French emperor; but when a division was taken on the resolution, it was rejected by a majority of ten—161 "ayes" to 171 "noes." The next day Mr. Stansfeld tendered his resignation to the premier. Lord Palmerston wished him to retain office; but he thought that doing so would only embarrass the government, and he persisted in retiring. His intention was not announced to the House till after the Easter recess. When parliament reassembled, on the 4th of April, Mr. Stansfeld stated that he was no longer a member of the administration. Mr. Childers, member for Pontefract, was appointed to succeed him as a junior lord of the Admiralty.

On the 12th of April, another question was brought forward in the House of Commons, which also caused the resignation of a member of the government. It appeared that the reports of the inspectors of the national schools were frequently materially altered, as to their tendency, by the exclusion of certain passages; and it was asserted that this was done by, or at the suggestion of, Mr. Robert Lowe, the vice-president of the committee of council on education; the parts and passages eliminated being those which were opposed to that right honourable gentleman's views and opinions. On the 12th of April, Lord Robert Cecil stated what was known and reported on this question, and moved—"That, in the opinion of this House, the mutilation of the reports of her majesty's inspectors of schools, and the exclusion from them of statements and opinions adverse to the educational views entertained by the committee of council, while matters favourable to them are admitted, are violations of the understanding under which the appointment of inspectors was originally sanctioned by parliament, and tend entirely to destroy the value of their reports."

Mr. Lowe denied that the reports were garbled; but when the inspectors diverged into discussion, gave arguments instead of reporting facts, then they were returned to them for correction. Mr. Walter and several other members took part in the debate, asserting that passages in the reports were marked and expunged—a practice they condemned; whilst Sir George Grey maintained that it was absolutely necessary that the heads of departments should exercise some control over the reports of their inspectors. On this occasion the government was defeated, the resolution being carried by 101 votes to 93.—On the 18th of April, Lord Granville referred to the resolution, and defended the council of education. His lordship said, as president of the council, he was the person morally and officially responsible; and denied, as Mr. Lowe had done, that the reports of the inspectors had been violated. On the 18th of April, Mr. Lowe announced that he had resigned his office. It seems that some of the reports had been handed about amongst the members, in which passages were marked. He said, the subordinates in the educational department, who had placed those reports in the hands of members, had betrayed their trust, and he severely reprobated their conduct. Those marks ought never to have been made; they had not been made by the order or with the knowledge of Earl Granville or himself; or for the purpose of influencing the inspectors as to the passages they were to omit; but in consequence of a mistaken and erroneous practice which prevailed till 1862, when he forbade it. What he did with the reports, when they were not in accordance with the minute of council, drawn up in 1861, was, to send them back to the inspectors, that they might correct them in accordance with the rules and principles laid down by the council. Lord Robert Cecil declared that his resolution was not directed personally against Mr. Lowe, but against an objectionable and censurable practice. If the explanation the House had just heard, had been given on the 12th, it was probable that his resolution would not have been pressed to a division. Mr. Lowe persisted in his resignation; Mr. Henry Austin Bruce, the member for Merthyr-Tydvil, was appointed vice-president of the committee of council in his place; and a select committee was nominated, to inquire into the practice of the committee of council on education, with respect to the reports of the inspectors. The report of the committee exculpated Mr. Lowe from the charge of improperly altering or mutilating the inspectors' reports; and a resolution moved by Lord Palmerston, to rescind that passed on the 12th of April, was carried *nem con.*

Before the session closed, the foreign policy of the government, especially with respect to Denmark (then at war with Austria and Prussia), was made the subject of a motion in both Houses. In the Commons, on the 4th of July, Mr. Disraeli moved an address to her majesty, expressing the concern of the House that the conference recently held in London, with respect to the Danish and German question, "had been brought to a close without accomplishing the important purpose for which it was convened:" and its regret that the course pursued by the government, while it had not maintained its avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, had "lowered the just influence of this country in the councils of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace. Mr. Kinglake moved, as an amendment to this address, a resolution, expressing the satisfaction of the House that "her majesty had been advised to abstain from armed interference in the war." After four nights' debate, the amendment was, on the 8th of July, carried by 313 votes to 295. The same night, in the Lords, the Earl of Malmesbury moved an address to the Queen, identical with that which Mr. Disraeli had brought forward in the lower House; and it was carried by 177 "contents" to 168 "non-contents." It was considered, that notwithstanding this adverse vote, the position of the ministers was improved by the decision of the Commons, and that Lord Palmerston's tenure of office was strengthened.

It was very well known that the prime minister had no wish to meddle with the question of parliamentary reform; and there was no excitement out of doors on the subject. The three members, however, who had their peculiar crotchets on that question—Mr. Locke King, Mr. Baines, and Mr. H. Berkeley—made their annual motions only to encounter defeat. On the 23rd of February, the last-named member obtained leave to bring in a bill for extending the franchise, in counties, to £10 householders: but, when the motion for the second reading came before the House, on the 13th of April, it was negatived by 254 to 227 votes. Mr. Baines' bill for extending the borough franchise to £6 householders shared the same fate. It was read a first time without opposition: on the 11th of May he moved the second reading, and was supported by the votes of only 216 members, against 272 who went into the opposite lobby.—On the 21st of June, Mr. H. Berkeley moved, that it would be expedient, at the next general election, "that a fair trial should be given to the vote by ballot." Lord Palmerston opposed the motion, as secret voting was inconsistent with the character of Englishmen; and 212 members voted against the ballot, which had only 123 supporters. The debates on the first and last of these motions were quite unimportant; and so would that on the second have been but for an unexpected declaration on the part of Mr. Gladstone, who then made his first public advance towards the extreme Liberal party, which soon looked upon him as its leader, in connection with Mr. Bright. The right honourable gentleman spoke in favour of Mr. Baines' bill; expressed his opinion that the upper portion of the working classes was not inferior to the lowest portion of the middle; and declared, "that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness, or political danger, is morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution;" that is, to be admitted to the exercise of the franchise—for the extreme reformers contend that those who have no votes are really excluded from their rights, and do not participate in the benefits the constitution confers. Some people consider this a fallacy, and maintain that every person *is* "within the pale of the constitution," which protects high and low, poor and rich, alike in their persons and their property, and permits every man to follow the dictates of his own inclination, provided they do not lead him into crime, and stimulate him, by word or deed, to injure and annoy his neighbour.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced his budget, this year, on the 7th of April, when the House of Commons was densely filled in every part, seats and standing-places being alike occupied, so great was the anxiety to hear the right honourable gentleman make his financial statement.—After entering into details of the past, to show the increased and increasing prosperity of the country—and having reviewed the effects of recent fiscal legislation upon particular articles, including paper, spirits, wine, tobacco, and tea, all of which had been favourable—he entered upon the prospects of the financial year 1864-'65. Estimating the expenditure at £66,890,000, and the revenue at £69,460,000, he calculated upon possessing a surplus of £2,570,000. Instead of applying this surplus to the public service, he proposed to apply it to the reduction of taxation. First dealing with the sugar duties, he proposed to reduce the duty, in each of the four classes, to 12*s.* 10*d.*, 11*s.* 8*d.*, 10*s.* 6*d.*, and 9*s.* 4*d.* per cwt. He further proposed to add a new class of inferior sugars at 8*s.* 2*d.* The amount of these reductions he estimated at £1,330,000. He also proposed to reduce the income-tax 1*d.* in the pound; and that on policies for fire-insurances, from 3*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per cent., as far as stock-in-trade was concerned; estimating the loss to the revenue, by the first measure, at £1,200,000; and, by the second, at £283,000.—These proposals were favourably received by the majority of the House; though several members declared their opinion to be in favour of the repeal of the malt-tax; and Mr. Sheridan contended for a further reduction of the duty on fire-

insurances.—On the 21st of April, in a committee of ways and means, that gentleman moved, that instead of a reduction to 1s. 6*d*. per cent. on stock-in-trade, the reduction should be to 1s. upon all descriptions of property insured. This motion was negatived by 170 to 117 votes.—When the alteration of the sugar duties was under consideration, Colonel Barttelot moved that it should be postponed till the House "had had the opportunity of deciding upon the expediency of the reduction of the duty on malt." This motion was negatived, the "ayes" being 99; "noes," 247.—A motion, made by Mr. Morritt, "that, in case of any modification of the indirect taxation of this country, the excise on malt requires consideration," shared the same fate; 118 votes being given for, to 166 against it.—All the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were carried.

Amongst the acts passed in the session of 1864, was one to allow farmers and others, on taking out licences as maltsters, to make and use malt free of duty, for the feeding of animals, if mixed with linseed cake, linseed meal, or such other substance as may be hereafter described by the commissioners of the inland revenue. —Another act prohibits the employment of children, under ten years of age, in the business of a chimney-sweeper, except in the house or yard of the employer; and no chimney-sweeper is to take with him, when going to sweep a chimney, extinguish a fire, &c., any person under the age of sixteen.—A third extends the provisions of the Factory Acts to the manufacture of earthenware, except bricks and tiles, not being ornamental tiles; of lucifer-matches, percussion-caps, cartridges, paper-staining, and fustian-cutting.—A fourth renders "permissive" the use of weights and measures upon the metric system; but, eagerly as that system has been advocated and defended, we do not hear of this act having been brought into operation.—Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of July.

Next to the birth of the young prince, Albert Victor, the most important event to the royal family, during the year, was the christening of the royal infant, which took place on the 10th of March, in the private chapel of Buckingham Palace. The King of the Belgians came to England to be present at the ceremony, which was attended by her majesty and the members of the royal family in England. The names given to the young heir to England's throne, were Albert Victor Christian Edward. In June, the prince and princess visited Cambridge; in September, their royal highnesses went to the continent; and, after a long visit to the courts of Denmark and Sweden, returned to England on the 7th of November.

The most notable event in England, during 1864, was the visit of Garibaldi. On the 7th of January he resigned his seat in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, and he then resolved to come to this country—with what object, perhaps, will never be accurately ascertained. That he intended coming to see his English friends was announced in March, and great preparations were made for his reception. He was accompanied by his sons, Menotti and Ricotti; Dr. Guerzoni, his private secretary, and a member of the Italian Chamber of Deputies; and Signor Basso, who had been his constant companion and friend for fifteen years. A passage was taken for the party on board the Peninsula and Oriental Company's steamer, the *Ripon*. They were to land at Southampton; and were expected on the 1st or 2nd of April, but the steamer did not reach the coast till after twelve at noon on Sunday, the 3rd. The vessel had been seen off Hurst Castle three hours before she arrived in the harbour; and the Duke of Sutherland, with Mr. Seeley, M.P., and some other gentlemen, immediately went on board. Four Italian gentlemen accompanied them, to whom, after a few words had passed between them, Garibaldi gave a note, containing the following words:—"Dear friends, I desire to have no political demonstration; above all, not to excite any tumults." This wish of Garibaldi's those gentlemen were to communicate to their countrymen in England. When the *Ripon* entered the harbour, she carried the Italian flag at the main, and the company's at the foremast. For several hours previously, the quays, and every place from whence a sight of the vessel could be obtained, had been covered with crowds of eager gazers—the population and visitants of Southampton and its neighbourhood; by whom the Italian chief, as the vessel approached the shore, was hailed with a succession of cheers, such as only Englishmen can give. He wore grey trousers, and the red Garibaldi tunic, which, strange to say, for some time after, set a fashion to the ladies of England. Over that was a grey cloak, lined with scarlet, and buttoned across the breast, and that was surmounted by a crimson silk handkerchief, thrown over his shoulders, and tied loosely round the neck, with a sailor's knot. In compliance with repeated calls from the shore, Garibaldi took up his station on the paddle-box; and there he was joined by the mayor of Southampton, who went on board, and in the names of himself, the corporation, and the town, invited the chief to be his guest while he remained at that port. Garibaldi replied—"Mayor, I thank you; I accept the invitation." The crowd rendered landing difficult, and access to the mayor's house still more so. It was, however, reached at last. Garibaldi remained his worship's guest till the Tuesday; then he accompanied Mr. Seeley to his residence in the Isle of Wight where he stayed till Monday, the 11th of April; "receiving honours and hospitalities from the municipal authorities of Southampton. On the day named, he

was taken in the morning from Cowes, by the *Medina* steamer, to Southampton. The mayor's carriage was in waiting to conduct him to the railway station; which was profusely decorated with gay banners, some of them bearing appropriate mottoes; wreaths of laurel, and flowers. Crowds lined the streets, the balconies and windows were filled with ladies and gentlemen (many more of the former than the latter), and the waving of handkerchiefs was incessant. The chief and his friends left Southampton in a special train of ten carriages. At every station on the line, to the Nine Elms, as many persons as could get near eagerly cheered the train. At Nine Elms crowds were also collected; and along the entire route from that spot to Stafford House, St. James's, the town residence of the Duke of Sutherland—which was Garibaldi's destination—there was the same display; numerous banners floating in the air, bearing the mottoes, "Welcome, King of Men;" "Long live Garibaldi;" "Welcome the true Patriot;" "The Man of the People;" "The Hero of Italy," and other inscriptions of the same tendency. A procession of the trades' unions, and others, was formed on the Wandsworth Road; but, before he could join it, Garibaldi had to receive several addresses, to which he briefly replied; and then entered an open carriage, drawn by four horses, which was prepared for him. It was with great difficulty the procession—in which the Odd Fellows, the Druids, the Temperance, and the Cordwainers' Societies, joined the trades' unions—made its way. As the long *cortége* proceeded by Pall-Mall, to Stafford House, the club-houses were all brilliantly lit up; every window and balcony was crowded with fashionably-dressed spectators, who waved their handkerchiefs, and threw rosettes to the chieftain as he passed; and the cheering from the crowds in the streets never ceased. About half-past seven, the leaders of the procession halted at Stafford House; where Garibaldi, on entering, was received and cordially welcomed by the Duchess and the Duchess-dowager of Sutherland.—He remained in London from the 11th to the 22nd of April; every day being devoted to festivities or excursions; and wherever Garibaldi appeared, he was hailed with the same enthusiasm. In London, he received, from the resident Italians, a sword; and the lord mayor and corporation presented him with the freedom of the city, in a valuable gold box. Whilst in the metropolis, he accepted numerous invitations to different parts of England; and arrangements were making, at the places where he was expected, to receive him with due honours. Whilst the interest he had excited was at its height, suddenly, on the 22nd of April, he left London, on his return to Caprera, to the great surprise of the public. On his departure, he issued an address to the people of England, in which he said, he could not fulfil all the engagements pressed upon him; and as he could not draw the line where he could and where he could not go, he, for the present, said farewell; "still, he hoped, at no distant time, to return to see his friends in the domestic life of England." On leaving London, he visited the Dowager-duchess of Sutherland, at her residence, Cliefden, Berkshire; he also went to Windsor, and Eton College. On the 25th, he embarked on board the Duke of Sutherland's yacht, the *Undine*, at Fowey; and, accompanied by the duke and duchess, and the dowager-duchess, he returned to Caprera.—There were various rumours as to the cause of his unexpected departure. It was officially stated, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer supported that statement in the House of Commons, that his health was enfeebled, and that he could not have kept his numerous engagements without great danger. The multitude attributed his departure to political causes; and it was asserted, that he had received an intimation from the government, that it was necessary he should leave England, as his presence here was embarrassing to them: that intimation, it was asserted and believed, was conveyed to him by Mr. Gladstone. This was the popular version of the cause of his departure; and most people think it was the true one.

This April, the 300th anniversary of Shakspeare's birth was celebrated, on the 23rd of the month, at Stratford-on-Avon, in London, and in many other places, with every demonstration of respect and veneration for our great national dramatist. In London, it had been intended to commemorate the day by laying the first stone of a national monument to the bard. But though the Right Hon. William Cowper, First Commissioner of Works, and son-in-law to the premier, was at the head of this movement, it was so ill-managed that it fell through.—On the 24th of May, the anniversary of her majesty's birth was celebrated, for the first time since the death of the late Prince Consort, with all the old observances. The usual salutes were fired from the Park and Tower guns; all the shipping in the river, and all the public buildings, were decorated with flags; the morning was ushered in with peals from the joy-bells of the churches of St. Margaret's Westminster, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and Kensington, which were continued during the day; and at night there were dinners and illuminations. Everywhere the day appears to have been kept as a great holiday; and our gracious Queen must have been highly pleased with this display of loyal affection on the part of her subjects.

During the year there were several fearful accidents: a few deserve mentioning in this *résumé*. On the 15th of January, at half-past 7 P.M., a fire broke out on board a vessel, called the *Slottie Sleigh*, lying in the river Mersey, off Tranmere. She was loaded with eleven tons of gunpowder, which exploded with a terrific effect upon

the inhabitants of Liverpool and Birkenhead. In both these ports the gas in the streets and shops was extinguished, numerous windows were blown in, and much property destroyed. No person was killed.—On the 11th of March, at nearly midnight, the walls of the Bradfield reservoir, near Sheffield, burst with a loud report, and the water rushed like a cataract over the villages, into and through Sheffield, and down the vale of the Don to Doncaster. Houses and their inhabitants, furniture, domestic animals and those in the fields, trees, stacks of wheat and hay — everything which arrested its progress was swept away with the rushing stream. Entire rows of cottages, with the different families, most of them at the moment wrapt in slumber, were wrecked by the flood. At least 270 persons lost their lives by this calamity—nearly all, certainly, and probably every individual of the number, being in bed at the time. The property destroyed could not be wholly replaced even by the expenditure of more than £1,000,000; and many sufferers were reduced to poverty, besides having to mourn the loss of relatives and friends. The survivors were houseless, and 200 beds were appropriated for their use. A subscription was also opened for their relief, and a very large sum was raised.—On the 7th of July, soon after 2 o'clock P.M., a fire (occasioned, it is said, by the carelessness of the workmen employed there) was discovered in the old Royal Chapel of the Savoy, in the Strand. This edifice, described as "one of the most interesting monuments of historical antiquity in London," was all that remained of the old Hospital of St. John the Baptist, and it stood upon the site of the palace of Peter de Savoy, which Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster, rebuilt. The fire left nothing remaining of the chapel but the bare walls; and the Queen has had it rebuilt at her own expense. Another great loss to London—many things being destroyed which can never be replaced—was the destruction by fire, on the 13th of September, of Haberdashers' Hall, and some fine new buildings in Gresham Street. The money loss was estimated at half a million; but that did not include many valuable paintings, and other historical relics of the Haberdashers' Company, upon which no money value could be placed.

We have had little to say, latterly, of either Scotland or Ireland, apart from England; the historical incidents of the latter affecting the United Kingdom. But in 1864 there was much rioting at Belfast, arising out of the old cause—religious differences. On the 8th of August, a statue of Daniel O'Connell, erected as a memorial of that once celebrated man, was inaugurated at Dublin. There was a grand procession and a public dinner, the Lord Mayor of Dublin presiding at the latter: but there was nothing at either that ought to have annoyed the Protestants so far as to call forth any counter-demonstration. At Belfast such a demonstration was, however, made. An effigy of O'Connell was constructed; the hands were placed in a begging attitude, and a large wallet by the side of the figure indicated a readiness to receive that "rent" which was so liberally contributed to O'Connell for the last years of his life. This figure was carried through the town, followed by several thousands of the working classes, and accompanied by bands of drums and fifes. In the evening it was burned amid the cheers of the populace; and the ashes being placed in a coffin, were paraded through the town, then burned, and the embers scattered. For this insult to their departed leader, the Roman Catholics determined to be revenged. The next day they broke the windows of two meeting-houses, and of the dwellings of several Protestants; and this was the commencement of riots and outrages which extended to the 24th before Belfast could be declared tranquil, though, for several days, there had been 3,000 soldiers and 1,000 police in the town. At that time Belfast presented the appearance of a city which a hostile force had devastated. Rows of houses were seen, with the doors and windows destroyed, and the furniture broken and rendered useless; all the public buildings, and most of the places of worship, were more or less injured; and heaps of ruins were seen in every direction. Nine persons were killed in the riots, and 176 wounded were taken to the General Hospital. Many were attended to in their own houses, the number of whom was not ascertained. There were riots at Dundalk (where the Roman Catholics burned the effigy of William III., and broke the windows of the Protestants), and at Longford, Cork, and some other places; but in none did they reach the violence displayed in Belfast. Before the year closed, the government appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the causes which had led to the disturbances at Belfast; and this caused a change in the police system of that town, and some other arrangements, which, if the unhappy feud between Protestants and Roman Catholics is not abated, has, at all events, done much to preserve the peace. About the time of the Belfast riots, the Earl of Carlisle resigned the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland on account of ill-health. He was succeeded by Lord Wodehouse. The noble earl died on the 5th of December.

Our colonial history was distinguished, in 1864, by the commencement of a movement in North America, in which the government at home concurred; the object being to effect the federation of the British colonies in that quarter—Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward's Island. Delegates from all those colonies met at Quebec, and, on the 10th of October, passed resolutions, declaring, that the best interests, and present and future pros-

perity of British North America, would be promoted by a Federal Union, under the crown of Great Britain, provided such union could be effected on principles just to the several provinces;" and containing the outlines of a scheme of federation. That union is now accomplished; and there is every reason to believe that its results will be greatly for the benefit of the respective colonies.

Our other colonies were all tranquil and progressing; but, in October, Calcutta was visited by one of the most destructive hurricanes, or *cyclones*, ever experienced. Out of a population of 8,500 persons, 7,000 were drowned. Great damage was done to the vessels in the river, and few buildings in Calcutta escaped injury, some being totally wrecked.—Masulipatam, a district of the Madras presidency, stretching along the coast of the Bay of Bengal, suffered even more than Calcutta and its neighbourhood. The number of lives lost is said to have been from 60,000 to 70,000.

In Europe, the greatest interest was excited by the attack of Austria and Prussia upon Denmark, to deprive Christian IX. of Schleswig and Holstein; though both those powers were parties to the treaty of 1852, which guaranteed them to the successor of Frederick VII. Of course, Denmark could not withstand the forces of the two powers. Her troops fought well in several engagements; but they were driven out of the duchies. Soon after hostilities commenced, a conference was held in London, at the instance of Earl Russell, for the purpose of attempting to settle the points in dispute. It was attended by plenipotentiaries from France, Prussia, Austria, the German Diet, Denmark, and Russia. Several meetings were held, hostilities being suspended from the 12th of May to the 12th of June. Earl Russell submitted various propositions, which the neutral powers supported, but to which the belligerents would not assent, and the conference, which had assembled on the 25th of April, broke up on the 22nd of June, having produced no result. Hostilities were renewed, and continued till the close of July. On the 1st of August preliminaries of peace were signed; and on the 1st of October, at Vienna, a treaty, founded upon those preliminaries, was concluded. By that treaty the King of Denmark renounced his rights to the duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg: the Danish forces were withdrawn from them, and they were occupied by Austrian and Prussian troops; a Federal army, which had been sent to Holstein, being withdrawn.

The only other events on the continent which it is necessary to mention are, the conclusion of a convention between the Emperor of France and the King of Italy, and the vote of the Italian legislature for transferring the seat of government from Turin to Florence, and declaring the latter city the capital of Italy. The convention was signed on the 15th of September: by it France agreed to withdraw her troops from Rome within two years; Italy engaging not to violate the present territory of the pope, and "to prevent, even by force, any attack upon that territory coming from without;" to raise no protest against the organisation of a papal army, even if composed of foreign [Roman] Catholic volunteers; and to enter into an arrangement to take upon her a proportionate part of the debt of the former States of the Church.—The bill to change the seat of government to Florence was introduced into the Italian Chamber of Deputies immediately after the convention was signed. It was strongly opposed; but was ultimately adopted by a majority of 134 to 47; and Victor Emmanuel, on the 11th of December, issued a decree, announcing that, within six months, the capital of the kingdom would be transferred to Florence.

Two European sovereigns died in 1864:—Maximilian, King of Bavaria, on the 10th of March, in his fifty-fourth year; and was succeeded by Ludwig, who was born on the 25th of August, 1845.—On the 25th of June, William Frederick Charles, King of Wurtemberg, died. He was born in 1781, and was, at the time of his death, the oldest reigning sovereign in Europe.

The civil war in America continued; and it was evident that the North must finally triumph.—On the 20th of June, the Federal war-steamer, the *Kearsage*, fell-in with the *Alabama* off Cherbourg, and sunk. A formal demand was subsequently made upon England for adequate compensation for the losses inflicted upon the Federal commerce through the captures made by the *Alabama*.—On the 6th of December, Abraham Lincoln (for whom a majority of the Electoral College had voted as president a second time) sent his message to congress. It announced a determination to continue the war with the South, and did not hold out the slightest indications of peace.

CHAPTER CXXI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1865.

THE state of the United Kingdom was favourable at the period of the opening of parliament in 1865. Friendly relations were existing, and, it was hoped, would be maintained with foreign states; and only one distant corner of her colonial possessions gave employment to a military force. This was at New Zealand. There a desultory contest with the natives had, for some time, been carried on; insuring a certain amount of loss to Great Britain, without the slightest return of either honour or advantage to compensate it. Allowing for this drawback, the country might be considered in a highly favourable condition. Its internal state was tranquil and prosperous, and the continued increase of the national wealth was perfectly visible on all sides. Trade was in a healthy condition; the revenue exhibited a degree of buoyancy equivalent to what it had maintained for several years past; and there was an entire absence of political agitation, or other symptoms of popular dissatisfaction. The great calamity of the cotton famine, so disastrous during the two preceding years, had now been effectually checked, and the manufacturing districts of Lancashire evinced signs of a rapidly resuscitating industry, accompanied with an evident increase of comfort. All this formed matter of consolation. The long-protracted contest in the United States seemed, after four years of unmitigated severity, to give signs of coming soon to a close. Exhaustion on the side of the Confederate States became obvious; and the end of a struggle which, on both sides, had been maintained with extraordinary persistency, did not appear to be distant. Up to this period, the policy of England had been to maintain an independent neutrality throughout the contest; and to this policy she still adhered; whilst the administration of Lord Palmerston did not seem to have lost the strong hold which it had hitherto preserved upon the general mind of the nation.

Parliament was summoned to meet on the 7th of February; and the duty of opening it, on that day, was performed by commission. The address of her majesty elicited little opposition in the debates which followed it: the Earl of Derby, leader of the opposition, closing his speech with the remark, that he had no intention to oppose the address, and hoped that it would have the unanimous assent of the Lords.

In the Commons, a debate took place upon the condition of Ireland, elicited by a passage in the royal speech, which said, that "Ireland, during the past year, had had its share in the advantage of a good harvest; and that trade and manufactures were gradually extending in that part of the kingdom." This was protested against by Mr. Scully, who said, that the general condition of Ireland could not be regarded as either prosperous or satisfactory, as multitudes of the inhabitants continued to emigrate to foreign countries, from the lack of remunerative employment in their native land. This was opposed by the government; and was the means of bringing on a more general discussion, shortly after the commencement of the session, upon the condition of the sister island. That discussion was introduced by a resolution, moved by Mr. Pope Henessey, which led to an adjourned debate, in which several of the leading members of the House took part. In concluding the discussion, Lord Palmerston, in a conciliatory and judicious speech, said—

"A few years ago, the great evil of Ireland was represented to be a redundant population; and the chief remedy, which was then universally recommended, was an extensive emigration. It is, undoubtedly, painful to contemplate the causes which lead to emigration; but emigration in itself is no evil. If those who emigrate find in another country a better condition than they enjoyed in their own, they become happier; their welfare is increased; and, besides that, the condition of those who stay behind is improved by the circumstance that a smaller number of persons are left to enjoy the advantages which their native country may possess. That which we lament with regard to the emigration is, that, unfortunately, the condition of Ireland is such, that the people are able to find, elsewhere, a better state of things than exists at home. Various reasons have been assigned for this. I believe that one great and almost paramount reason is, the peculiarity of the climate. Ireland is said by many to be a most fertile country. No doubt, there are in it great tracts of very fertile land—far more fertile than any other parts of either England or Scotland. I know land on which it is said that grain-crops have been raised for sixteen years in succession, which cannot be said of any part of Great Britain. But there are also, in Ireland, great quantities of land which are wholly unproductive—bog and mountain—and that ought to be taken into consideration when you calculate the population which

the superficial area of the island is able to support. You cannot expect that any artificial remedies which legislators can invent, can counteract the laws of nature, and keep, in one country, a population which finds it to its advantage to emigrate to another. Things will find their level; and until, by some means or other, there shall be provided in Ireland the same remuneration for labour, and the same inducements to remain which are provided by other countries, you cannot, by any laws which you can devise, prevent the people from seeking elsewhere a better condition of things than exists in their own country. We are told that tenant-right, and a great many other things, will do it; but none of these things will, in regard to this matter, have the slightest effect. As to tenant-right, I may be allowed to say that, I think, it is equivalent to landlords'-wrong. As I understand it to be proposed, tenant-right would be little short of confiscation; and although that might cause the landlords to emigrate, it certainly would not keep the tenants at home. The real question is, how can you create in Ireland that demand and reward for labour, which would render its people willing to stay at home, instead of emigrating to England or Scotland on the one hand, or to the North American States on the other? Nothing can do this except the influx of capital. Ireland has many advantages for the employment of capital; but, hitherto, manufacturing industries have taken but very little root there."

Considering from whom these observations came, they are characterised by much candour and good sense: but what was the cause of this absence of capital? One great cause was a prevalent opinion that there was not the same security for property in that country that was to be found elsewhere. Hitherto the political and religious feuds which prevailed among the Irish, engendered an almost continual feeling of distrust and alarm. Could English and Scotch capitalists be convinced that they were perfectly safe in embarking speculative capital in Ireland, where they would possess the advantages of cheap labour and power for working their machinery, nothing would prevent capital, which seeks employment for itself in the most distant regions of the earth, from finding its way into Ireland. Agricultural improvements could not prevent emigration, but, if judiciously adopted, they might afford increased employment for labour; and it might be well worth considering whether, by means of monetary advances, to be within a certain number of years repaid, landowners might not at once improve the value of their property, and afford an increase of wages to the population. Whatever suggestions were made by the different speakers who took part in this interesting debate, they were generally negatived by the government; and Lord Palmerston concluded with the following observations:—

"I can only say that the government fully share the feeling of deep interest and sympathy that has been expressed towards Ireland by all who have spoken in this debate. It is impossible for any man to know anything of the Irish people without wishing them every happiness which can be conferred upon them. They are a light-hearted and a warm-hearted race; they are, also, most industrious wherever they can see the prospect that by industry they will get the reward to which industry entitles men. It is quite a mistake to suppose that the Irish are an idle race, unwilling to labour, and not prepared to make great exertions for the sake of accomplishing any legitimate object. They are a people for whom every man who knows them must entertain the utmost sympathy, and must feel the strongest desire that they should enjoy every advantage which can be conferred upon them by legislation, or by any artificial arrangements which it is in the power of the government or parliament to make." Notwithstanding the friendly professions shadowed forth by Lord Palmerston, a division took place upon the resolution, which was negatived by a majority; the numbers being 107 to 31.

The question as to the agricultural and social condition of Ireland came again under discussion, in the House of Commons, on the 31st of March. The subject was brought forward by Mr. Maguire, who made a motion for a select committee to inquire into the laws regulating the relations between landlords and tenants in Ireland, with a view to their more equitable adjustment. To meet the question, Lord Palmerston suggested the appointment of a committee, with the limited object of inquiry into the tenure and improvement of land in Ireland, under the Act 23 & 24 Victoria. This was accepted by Mr. Maguire, when another motion was made by Mr. Dilwyn, on the Irish church establishment. He proposed the adoption of the following resolution:—"That the present position of the Irish church establishment is unsatisfactory, and calls for the early attention of her majesty's government." The debate on this great question was adjourned; and, notwithstanding its importance, it was not again resumed during the session. It may, however, be observed that, viewing the Protestant establishment in Ireland in the light of a missionary church, the results were not favourable to the preservation of its position. Upon this point Mr. Gladstone said—

"In the latter part of the 17th century, an estimate was made by Sir W. Petty of the relative strength of Protestants to Roman Catholics in Ireland. I now take all classes of Protestants together for the purpose of more convenient comparison, and I find the result he

arrived at was—Roman Catholics, 800,000; Protestants, 300,000. The date of that estimate was followed by a century of application of most rigid penal laws. There is not, I apprehend, the least doubt, that as regards particular classes of society, those penal laws, to a certain extent, did their work; yet they failed to impress the mass of the population. And now we come to the year 1834, the first year of any trustworthy and accurate religious enumeration of the people of Ireland, and we find that those who were represented, in the time of Sir W. Petty, by 800,000 and 300,000, had come to be respectively 6,400,000 of Roman Catholics, 1,500,000 of Protestants of various denominations. If the proportion between Roman Catholics and Protestants, that existed in the time of Sir W. Petty, had been maintained, the Protestants of 1834 ought not to have been 1,500,000, but ought to have been 2,400,000. So far, therefore, under the operation of the system of law then established, although aided by the severest pressure of the power of the civil government—so far were we from making progress in the direction in which, upon every religious ground, we might desire, that much ground had actually been lost, and the proportion of Protestants to Roman Catholics was more unfavourable than it had been 150 years before."

On the 27th of April, Mr. Gladstone made his financial statement to the House of Commons. In the royal speech, it had been stated that the receipts of the revenue realised the estimated amount, although this was, in reality, an under-statement of the fact. The successful results of the finances had, in fact, exceeded the calculations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Some remissions of taxes, therefore, were expected to be made, and public feeling was naturally excited by anticipating the probabilities involved in the Chancellor's statement. When the 27th day of April came, Mr. Gladstone presented, to a very crowded House, the accounts of the past, with the calculations and plans for the ensuing year. "The financial history of parliament," he said, "has been a remarkable one. It has raised a larger revenue than, I believe, at any period, whether of peace or war, was raised by taxation. After taking into account the changes in the value of money within an equal time, the expenditure of the parliament has been upon a scale that has never before been reached in time of peace." The truth of this statement he then elucidated and proved. Amongst his equalisations and reductions of the taxes of the country, was his remission of a portion of the duty on tea. "It is the intention of the government now to propose a reduction of indirect taxation by a partial remission of 6*d.* per lb. on the tea duty." This boon was well received by the public at large, as were most of the other propositions of the Chancellor. Indeed, most of the reductions made were anticipated by public conjecture. Accordingly, the budget was accepted with general satisfaction, and hardly any manifestation of opposition to the general statement. The reduction of the tea duty was especially hailed as a wise relief to all classes of the community, and, by the poorer classes, was more particularly estimated as a great boon. The diminution in the income-tax was also received as a popular measure. Those who had felt the weight of 7*d.*, and even for a time had 14*d.*, pressing upon them, experienced a lively sense of relief in being now subjected only to a deduction of 4*d.* in the pound from their incomes, instead of 7*d.* The different fiscal alterations comprised in the budget, being incorporated in a bill, passed through the House of Commons with little delay.

On the 2nd of April, Richard Cobden, the most prominent public advocate for a repeal of the corn-laws, died at his lodgings in Suffolk Street, London. For several years he had been a sufferer from ill health, but had, about three weeks before his death, arrived in the metropolis for the purpose of taking part in the debate in parliament on the question of Canadian defences. As a public man, he was earnest in all that he undertook, and his private moral character was spotless. On the 29th of June, 1846, in the House of Commons, Sir Robert Peel said—"In proposing our measures of commercial policy I had no wish to rob others of the credit due to them. The name which ought to be, and will be associated with these measures, is not the name of the noble lord, the organ of the party of which he is the leader, nor is it mine. The name which ought to be, and will be, associated with those measures, is that of one who, acting as I believe from pure and disinterested motives, has, with untiring energy, made appeals to our reason, and has enforced these appeals with an eloquence the more to be admired because it was unaffected and unadorned. The name which ought to be chiefly associated with those measures is that of Richard Cobden."

The unexpected, and somewhat premature close of Mr. Cobden's life, elicited an almost unanimous expression of deep regret from his countrymen, who, notwithstanding the angry passions once excited by the controversy on the corn-laws, could not help respecting the genuine probity and disinterested features of his character, and acknowledging that few popular leaders had ever maintained so high a standard of moderation and self-respect, or shown themselves so completely superior to the mean, selfish arts and motives of the mere demagogue. It was on this account that the general public, on hearing of his death, was struck with a deep sense of sorrow; and that the legislature had lost an able man, and a public-spirited citizen, well deserving to claim place among the benefactors of his country. The honour

paid to his memory, however, was not confined to Britain. In France the name and character of Richard Cobden were held in high estimation. The Emperor Napoleon III. addressed a letter to his widow, expressing, in warm terms, the respect in which he had held the deceased; whilst other parts of the continent were not slow in testifying their regret at his loss. The United States of America, also, bore testimony to the merits of the great free-trader, and offered flattering tributes to his memory. Nowhere, however, was sorrow more sincerely expressed than in the British House of Commons, where he had so often taken the foremost place in debate, and where his personal character was so fully appreciated by men of all parties. Lord Palmerston, after paying a high and honourable tribute to his memory, said—"The country has sustained a loss which it will be difficult to repair. Mr. Cobden's name will be for ever engraved on the most interesting pages of the history of his country; and I am sure there is not a man in this House who does not feel the greatest regret that the House has lost one of its brightest ornaments, and that the country has lost one of its most useful servants." After referring to the public career of the deceased, Mr. Disraeli said—"There is something mournful in the history of this parliament. When we remember how many of our most eminent and valuable public men we have lost, I cannot refer to the history of any parliament which will bear to posterity so fatal a record. But, Sir, there is this consolation to us, when we remember those unequalled and irreparable losses, that those great men are not altogether lost to us—that their words will be often quoted in this House; that their example will often be referred and appealed to; and that even their expressions will form part of our discussions and debates. There are, indeed, some members of parliament who, though they may not be present, are still members of this House, who are independent of dissolutions, of the caprices of constituencies, and even of the course of time. I think, Sir, that Mr. Cobden was one of those men; and I believe, that when the verdict of posterity shall be recorded upon his life and conduct, it will be said of him that, looking to his expressions and deeds, he was, without doubt, the greatest political character that the pure middle class of this country has yet produced: that he was an ornament to the House of Commons, and an honour to England." Such were the tributes paid by the two great leaders of opposing parties in the House of Commons, to the merits, private and public, of Richard Cobden, the champion of free trade in corn, and, consequently, of cheap bread for the British people.

A few weeks after the death of Cobden, the president of the United States was assassinated. The excitement which this event caused, even in Britain, was extreme, and might be accepted as an instance of the powerful sympathy with which the common heart of nations is moved towards each other in the present state of improved intelligence at which collective socialities have arrived. As the character of the president, Mr. Lincoln, had become better known on the British side of the Atlantic, his name had risen so far as to be regarded with general respect; and the singular history and personal peculiarities of the man, had increased the feeling of admiration for the rough but manly simplicity of his nature. The indignation and horror at the crime which had struck down the ruler of the great republic, were, in the minds of the British people, mingled with a deep and wide-spread regret at his untimely loss. In no way in which the national feeling could evince this sentiment was it neglected; her majesty, the Queen, even with her own hand, writing a touching letter of condolence to the bereaved wife of the late president. The corporation of London, followed by a large number of the other municipal and public bodies throughout the kingdom, expressed, in public meetings, their sorrow for the fate of the American whose extraordinary career had become a subject of both surprise and interest. At the first meeting of the House of Commons, after the news had arrived of the assassination of President Lincoln, Sir George Grey, Secretary of State for the Home Department, rose in his place and said—"In order to give the House an opportunity of expressing the feelings which I am sure it entertains, and which, I may add, pervade the whole country in reference to the assassination of the President of the United States, my noble friend at the head of the government will move a humble address to her majesty, expressing the sentiments of sorrow and indignation with which the House regards the perpetration of this atrocious crime, and sympathy with the government and people of the United States, humbly praying her majesty, in communicating to the government of that country her condolence on this matter, to convey, at the same time, an expression of the feeling entertained in the House." A similar notice had been given in the House of Lords; and on the same day (May 1), the subject was brought before the two Houses by the ministerial leaders. The addresses in both of them were unanimously adopted, Mr. Disraeli observing that, in the midst of the prevailing sorrow, it was consolatory to reflect that assassination had never changed the history of the world. In olden times, even the costly assassination of a Cæsar did not propitiate the inevitable destiny of his country; and, in more modern days, Henry IV. of France and the Prince of Orange were conspicuous illustrations of this truth. Therefore, whilst he seconded the address to the crown, and expressed feelings of unaffected and profound

sympathy with the citizens of the United States in the untimely death of their elected chief, he would not sanction any sentiment of depression. He would rather avail himself of that opportunity to express his fervent hope, that from these awful years of trial, the various populations of North America might come out elevated and chastened, rich with that accumulated wisdom, and strong in that disciplined energy which a young nation only could acquire in a protracted and perilous struggle." Her majesty received the addresses, and gave directions to her minister at Washington, to make known to the government of America, the feelings entertained by the British parliament, in common with herself and her people, with regard to the deplorable event.

During this session a question arose in parliament which created much public interest, and which seemed to reflect discreditably upon some of the relatives of Lord Westbury, Lord Chancellor of England. On the 7th of March, the Lord Chancellor announced the resignation of Mr. Edmunds as Clerk of the Patents, Clerk of the Commissioners of Patents, and Reading Clerk of the House of Lords. The case of Mr. Edmunds led to an investigation, during which it transpired that the Lord Chancellor had appointed his eldest son, the Honourable Richard Bethell, to be Registrar of the Court of Bankruptcy, London. This appointment, as circumstances connected with it turned out, should never have been made, as the new registrar shortly afterwards became insolvent, and was compelled to resign his office. This, however, was not all. During the investigation, it further transpired, that a Mr. Welsh, having had some money transactions with the Honourable Richard Bethell, and having advanced £1,500 to him, received the appointment of Registrar of the Leeds Court of Bankruptcy from Lord Westbury. This did not look well; and on Mr. Bethell becoming insolvent, he became an outlaw. It was now said that there was an agreement by which Mr. Welsh was to resign his office in favour of Mr. Bethell when his term of outlawry had expired. As these transactions had a suspicious appearance, a committee was appointed to investigate them; and such was the scandal they created, that although no imputation of corruption rested upon the Lord Chancellor, he felt it necessary to retire from office, in which he was succeeded by Lord Cranworth. This was the last event of public interest in connection with this parliament; its dissolution being at hand, and a general election about to take place.

The general election of 1865 eventuated under circumstances of as little excitement as possibly might be expected in a great country rousing itself to choose candidates for its representation in its national assembly. This election was not, in the ordinary sense, an "appeal" to the various constituencies of the country, for there was no prominent question upon which the voters were called upon to give their decision; or, in other words, no definite issue to be tried, or electioneering "cry" to stimulate party zeal. The recent parliament had died a *natural death;* and a new House was required to be chosen in accordance with the canons of the constitution. This, however, was a duty which might be performed without stirring the slumbering embers of political animosities, or even disturbing the general surface of public tranquillity. The late government was not without certain claims to support. It might, with a fair amount of confidence, make its appeal to the country from the successful efforts it had made, and in which it had succeeded, in preserving peace with other nations, whilst pointing to the prosperous results of its commercial and financial policy. Yet, however favourable these might be, antagonistic politicians, no doubt, thought and believed that, had they been in power, they would have exhibited still more favourable results, and the country, in general, would consequently have been in a far more flourishing condition. Be this as it may, however, a considerable change in the composition of the House, though not in the relative strength of parties, was expected; the long interval which had elapsed since the last election having produced the usual effects of inducing many members to seek retirement, and many constituencies to desire a change of men to represent them. But whatever might have been the general feeling, the chief interest of the election concentrated itself upon two points—the anticipated contest for Oxford University and for the metropolitan seats. In the former, Mr. Gladstone, late Chancellor of the Exchequer, was threatened with a formidable opposition in Mr. Gathorne Hardy; for the latter, there appeared several new candidates, among whom were men of considerable eminence. The general result of the Irish elections was also looked upon with considerable interest.

The celerity with which political elections are now happily conducted, reduces the period of suspense within a very short space of time. The new writs had been despatched almost immediately after the late parliament had ceased to exist; and within a week, most of the borough contests in England and Wales had been decided. The metropolitan elections were first ended. For the City of London, the contest was rather formal than otherwise. The four Liberal candidates outnumbered, by majorities of upwards of 2,000, their two Conservative opponents, Mr. Goschen occupying the head of the poll. For Westminster, however, there was a struggle of considerable interest, on account of the ancient city being contested, on the Liberal side, by an eminent philosophical writer. This was Mr. J. Stuart

Mill. He was opposed by a gentleman both of character and influence in the other political school; but the result was so far favourable to Mr. Mill, that he was brought in second upon the poll. He had a majority of several hundreds over the Conservative. Mr. Thomas Hughes, a gentleman of some literary celebrity, and who had much identified himself with the working classes, was returned at the top of the poll for Lambeth. In other parts of the country, men distinguished in literature and science were, for the first time, returned by popular constituencies; but the most exciting contest was at Oxford. According to an act passed in the last parliament, the election for the universities was authorised to be made by means of voting papers, transmitted through the post, or otherwise, to the vice-chancellors, and a period of five days was allowed for keeping open the poll. The respective friends of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Hardy, his opponent, made great exertions, and a most active canvass was set on foot throughout the country; but it was generally expected that the paper-voting system would prove effectual against the interests of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The polling commenced on the 13th of July, and the result of the first day was to place Mr. Gladstone in a small minority to Mr. Hardy, and in the third place on the poll; the late representative, Sir W. Heathcote, holding the first. During the other four days, the relative positions of the candidates continued unchanged; and at the close of the poll on the 18th, Mr. Gladstone was defeated, Mr. Hardy having a majority over him of 180. Such was the result of this remarkable contest, at which no fewer than 3,850 voters polled—a number nearly double of that which polled on any former occasion. The following valedictory address is not without a touch of feeling, such as might be expected from one closing a career of faithful service, comprising so many years of an active political life:—

"Gentlemen,—After an arduous connexion of eighteen years, I bid you respectfully farewell. My earnest purpose to serve you, my many faults and shortcomings, the incidents of the political relation between the university and myself, established in 1847, so often questioned in vain, and now, at length, finally dissolved, I leave to the judgment of the future. It is one imperative duty, and one alone, which induces me to trouble you with these few parting words—the duty of expressing my profound and lasting gratitude for indulgence as generous, and for support as warm and enthusiastic in itself, and as honourable from the character and distinctions of those who have given it, as has, in my belief, ever been accorded by any constituency to any representative.—W. E. GLADSTONE."

Rejected by the university of Oxford, as Sir Robert had been before him, Mr. Gladstone at once appealed to another, and a very different constituency, to return him to parliament. This was that of South Lancashire, for which he was one of the Liberal members returned. This result was generally to Liberal politicians satisfactory; for although, on personal grounds, the friends of Mr. Gladstone, especially his academical supporters, regretted his severance from Oxford University, yet many of the Liberal party, who now looked up to him as their future political leader, regarded the circumstance with gratification, believing that he would henceforward be relieved from a tie which had fettered and constrained his independence, and would be free to follow the course of policy to which his own convictions directed him. The general result of the elections in the three kingdoms was favourable to the Liberal side, and an addition to the strength of ministers was made in the House of Commons. All the members of the cabinet, and the leading official persons in the lower House, regained their seats; but on both sides some prominent members had been discomfited, and were consequently, on the reassembling of parliament, missing.

A few weeks after the elections, and when comparative quiet had succeeded to the usual degree of excitement which attends a general contest for seats in parliament, Lord Palmerston died. For several months it had become evident that his health had been giving way, and on the 18th of October, he expired at Brockett Hall, within a couple of days of completing his eighty-first year. He had been a man of extraordinary mental, as well as physical, activity, indefatigable in business, yet entering freely into all the pleasures of society with a zest which seemed to intimate that he had no other demands upon his time. A contemporary writer says that his social qualities were more than usually great. "A jovial, jocular, and genial man, who is always in good temper with himself and those around him, cannot fail to be popular among his friends and acquaintances. And if any one was genial to the last, it was Lord Palmerston. Nothing put him out of temper; no failure could disturb the serenity of his disposition. He had no very strong views to fight for; no stern and rugged line of unswerving policy did he ever propose to himself; but he always took care to seize the tide at the flood, and to swim down along with it—to lay hold of every event as it rose, and to make it subservient to his turn. Hence, without ever actually changing his political creed, he served and fought under various chiefs of opposite politics and principles, so that few can remember the day when his lordship had no official connexion with Downing Street. But it must be borne in mind, that even when ultra-Toryism was in the ascendant, Lord Palmerston was in 'advance of his age;' and that even then he might have been

noticed ranging himself among the Grants and Huskissons, and other pioneers of a more liberal and enlightened policy. Like Peel, if he was, from early impressions, Conservative, he was, in his deepest convictions, always liberal. In the Foreign Office he was, from first to last, the consistent opponent of absolutism; and wherever a struggle arose for constitutional rights, those engaged in it were certain of his sympathy, if not his support."

The funeral of Lord Palmerston took place in Westminster Abbey, and was accompanied with every mark of respect and honour which a premier so popular merited from all classes of the English metropolis. The arrangements made for supplying the vacancies and changes in the cabinet, caused by his death, were simple and, for the greater part, convenient. The most experienced and prominent member of the government was Earl Russell, who had once before filled the office of premier, and who was now summoned by her majesty the Queen to assume that post. The Earl of Clarendon, then Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and Mr. Chichester Fortescue became Secretary for Ireland, in the stead of Sir Robert Peel. For this arrangement Mr. Fortescue vacated the office of Under-Secretary for the Colonies, which was conferred on Mr. Forster, member for Bradford. Mr. Hutt resigned the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade, in which he was succeeded by Mr. Goschen, one of the members of the City of London, whose brief career in the House of Commons had already brought him distinction. The vacancy in the Duchy of Lancaster was not filled up for several weeks; but subsequently Mr. Goschen was transferred from the Board of Trade to that office, and at the same time was chosen a member of the cabinet. The important office of leader of the government in the House of Commons devolved upon Mr. Gladstone, bringing him into a somewhat new sphere of action. He was the most eloquent and, generally speaking, the most gifted member in the House, possessed of intellectual qualities perhaps of the very highest order. But these are not all that are needed to be a successful leader in the lower House of Parliament. The humbler attributes of tact, adroitness, and knowledge both of men and things, which Palmerston eminently possessed, were thought to be wanting in Mr. Gladstone; but whether or not, he assumed the post which he was destined to fill with no inconsiderable amount of success.

As both the political and financial conditions of a country are, in no small measure, influenced by the agricultural prospects and returns, those of 1865, though not in the highest degree favourable, were still of average proportions. The summer and autumn had been unusually warm and dry; and the scarcity of rain in some districts had a deteriorating effect upon the crops; but the cereal produce throughout the kingdom at large, was, both in point of quantity and quality, deemed sufficiently favourable. Looking, also, at the revenue returns, it was evident that the productive powers of the country had not fallen short of the wants of the increasing population. With all these favourable circumstances, however, there were two events which, to a considerable extent, not only disturbed the general tranquillity, but detracted from the prosperity which it was supposed to enjoy. These were the cattle disease, called the Rinderpest; and the Irish Fenian conspiracy.

The government, responding to the general anxiety excited by the progress of the cattle disease, issued, about the close of the month of September, a commission from the crown, authorising an immediate investigation of its origin and nature; and to report upon the mode of treatment best adapted for curing infected animals; besides suggestions and regulations, not only to prevent the further spreading of the disease, but, if possible, its recurrence. All this was accordingly done; and, in the report of the commissioners, it is observed that the disease was first recognised in Great Britain towards the close of the month of June, in 1865. Two English cows had been purchased, on the 19th of that month, in the Metropolitan Cattle-market, by a cowkeeper residing in Islington, in whose sheds they were, when, on the 27th of the same month, the disease attracted the notice of the veterinary surgeon in charge of the place. Similar symptoms of the pest were observed on the 28th by the same surgeon, in an animal in Hackney, which had been purchased in the same place and on the same day. Two Dutch cows in a Lambeth shed were attacked on the 24th, and they had been bought in the same market but a few days before. Immediately afterwards, the distemper made its appearance in many dairies, spreading with great rapidity, and destroying large numbers of animals. The Islington cow-keeper lost a whole herd of ninety-three. Subsequently more cows were purchased by the same person, and these died also; the whole amounting to 106 or 107. An inspector, who had charge of a great part of the north and north-eastern districts of the metropolis, states that four-fifths of the animals coming under his immediate notice, either died or had to be slaughtered; and the general average within the boundaries of the English metropolis, was, at least, as high. Very early in the month of July, the distemper made its appearance in Norfolk; a little later, in Suffolk and Shropshire; then in one county after another; and, before the termination of the same month, it had invaded Scotland. In all the earlier cases, it appears to have been directly traceable to the metro-

politan market; but Norwich Hill and other country markets were not long, in their respective districts, of becoming subordinate centres of infection. By the 14th of October, it had extended to twenty-nine counties in England, two in Wales, and sixteen in Scotland; and was still advancing. From the metropolitan market the disease seems to have crossed to Holland, with some Dutch oxen which had been shipped from Rotterdam to London, and had been exposed during three successive market-days, and not finding a sale at an adequate profit, had been reshipped from London to Rotterdam. In Britain, however, the prompt and energetic measures which had been taken, not only to check, but to endeavour to stamp out the distemper, were finally effectual; but not until many cattle had succumbed to its virulence, wide alarm spread throughout the country, and careful precautions adopted against a recurrence of the same or a similar calamity.

Turning attention from Britain to the condition of Ireland, the discovery of a new kind of conspiracy, commonly recognised as that of the "Fenian," excites some alarm. It seems to have been only another development of that deeply-rooted enmity and disaffection which the people of that unfortunate country appear to cherish against England, without the support of which it would really be impossible for them to maintain their much-talked-of freedom and independence among the powers of Europe for a single month. The nature of this conspiracy is best expressed in the language of Mr. Justice Keogh, who, in describing it, says, that "the object of its leaders was to extend it through all classes of the people, but especially the artisans in towns, and the cultivators of the soil. Its ramifications existed, not only in this country, but in the States of America. Supplies of money and of arms for the purpose of a general insurrection were being collected, not only here, but on the other side of the Atlantic; and, finally, the object of this confederation, was the overthrow of the Queen's authority, the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, the destruction of our present constitution, the establishment of some democratic or military despotism, and the general division of every description of property, as the result of a successful civil war."

Such is the description of some of the objects of the conspiracy, as given by Mr. Justice Keogh. It was, however, checked before it arrived at such a state of maturity as would have justified an open rising. For the name by which it was characterised, different explanations have been assigned; but the one which, perhaps, is nearest the truth, is that which is derived from Fionn, a celebrated chieftain, who flourished before the Irish were converted to Christianity, and who is the same that figures in the broken, but often sublime, bursts of poetical ideality which mark the effusions of Ossian. By the modern Irish this hero is styled Finn MacCool, and the Fenians were the men of Finn. They formed, in days of old, a sort of standing militia, or warlike caste, whose duty it was to protect the country from aggression, and support the authority of the kings; in return for which service they received a certain allotment of land, and other privileges. The leaders of the modern movement, doubtless, perceived a probable advantage in connecting their scheme with the historical and traditionary glories of Ireland. But whatever may be the origin of the name, the association itself was simply a scheme of rebellion against the British government, organised in the United States of America, having its centre of rule and administration there, and intended to unite the vast body of Irish settlers in that country against England. These fanatics in hate desired to throw off what they called the British yoke, and to take into their own wise guidance the whole power and property of their native island. This was, no doubt, in their eyes a very happy conception; but, unfortunately for them, it miscarried in the execution.

When the organisation of the Fenian Society was unfolded to view, it appeared to have some strong reason to encourage hopes of success. It had its chiefs, its officers, both civil and military, its common funds and financial agencies, its secret oaths, pass-words and emblems, its laws and penalties, its stores of concealed arms and weapons, its nightly drills and training of men, its correspondents and agents in various quarters, its accredited journals, and even its popular songs and ballads—all designed to extend its influence, and to win adherents, not even excepting the soldiers in the British army and the warders in the gaols. It was evident that a plot, so widely spread, and so desperate in its objects, should not be lightly dealt with. It was but the result of that long-standing disease which, for centuries, had been praying upon the vitals of Irish industry and prosperity, and which was evidently in as morbid a state as it ever was, notwithstanding those sanguine dreams in which English statesmen had been indulging, when they believed that conciliation and equity, and a discriminating policy, were gradually welding the peoples of the two islands into a compact and harmonious whole. These, however, seem to have been nothing more than the fond illusions of self-satisfied minds. Ireland was as discontented as ever; and the Fenian conspiracy seems to have been disclosed to prove it. This was destined very soon to occur. It was allowed to be carried on until the time arrived when it should be necessary to check and to crush it. This took place on the 15th of September, when, by a well-

devised plan, numerous arrests were made, and the English public surprised to hear that several of the chief conspirators were in the hands of the government. In making these arrests, the plan had been conducted so secretly, that, until the proper moment arrived, not the slightest intimation had even been given to the police. At about nine o'clock on the night they were made, a large force, accompanied by several detectives, marched from the castle at Dublin into Parliament Street, hard by, and, possession of each end of the thoroughfare having been taken, the detectives knocked at the door of the office of the *People* newspaper. Although there were lights in the upper windows of the building, no reply was given. The building being, as well as possible, immediately invested, the door of the office was forced, and Mr. O'Donovan Rosa, registered proprietor of the *Irish People* and several others, were arrested. Among them was a Mr. James Murphy, who described himself as "a citizen of Boston;" and who, being such, protested against his arrest, said he would bring that fact before the attention of Mr. Seward, the American Secretary of State, but who, nevertheless, found British authority too strong for him. These, with several others, were conveyed to the police-station, where they were severally charged with having "feloniously and treasonably conspired and combined, with divers other evil-disposed persons belonging to a certain secret society, called the Fenian Brotherhood, having for their object the levying of war in Ireland against the Queen, and separating it from the United Kingdom."

Of all the arrests that were made, however, in connection with this misguided "Brotherhood," the most important was a person of the name of Stephens, who was known by several other names, but who was among the foremost leaders of the movement. He was designated the "Head Centre" of the Fenians in Ireland, and was second in rank only to the Head Centre in the United States, who was a Mr. John O'Mahoney. A clue having been given by an informer of the quarters where Stephens was probably to be found, the police were enabled to capture him when unprepared to defend himself. He was known in the "Brotherhood" by the *alias* of Power; and when the police arrived at the house in which he lived, they scaled the walls of the garden, and knocked at the back-door. Almost immediately Stephens came, and inquired, "Who was there?" The constables announced themselves as police-officers, authorised by warrant to enter and to search the house. Stephens hesitated to open the door, saying that he was undressed. The police required immediate admission, promising to resort to no violence if he complied; but this not being done, they forced the door, and apprehended the "Centre." The house was then searched, and, in the adjoining bedrooms, were arrested three of the brethren, who were all in bed at the time. Pistols and balls were lying about the rooms, and large quantities of stored provisions were found. The house in which the arrests were made was called Fairfield House, and had been occupied by Stephens and his family for some time, under the assumed name of James Herbert. It was handsomely furnished, and bore ample evidence of the "Head Centre," being supplied with the means of making himself comfortable.

On the prisoners being committed, they were confined in Richmond goal, where, unfortunately, an event occurred which, while it baffled the course of justice, no doubt, afforded great encouragement to the Fenians. Stephens made his escape from prison. This took place on the 24th of November; and whatever vigilance might have been used by the police to discover his retreat, it was unsuccessful. The government offered £1,000 as a reward for his apprehension, besides £300 to any person who should give information that might lead to his arrest, with a free pardon to any person concerned in his escape, who should supply such information. This, however, was of no avail. He had escaped, and was concealed, but no one either could or would tell where.

Making allowance for the Rinderpest and the conspiracy just described, the public history of the United Kingdom, during the year 1865, exhibited the features of a tranquil prosperity and steady progress. The principal elements of the national strength —its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce—were well sustained, and held out the cheering promise of still further development. The public finances were entirely satisfactory; commercial transactions with foreign countries were large, and no doubt yielding remunerative profits; but though trade increased, and the revenue was immense, they seemed to produce little effect in narrowing the vast gulf, which continued unfilled, between enormous wealth and luxury on the one side, and appalling poverty and destitution on the other. For this there must be other causes than such as are described as springing from mere *improvidence;* and whatever they may be, they still form the essence of the grand problem yet waiting for satisfactory solution by the statesmen of Great Britain.

CHAPTER CXXII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1866.

PREVIOUS to the assembling of the parliament of 1866, the domestic politics of the country gave little promise of possessing those elements of certainty, so necessary to impart stability to the public mind in carrying on the general business of a great country. The Liberal administration which had, in some measure, been reconstructed after the demise of Lord Palmerston, was now headed by Earl Russell, and had Mr. Gladstone for its first minister in the House of Commons. Though it appeared strong in numbers, having a numerical majority of seventy in the lower House, still it presented some elements of weakness sufficiently marked to forebode unsteadiness in the prosecution of great measures. It was generally felt that the cabinet had no longer a claim to the confidence or forbearance of the Conservative party, to whose proclivities the late premier was believed to have some decided leanings. Nor was the personal popularity of the new chief at all to be compared to that of the late dexterous leader, who, in his place in the House of Commons, seemed to shed a geniality of feeling around him so true, that he managed affairs with apparently very little trouble, and in the best of humour. The accomplishments and qualities requisite for a task of this kind, it was feared, were not possessed by his successor. Mr. Gladstone had great eloquence and great abilities, but there were some reasons to doubt the possession, by him, of the peculiar qualities demanded by the arduous situation to which he had been promoted. However, it was only time now that could prove his suitability for his new post.

Amid all the uncertainties which accompany the expectations of the country on the assembling of a new parliament after a general election, there was one circumstance which gave great gratification to the people, and which was to mark the inauguration of the new legislature. This was the announced intention of her majesty being present on that occasion. Since the lamented death of the noble Prince Consort, her majesty had not yet set foot within the walls of her palace of Westminster; therefore the announcement of such an intention was as pleasing to her subjects as it was a judicious act in herself. The day on which the formal opening of parliament was to take place was the 6th of February; but, previous to that day, some preliminary matters had to be arranged and settled. Accordingly, for this purpose the Houses met on the 1st of the month, when for the office of Speaker Mr. Evelyn Denison, who had occupied the chair in the two preceding parliaments, was re-elected with the usual complimentary tributes which are paid to that officer on such an occasion. The right honourable gentleman was then led to the chair by the mover and seconder of his election, and proceeded to return thanks to the House. On performing this duty, he added, that on looking round, he missed one who had been long the leader of that assembly, and who, by a remarkable combination of qualities, had, in no ordinary degree, obtained the confidence of the House. He then passed a high eulogium on the late Lord Palmerston, dictated, he said, entirely by feelings of respect and esteem. Both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli did something similar, and the preliminary business being formally disposed of, both Houses of Parliament were ready to receive the Queen.

The first session of the seventh parliament of the reign of Queen Victoria was now to be opened by her majesty in person, and considerable interest was manifested on the occasion, especially by the loyal lieges of the English metropolis. The Prince Consort died in the month of December, 1861; and since that event her majesty had assisted at no state ceremony. Accordingly, the desire to receive her in a manner becoming her rank, and indicative of the esteem in which she was held, was a beautiful impulse of feeling eagerly seeking for benevolent gratification. Consulting the records of the day, it is stated that the interior of the House of Peers was not opened until twelve o'clock, at which hour an uninterrupted line of carriages stretched down Parliament Street, as far as Old Palace Yard, even to the rear of Westminster Abbey, and all of them occupied almost exclusively by ladies. At twelve o'clock the living stream poured along the corridors to the various positions and places allotted to those who were in possession of the different degrees of tickets which had been issued for their admission. Within the magnificent hall, the most conspicuous object was the throne, over which, in ample folds, were spread the royal state robes. On either side, the front row of crimson cloth-covered benches were retained for the peers; but all the rows in the rear of these were kept for ladies, except such as were behind the bench of bishops, which were railed off, and placed at the service of the diplomatic corps. The side galleries, and the great one at the end of the build-

ing, were likewise appropriated to ladies, by whose presence the splendour of the scene was immensely heightened. The peers, arrayed in red cloaks and ermine, attended in numbers unusually large; whilst the prelates also mustered numerously to show respect for their sovereign. Amongst the foreign ministers present, were the French, Austrian, and Prussian ambassadors, the Italian, and other ministers. A considerable number of the judges also attended, so that the scene was one of the most gorgeous of its kind that could greet the human vision. The Queen did not arrive at the House in her principal state carriage, but entered by the peers' entrance, and not by the royal passage commencing at Victoria Tower. She was not arrayed in her state robes. These were merely laid upon the throne; and the royal speech, in obedience to her majesty's command, was read by the Lord Chancellor.

At twenty-minutes past one o'clock, all arrangements being completed, the Lord Chancellor entered the House. The Duke of Cambridge took his seat at the head of the ducal bench. Soon afterwards the Prince and Princess of Wales entered, and the whole House rose in honour of the illustrious visitors. The prince took his seat immediately above the Duke of Cambridge, and the princess was escorted by the state officers in attendance to the woolsack, on which she sat facing the throne, and with her back to the Lord Chancellor. Prince Christian of Augustenburg was also present, and sat near the end of one of the ambassador's benches.

"At two o'clock the Lord Chancellor left the House, accompanied by the Usher of the Black Rod, for the purpose of being in readiness, at the peers' entrance, to receive her majesty; and twelve minutes afterwards the royal procession made its appearance. First came a number of heralds and pursuivants, followed by the great officers of state, when her majesty advanced in person. She was accompanied by the Princess Helena and Louisa, who, on passing the Princess of Wales, kissed her royal highness. Her majesty seated herself on the throne, and the Prince of Wales passed to his chair of state on her right. On her left stood the Princesses Helena and Louisa, Earl Granville bearing the sword of state; the Duke of Argyll, in his capacity of Lord Privy Seal; and the Earl of Besborough, the new Lord Chamberlain. Behind her, to the right, were placed the Duchess of Wellington, the Mistress of the Robes, and another lady-in-waiting. A little way in front of her, on the same side, stood the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Lansdowne bearing the crown on a cushion, and the Marquis of Winchester bearing the cap of maintenance."

Such was the scene and the general disposition of the high personages who appeared in this royal spectacle, the principal figure in which wore a dark purple dress, with a border of white ermine. Her majesty, also, carried a tiara of diamonds; and behind her, falling gracefully from her head, was a white gauze veil. The assembly, which had risen on the entrance of the royal procession, were now, by command of her majesty, desired by the Lord Chancellor to resume their seats, when the Usher of the Black Rod proceeded to the House of Commons to summon its members to make their appearance at the bar of the House of Lords, to hear read the royal speech. This declared her majesty's consent to a marriage between her daughter, Princess Helena, and Prince Christian, of Schleswig-Holstein Sonderbourg-Augustenburg; noted the death of her uncle, Leopold, King of the Belgians, and the satisfactory condition of the country in its relations with foreign powers. It also mentioned the termination of the internecine war in the United States; the abolition of slavery there, as well as the reduction of the slave-trade on the west coast of Africa, within such limits as to give a prospect of its ultimate extinction. It likewise noticed, with regret, an insurrection which had occurred in the island of Jamaica, and the ravages which had been made by the cattle disease; with the disaffection among the Irish. These were the chief features in the royal speech, the address on which was, in the House of Lords, moved by the Marquis of Normanby, and seconded by the Earl of Morley.

In the debate in the House of Lords, on the address, the Earl of Derby took strong exception to the conduct of the government, in the manner in which they had acted towards Governor Eyre in his suppression of the Jamaica insurrection. The circumstances connected with this affair were these:—In the August of the year immediately preceding, the negroes in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, near Morant Bay, in Jamaica, broke out in open insurrection. This event was accompanied by several murders, and the burning and the plundering of many houses. To check the rising with all the promptitude possible, and to keep it from spreading, Governor Eyre proclaimed martial law; and the military, assisted by seamen from the shipping then in the port, were enabled, in a comparatively brief space of time, to suppress the revolt. In doing this, however, it was alleged that great cruelty had been exercised. In England, the question was taken up by the friends of the negro, and the government felt it their duty to supersede Governor Eyre, and accordingly commissioned Sir Henry Stokes, and despatched him to Jamaica to take the place of Eyre. A commission, also, was appointed to investigate the circumstances. These, although marked with some degree of subsequent harshness, were, in the opinion of the commissioners, such as to justify the promptitude and

energy employed to suppress the insurrection, and on that account awarded praise to Governor Eyre. Notwithstanding this, however, a number of gentlemen formed themselves into what received the name of the "Jamaica Committee," and raised subscriptions in order to enter upon a prosecution of the late governor. To meet this, an Eyre Defence Committee was formed for the purpose of collecting funds to defend him; but no action was, for a considerable time, taken in the matter.

In speaking on the address in the House of Lords, the Earl of Derby contended that the conduct of the government towards Mr. Eyre, was not only in the highest degree unjust and ungenerous, but imprudent in regard to the colony, both in regard to its white and its black population. "Such a course would never have been pursued by Lord Palmerston had he been alive. If that great statesman had an error, it was an error on the nobler and the bolder side of defending his subordinates to the very last. What the government had now done was to send out a running commission, that had no real power beyond that of picking up the gossip of the island, and collecting irresponsible evidence on which Mr. Eyre might be tried for his life." Such was the opinion expressed by Earl Derby on the conduct of the government: many persons, both in and out of the House, sympathised with his remarks. Earl Russell, however, vindicated the conduct of his government in reference to what it had done in regard to the Jamaica insurrection; observing, that the question was not, whether Governor Eyre was right in repressing the rebellion, but whether he was right in adopting the means which he did in suppressing it. Upon this point opinions differed, and the matter dropped, when the address was agreed to without a division.

In the House of Commons, the cattle disease formed a very prominent subject of discussion, and fully occupied the first evening of the debate on the address. Then came the consideration of the state of Ireland, in which the Irish member, known as "The O'Donoghue," observed that the language in the Queen's speech, referring to Ireland, was not consistent with facts. It assumed that the legislation pursued for improving the condition of Ireland, had been all that should be desired. This, however, he denied. On the contrary, he said that the wide-spread disaffection which prevailed in that country, was to be attributed to centuries of misrule, and was not at all connected with Fenianism, but was to be ascribed to other causes. He recommended that an inquiry should be made, and that grievances should be redressed; that any surplus of Irish income should be expended on public works, and that heavy penalties should be imposed on absentees; that the ascendancy of one church over another should at once be abolished; that the poor-law and educational systems should be made similar to those in England; and that a measure should be passed which should secure to tenants the value of permanent improvements. He implored the House, before it was too late—before blood had been shed, and passion had taken the place of reason—before love was banished, and hate engendered in the hearts of a loyal and devoted people—to take some steps to investigate their case and redress their grievances. Immediately after this outburst of humane and patriotic feeling, he moved an amendment to the passage in the address having relation to Ireland, humbly expressive of deep regret that wide-spread disaffection existed in that country, and "to represent to her majesty that such is the result of grave causes which it is the duty of her majesty's ministers to examine into and remove." This was moved to be added to the passage which, in the Queen's speech, drew it forth; but it was rejected by a majority of 321. The result of this division enabled the address to the crown to be carried.

The approaching marriage of the Princess Helena with Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderbourg, gave occasion, early in the session, to the crown to transmit to both Houses of Parliament, messages asking them to concur in making a provision for the princess, and also for Prince Alfred on his coming of age. Propositions for these objects were made in the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, on introducing the subject, observed that, with respect to the Princess Helena, her position was peculiar. She was the eldest unmarried princess of the royal family when the most crushing calamity that can befal humanity descended upon her majesty; and that, during that trial, all the prominent qualities in the character of the princess—her strength, her wisdom, and her tenderness—were put to the test. Her royal highness was then, and had been since, the stay and solace of her illustrious mother; and the proposition which the Chancellor had to make to the House was, that on her approaching marriage she should have an annuity for life of £6,000, in addition to a dower of £30,000. With regard to Prince Alfred, the proposal made was, that he should be granted an annuity of £15,000 during his life, to commence on the day on which he attained his majority, and to be settled on his royal highness in such a manner as her majesty should think proper. With reference to his royal highness, there were several contingencies which hereafter might render a further application to parliament necessary. Among these might be the circumstance of his royal highness entering into the bonds of wedlock. If such should be the case, it would be the duty of the government to call upon the House to make such

further provision as the necessities of the case might require. These family arrangements having been completed in the House of Commons, were received with cordial concurrence by the House of Lords, and the bills for giving effect to them passed speedily into law.

At the same time that the above votes were proposed in the House of Commons, another was submitted to the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to testify the estimation in which the late prime minister was held by his countrymen. Accordingly, the Chancellor moved an address, praying that the Queen would give directions for erecting a monument in the abbey church of Westminster to the memory of Lord Palmerston. Whilst moving this address, the Chancellor made the observation, that it was his desire to make the proposal, not as the tribute of a party, but one of parliament and the nation at large, and passed a temperate eulogy upon the character of the deceased statesman. Amongst the compliments which he passed upon his conduct, was one upon his disposition. "He had a nature that was utterly incapable of bearing anger, or a sentiment of animosity." This was, indeed, a noble nature, and may, perhaps, largely account for the great popularity he so widely and so long enjoyed. Mr. Disraeli, in speaking on the subject, said that, although he did not enjoy the private friendship, or share in the political sentiments of Lord Palmerston, he was anxious to express, on the part of the opposition, their cordial approvement of the proposition of the government. Whatever difference of opinion might exist upon political questions, sixty years in the arena of politics, always distinguished, and sometimes illustrious, could not be permitted only to be cherished by the admiring and, perhaps, grateful feeling of the country. He therefore concurred in the proposition; whilst Mr. Beresford Hope cautioned the House against producing another of those *monumental horrors* which already studded our cathedrals, and expressed a hope that the memorial to Lord Palmerston might be alike worthy of the man and the country. This proposition was agreed to amid loud cheers.

These matters, being of very subordinate consideration compared with the great affairs of the country, were rapidly disposed of, when the condition of Ireland came prominently into notice. The Fenian conspiracy was far from being crushed, so that it fully occupied the attention of the executive of the sister island. Many arrests and seizures of arms were made in different parts of the country, so that the military was kept in constant readiness against any rising that might occur; whilst much alarm was felt in certain districts by the owners of property, and the more peaceable and loyal portion of the community. A special commission had, for some time, been engaged in disposing of a heavy list of prisoners arraigned before it; yet neither the penalties of the law, nor the demonstrations made of the force at the disposal of the executive, appeared capable of inspiring with fear those insurrectionists who threatened the peace of the land. Under such circumstances, the government was compelled to ask the House for such powers as would enable it to meet with success the emergency. Little surprise, therefore, was felt when, on the 16th of February, Earl Russell announced that the government proposed to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland, and that measures should be taken to carry a bill, with that object, through all its stages in both Houses, on the next day (Saturday), and to obtain the royal assent at once, so that the measure would be in operation in Ireland on Monday morning, the 19th day of the month.

The Houses of Parliament accordingly met on the 16th, and the House of Commons was unusually thronged, both with members and strangers. Sir George Grey, then rising in his place, proposed to bring in a bill to suspend, for a limited period, the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. He described the steps which had been taken by the government in despatching reinforcements, and spreading detachments throughout the country, and read letters from the lord-lieutenant, to show that this measure had by him been contemplated for some weeks previously. The communication which Sir George Grey had received, and which induced the government to adopt the present step, was read by him; and as it unfolds some interesting particulars respecting the Fenian movement, it will bear transcription into these pages. It is from Lord Wodehouse, and is dated the 14th of February, 1866. His lordship says—

"I have come to the conclusion, after most careful consideration, that the time has arrived when it is indispensable, for the safety of this country, that the Habeas Corpus Act should be suspended. * * * The state of affairs is very serious. The conspirators, undeterred by the punishment of so many of their leaders, are actually organising an outbreak, with a view to destroy the Queen's authority. Sir Hugh Rose details the plans they have in contemplation, and he draws no exaggerated picture. There are scattered over the country a number of agents, who are swearing in members, and who are prepared to take the command when the moment arrives. These men are of the most dangerous class. They are Irishmen, imbued with American notions, thoroughly reckless, and possessed of considerable military experience, acquired on a field of warfare (the civil war in America); admirably adapted to train them for conducting an insurrection here." After detailing the number of conspirators in Dublin under suspicion and known to the police, his lordship goes on to say, that any one might observe these men loitering about the streets. "As to arms, we have found no less than three

manufactories of pikes, bullets, and cartridges in Dublin. The police believe that several more exist. Of course, bullets are not made unless there are rifles to put them in. The disaffection of the population in certain counties, such as Cork, Tipperary, Waterford, and Dublin, is alarming; and it is, day by day, spreading more and more through every part of the country. But the most dangerous feature of the present movement is the attempt to seduce the troops. Are we to allow these agents to go on instilling their poison into our armed force, upon which our security mainly depends? I feel confident that the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act will have a most salutary effect." His lordship then hopes that the government will not think him an alarmist. Indeed, there was little reason to think him this, when there were no fewer than three *known* regular manufactories of pikes, bullets, and cartridges to supply the conspirators with the means of effectually carrying into practice their insane and destructive views.

The immediate result of this note was the calling together of the cabinet, who felt it to be their duty to lay the intelligence at once before the House of Commons, and ask for the power which the lord-lieutenant of Ireland required; as they themselves deemed it absolutely essential for the safety of the country. In recounting what he himself thought on receipt of the intelligence, Sir George Grey said, that there was one feature satisfactory about the conspiracy; and that was, that within its sphere, there were embraced no persons who, from character and position, were entitled to exercise a just influence in the country. "I think," observed Sir George, "the paragraph in the Queen's speech most justly described the conspiracy. It said, that it was not for any legislative change—not for the repeal of the connexion of Ireland with the British crown—but that its avowed object was to wrest Ireland from the British crown, and transfer it to a foreign power. It also justly described it as a conspiracy against authority, against property, and against religion; and as one—I will not say discountenanced—but repudiated by any man in the country who has anything to lose, or who, of whatever creed or political opinion, naturally feels alarmed at objects such as these." Having made these remarks, Sir George further explained, that the duration of the bill would be limited to the 1st of September next; and he impressed the necessity of the bill becoming law without the delaying of a single day. The consequence was, that the debate on the bill was short; and, on a division being taken, leave to introduce it was given by 364 votes to 6; and, without further discussion, it subsequently was passed through all its stages.

Having passed the House of Commons, the bill was forthwith carried to the House of Lords, which was then sitting. It was immediately read a first time, when Earl Russell moved the suspension of the standing orders, in order that the bill might pass through all its stages at that sitting. The standing orders were accordingly suspended; and upon the motion for reading the bill a second time, Lord Derby admitted that this was not a time to enter upon a general discussion of the state of Ireland. The bill was then read a second time, and subsequently passed through all its stages. It had not yet, however, become law. For this, it required the royal assent, and her majesty was at Osborne. But no sooner had the bill passed the House of Lords, than a telegram was sent to Earl Granville, who was at Osborne, announcing what had been done. Upon the receipt of this, her majesty's signature was obtained to the document authorising the commissioners to give the Queen's assent to the bill. In order to allow time for bringing this document to London, the sittings of the Houses were suspended till 11 o'clock P.M., by which time it was calculated that a special train would arrive in the English metropolis. Time, however, seemed to roll swiftly away. The midnight hour struck, then the quarter-past, then the half-hour, when a clerk, bearing a despatch-box, entered the assembly. The Chancellor opened it, and brought forth the anxiously-waited-for document. In another quarter of an hour, the Lord Chancellor directed the Usher of the Black Rod to summon the Commons to hear read the royal assent given to the bill; and, shortly after, the Speaker, accompanied by about fifty members of the Commons' House, appeared at the bar of the Peers'. To them the Lord Chancellor, now seated on a bench in front of the throne, with the Duke of Somerset and the Earl of Besborough, announced the commands of her majesty; and at twenty minutes to one o'clock on the Sunday morning, the bill became law. It may be remarked, that probably no statute was passed through its different stages and became law so rapidly as this—the first act of the new parliament.

Earl Grey now invited the upper House to a comprehensive review of the troubles and grievances of the Irish people; and made a formal motion that their lordships would, at an early day, resolve themselves into a committee, to take into consideration the condition of the sister island. His arguments were marked by much ability whilst embracing the remedial measures which he considered essential to the settlement of the country. He also read a number of resolutions which he proposed to move, should the House go into committee. The whole subject, however, was unpalatable, especially at a time when repressive measures had so recently been adopted and put in force against Ireland. The motion was, therefore, negatived without a division.

Several other bills were introduced, but they came to

nothing; when, on the 2nd of August, the Earl of Derby's administration came into power. The Marquis of Abercorn, being now lord-lieutenant of Ireland, the government arrived at the conclusion, that the act for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus could not, under existing circumstances, be allowed to expire at the time limited by that act (September 1st); accordingly the bill was renewed. This bill, having the support of both the leading parties, passed without difficulty; and the events of the following autumn only too well justified its enactment. Again it was announced, through the Fenian organs of the press, that the Irish were about to rise in arms; that Stephens, the escaped "Head Centre," was about to take command of the national force; and that the green flag would speedily be unfurled, under which the patriot forces would march to victory. Of course, in all this there was a great deal of bluster. Nevertheless, the executive felt it to be their duty to adopt the most energetic masures for the prevention of the threatened rising. A reward of £2,000 was offered for the apprehension of Stephens, and fresh regiments were sent to Ireland to guard suspected points; while a large consignment of breech-loading rifles was despatched to Dublin for distribution among the constabulary. Notwithstanding all the violent threats of Fenian indignation, however, the usual business of both Great Britain and Ireland seemed to move in its usual track, without even the semblance of confusion or irregularity. The day preceding Christmas Day had been assigned, by rumour, as that on which something alarming was to happen; but it passed off, like most other days, without the occurrence of any incident of the smallest importance whatever. Such being the case, the year ended without any attempts being made to realise the confident vaunts which had, from time to time, been heard, disturbing the moral atmosphere of the peaceable; and the great conflict which was to take place between the Fenian brethren on the one side, and the English oppressors on the other, was still in the womb of the future, and had yet to manifest itself to the wondering eyes of nations.

The flourishing condition of the public revenue, under the management of Mr. Gladstone, had, for several years past, been so familiar a feature, that it had come to be expected almost as a natural occurrence. Since the full development of the policy of free trade had taken place, an annual surplus was anticipated, notwithstanding the reductions which had been made in taxation; and the public looked forward to the financial statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in hardly any other light than as splendid exhibitions of financial skill and oratorical ability. On the 3rd of May, Mr. Gladstone made his annual statement to the House, announcing that he had a smaller surplus revenue than he had exhibited, successively, in the last three years. In these years, he had asked the House to make arrangements to dispose of sums averaging three millions and a-half of money; but this year he had to move within more contracted limits. The total revenue of the past year had been estimated at £67,812,000, and the estimated expenditure had been £65,914,000, leaving a surplus revenue of £1,898,000, which, however, was reduced, by various items for which provision had not otherwise been made, to £1,338,000. He had estimated the loss from the reduction of the duty upon tea at £1,868,000; but the actual loss amounted to £1,871,000. After entering into his statement, the Chancellor said, "I have now but to give the sum of all the operations which I have detailed; and they are as follows:—The amount of the surplus is £1,350,000. The remissions, as they stand, are,—On wood, £307,000; on wine, £58,000; on pepper, £112,000; and on stage carriages and race-horse duty, £85,000; making a total of £562,000. The loss on the conversion of debt for the present year is £502,000; making £1,064,000, and leaving a surplus, for the present year, of £286,000."

Having made his statement, the Chancellor closed with remarking that, "in the following year, there will be a further change in regard to commercial charges, and a further charge, as I have said, on the debt: the joint result will be, that the income of the year will be burdened to the extent of a quarter of a million. That, however, is an amount of burden on which I have no scruples of conscience whatever, because there has been no year in the growth of the national revenue, even when there has been a bad harvest, in which it has not amounted to a very much larger sum." He further said, that, "although the proper business of the finance of the year is to make arrangements for the year only, yet that we should, on suitable and sufficient cause, cast our glance forward into the future, and endeavour, in some degree, to meet this demand; so that when we ourselves cease to ply our arduous task of conducting public affairs—and by 'we,' I do not mean the government, I mean the House—and pass away from active life, those who come after us may have reason to see, that in the provision made for our own wants, we have also taken some thought for them, and may find no ground either to regret or to condemn." The greater proportion of Mr. Gladstone's financial proposals was ratified by the House of Commons almost without discussion.

After the debates on the estimates had been furnished, a bill for the abolition of church-rates was brought in by Mr. Hardcastle, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer undertook to bring in a bill to abolish compulsory payment of these rates. A change of ministry, however, took place; and although Mr. Gladstone's bill was subsequently debated and read a

second time, it was no further proceeded with. Various other measures were brought before the House; but they were of comparative minor importance as compared with one on parliamentary reform, which was looming in the distance. The public mind was already thoroughly awakened to the expectation of a measure of this kind, and the political history of the year may almost be said to have been wholly absorbed by it. At the opening of the session, a passage in her majesty's speech announced the intention of laying a measure of this kind before parliament, and the chiefs of administration had made no secret of their intention, not only to introduce a bill, but to stake upon its success their official existence. This was somewhat impolitic, as the result proved. The Liberal majority in the House of Commons, however, was strong, and seemed likely to carry through a well-considered measure of reform, no matter how vigorous might be the Conservative opposition. The duty devolved upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer of introducing and conducting the measure through the House. Meanwhile a bill for extending the elective franchise on a novel basis was introduced by Mr. Clay, a Liberal member, and one of the representatives of Hull. This bill proposed to create an educational qualification, and provided, that every man of full age should have the right of submitting himself to be examined before the civil service commissioners; and upon such examination (if satisfactory), should receive a certificate which should entitle him to the exercise of the franchise. The subjects of examination were to be reading, writing, spelling and the four rules of arithmetic. Upon the motion for the second reading of this bill, which did not take place till the ministerial measure of reform had for some time been before the House, a full and somewhat important debate took place; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer declared the scheme impracticable, and both Mr. Goschen and the Attorney-General spoke against it. On the other side, however, it was supported by several leading members of the opposition. This led to an adjournment; but the debate was never resumed; and at a late period of the session, the bill was withdrawn by the member who introduced it.

On the 12th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward the bill of the government, before a House crowded both with members and strangers. The portion of the Queen's speech which referred to the subject of the improved representation of the people having been read by the clerk at the table, the Chancellor rose, and, after referring to the difficulties, commenced his task. It would appear that, by no less than five administrations and no fewer than six Queen's speeches before the present year, the sovereign, advised by her ministers, had informed the Commons that, in their judgment, the time had come when the representation of the people ought to undergo revision. Although this statement had so frequently been made, the real time had not actually arrived till now, when the bill was found to be confined entirely to an extension of the franchise. It proposed to confer the suffrage, in counties, on occupiers of houses, whether with or without land, of £14 rent per annum; in boroughs, on householders paying a rent of £7 per annum, and on lodgers paying £10 per annum. Holders of £50 in a savings-bank for two years before making the claim, were likewise to be entitled to the franchise: the dockyard labourers were to be disfranchised;—a bill which, on the whole, was little satisfactory to the House collectively, save to Mr. Bright and such reformers as held his opinions.

It might have been anticipated that the Conservatives would receive such proposals as the bill enunciated with little favour. Accordingly, they urged that the qualification for voters was too low for both the counties and the boroughs; whilst most of the independent Liberals and Whigs held similar opinions, though they were averse to evince direct opposition to the government on such a point. Nevertheless, there was an almost universal objection to restricting the bill only to the franchise, and leaving the distribution of seats to a future opportunity. Consequently, the Earl Grosvenor, eldest son of the Marquis of Westminster, and then member for Chester, gave notice, on the 20th of March, of his intention, when the bill was before the House for second reading, to move, as an amendment, that it was inexpedient to proceed with the measure till the complete scheme of representative reform was before the House. As this amendment was considered by the government as a want of confidence, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that it would be opposed; but when the bill was being read a second time, the measures relating to Scotland and Ireland, as well as to the redistribution of seats, would be laid before the House, though it was not the design of the government to proceed with them further this session. The debate began on the 12th, and continued to the 27th of the month. On this day the second reading was carried by the very narrow majority of 5; the numbers being, 308 for the bill, and 303 against it.

The slight disparity between the numbers of the parties voting upon this Reform Bill, induced ministers to reconsider their determination; and the conclusion at which they arrived was, to proceed with the Redistribution of Seats Bill, which was introduced on the 7th of May, and, on the 14th of the same month, read a second time. On the 28th, the House went into committee on the Franchise Bill, when it was moved that the two measures should be considered together. To this the

Chancellor agreed. It was then moved by Sir R. Knightly, that it should be an instruction to the committee, to make provision for the better prevention of bribery and corruption at elections. This resolution was carried against the government by a majority of 10; the numbers being 248 to 238 votes. Three nights were occupied in debating a resolution moved by Captain Hayter, member for Wells, describing the Redistribution Bill as neither convenient nor equitable, and the entire measure as being immaturely considered. This resolution was, on the 4th of June, withdrawn. Several other amendments were proposed during the progress of the bill in committee; but on the 18th of June, Lord Dunkellin, eldest son of the Marquis of Clanricarde, and member for Galway, moved as an amendment, that the franchise of £7 in boroughs should be a rating, and not a rental value. Lord Dunkellin was, in politics, a Liberal, and his amendment was carried by 315 votes to 304. On the following day the House adjourned to the 25th, when Earl Russell in the upper, and Mr. Gladstone in the lower House, announced the resignation of the government. Her majesty sent for Lord Derby, who undertook the reconstruction of an administration. His lordship took the office of First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr. Disraeli that of Chancellor of the Exchequer; while the rest of the government offices were conferred on leading Conservatives.—On the 7th of June, the Princess Mary of Cambridge had her annuity increased from £3,000 to £6,000, on her marriage with the Prince of Teck.

Obtaining office at so late a period of the session, it was not to be expected that the new government should initiate any measures of importance, or do more than complete those routine matters of legislation which absolute necessity annually demands of parliament. All questions not coming within this category were necessarily postponed to the following year. The financial arrangements of the session having already been completed, in so far as the home policy of the country was concerned, the finances of India only had to be brought under the consideration of the House. This duty devolved upon the newly-appointed Secretary for India, Viscount Cranborne. Although so recently raised to such an onerous position, the noble lord discharged his task to the satisfaction of the House of Commons, and in such a manner as even to impress the opposition with a high opinion of his ability. After the performance of this duty the session may be said to have virtually terminated, and on the 10th of August parliament was prorogued, the royal speech having been read by the Lord Chancellor.

Turning attention from the political affairs of the country, and fixing it upon those general events which always, more or less, indicate the progress of enlightened intelligence, the laying of the Atlantic cable for telegraphic communication between the two hemispheres of the globe, is one which operates with singular force upon the human mind. It marks so signally the intelligence, ingenuity, and enterprise of the 19th century, that it well deserves a place in the historical records of any commercial country, but especially in those of the two great nations which it has, if possible, connected more closely than they were before. On the 30th of June, the *Great Eastern* steamboat, with the "cable," left the river Medway under her own steam, and was accompanied by her majesty's steamer *Adder* past the Nore. She proceeded direct to Berehaven, in Ireland, and on the 27th of July, at about 5 o'clock, English time, the cable was completed between Europe and America. Conversations had been carried on throughout the day, until a splice had to be made with the shore end of the cable at Trinity Bay. When it was completed to the United States, communications immediately passed between her majesty, Queen Victoria, and Andrew Johnson, president of the United States—the reply of the latter occupying only one hour and nine minutes in its transit from Newfoundland to Osborne in the Isle of Wight. The cable met with an accident, and communication was for a time interrupted; but it was not of long duration; and now, without let or hindrance, the electric fluid continues to transmit information, beneath the waves of the wide Atlantic, from one end of a year to that of another, disclosing a work of such ingenuity and power as to place man upon a pedestal of intelligence almost inconceivably high—above all other intelligences of animal creation.

During the year there had been going on a war between Austria, Prussia, and Italy; but as it did not affect either the interests or the honour of Great Britain, the usual business of the nation was uninterruptedly pursued. The subject had been debated in the Houses of Parliament; but shortly afterwards a brief armistice had been agreed upon by the contending powers, and preliminaries of peace arranged by Austria and Prussia. Soon afterwards Italy accepted proposed conditions, and the war terminated.

CHAPTER CXXIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1867.



AT the close of the last year, there were several circumstances which had a tendency to depress, rather than otherwise, the public feeling of the country. These were, principally, a financial crisis, which produced great distress throughout the country, and consequent embarrassment in all departments of trade: also the Rhinderpest, which was by no means arrested, although considerably mitigated in the severity of its progress. Besides these, there were the Fenian conspiracy, some disturbances occasioned by the reform agitation, riots in Hyde Park, and popular demonstrations, which, in different parts of the country, tended to promote a feeling of insecurity and distrust. Superadded to these, were the effects of a deficient harvest, together with the general depression caused by the high prices of provisions, especially animal food: there was, likewise, the unsettled state of the reform question;—all of which, combined, presented an aggregate of adverse circumstances upon which the new government could hardly be expected to turn its attention with very hopeful feelings. It was, therefore, with sentiments of considerable uncertainty, as well as of anxiety, that the public looked forward to the opening of the parliamentary session, for those revelations of ministerial policy which it usually evolves. The legislature assembled on the 5th of February, when her majesty again, to the great gratification of her loyal subjects, made her appearance to open parliament in person. The Lord Chancellor delivered the royal speech, in which the passage which said that attention would again be called to the state of the representation of the people in parliament, excited the greatest interest. The debates which occurred on the address, in both Houses, were rather tame than otherwise, and in the upper House was agreed to without a dissentient vote. In the lower House, Mr. Gladstone supported the address, at the same time declaring it as his conviction, that the interests of the country demanded a speedy settlement of the question of reform. The address was then unanimously adopted.

Several measures of smaller moment having been discussed, on the 11th of February the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced his new measure of reform, with an elaborate disquisition on the past history of the subject, by no means calculated to awaken agreeable recollections in the minds of many of his auditory. Considerable disappointment was therefore felt at this mode of initiating the question; and this unfavourable impression was rather increased than subdued, when the resolutions themselves made their appearance on the following morning in the usual organs of public intelligence. The plan of Mr. Disraeli was embodied in thirteen resolutions, which, when submitted to his colleagues, were not received with that unanimous accord which might have been accepted as a proof of the inherent strength in the political elements of which the government was composed. Lords Carnarvon and Cranborne, with General Peel, dissented and resigned their seats; and the Dukes of Richmond and Marlborough, and H. T. Corry, entered the cabinet. Notwithstanding these changes, the Chancellor carried his resolutions; and the bill based upon them passed both Houses, not, however, without long and sometimes angry discussion. By its provisions, the franchise was conferred on all householders who were rated for the relief of the poor, with certain restrictions; on lodgers who paid a rental of £10 per annum; also, on copyholders, and the owners of lands or tenements of the clear yearly value of £5. Three members were given to Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds; twelve counties were divided, each division to return two members; thirty-eight boroughs, returning two representatives, but the population of which was below 10,000, were each deprived of one member; ten new boroughs, to return two members each, were created; and the Tower Hamlets were divided into two parliamentary districts, each to return two members. The boroughs of Totness, Reigate, Great Yarmouth, and Lancaster, were disfranchised, on account of the bribery and corruption prevalent at the elections. This measure may be said to have been almost forced upon the government by the active agitation of a body of politicians, banded together under the name of the Reform League. Its agitation was loud, active, and persistent while it lasted; but after the bill had passed, the League was dissolved; and a Mr. Beales—who had been deprived of his office of revising barrister for the part he performed in the agitation—was appointed judge of a county court in Kent.

Of the acts passed, two of them—one for the Extension of the Factory Act, the other for the Establishment of Equitable Councils of Conciliation, to adjust differences between masters and workmen—were afterwards proved to work beneficially for those in whose behalf they had been passed.

While the Reform Bill was under consideration, Mr.

Disraeli, on the 3rd of May, introduced his budget. The income for the financial year of 1866-'67, he estimated at £67,575,000; and the expenditure at £66,225,000. This would leave a surplus of £1,350,000. He proposed to modify the duties on wines, to repeal those on pepper and timber, and to reduce the duty on stage-carriages, omnibuses, cabs, and post-horses, from one penny to one farthing per mile. These reductions would take from the revenue £562,000, leaving £788,000 still to be disposed of. This sum he proposed to apply to the reduction of the national debt. All these proposals were accepted by the House.

From the fact of the mind of the country being mostly concentrated upon the reform question, there was, in the Houses of Parliament, few of those topics debated which, on previous occasions, had demanded notice. The still unsettled condition of Ireland; however, with the failure of many of the legislative experiments which had been made for its amelioration, had produced a discouraging effect, not only upon all the efforts which had been made, but upon others which might yet be in prospect, to bring that country into a state of anything like rational contentment. Every effort of statesmanship to achieve this, seemed to fall short of its aim; and now the government tried to unravel the tangled web of the land tenure question; whilst other men, besides the ministers, essayed their endeavours in the same direction. All failed, however, and the Protestant church establishment became, once more, the topic of trouble. A warm debate of two or three nights upon this question, resulted only in strengthening oppositional animosities, and in not advancing a single step nearer to its settlement. Among the general profitless results of legislative debate, however, there was one measure again introduced, and again vigorously passed into law. This was a renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It had been hoped that, from the commencement of the present year, peace and order might be preserved and secured by the ordinary process of legal authority. But this was not destined to be realised. Public sentiment in Ireland still indicated the most decided aversion to English rule: and Fenianism, the embers of which were still burning, occasionally displayed itself in desultory eruptions. It was well known that emissaries of the insurgent brotherhood in the United States, were scattered over various districts of the country, and labouring to inoculate the peasantry with their principles of disloyalty. These circumstances, taken in conjunction with the excitable and insecure disposition of certain classes of the Irish community, forced the government to ask from parliament a renewal of those extraordinary powers, through which alone they would be enabled to meet and frustrate the designs of those secret agents of rebellion, and insure to the loyal portion of the population that peace and security which they did not wish to see disturbed. When the government assumed office, there were 336 suspected Fenians in custody; and, by the 1st of September, they had become 100 less. On the 24th of November they had been yet further reduced; but at that date there were still close upon 100 in custody. In December, ninety-seven fresh warrants were issued; in January seventeen, and in February nine; when the circumstance ocurred at Chester which disclosed the fact that Fenian activity was far from being extinct. The powers sought for were immediately granted, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act again took place. The other measures of parliament, before its prorogation, were of little general interest. It appears that there were reasons sufficiently substantial to justify a renewal of the suspension of the Habeus Corpus Act, as not only Ireland, but some parts of England were fast becoming subject to Fenian influence. In connection with the movement in New York, a band of fifty of the brotherhood had been organised, and deputed to proceed forthwith both to England and Ireland, and there stimulate the expiring patriotism of those *noble* brethren who, in the United States, had perhaps been supposed to have fallen into the arms of Morpheus in regard to the burning theme of Irish "liberty," which could never be achieved while Saxon "tyranny" was suffered to exist. Accordingly, the patriotic band was understood to have made their appearance in England. Fifteen of them had already planted themselves in London, where they formed a Directory. Information is not given as to the qualifications requisite to form *a director* in this associated brotherhood. Probably, blustering talk and ill-regulated force, sustained by wills more wild than wise, would be the most prominent qualifications necessary for a director in a scheme which, on the very front of it, had written the word "folly." However, eight of these directors were ex-officers of the American army. There were, also, Directories at Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Glasgow, in Scotland. For some time past, these Directories had been making arrangements to concentrate their forces upon *some place*: but what place was not disclosed till the time should arrive for such an act. It appears, however, that, at a meeting held at Liverpool on Sunday, the 10th of February, it was resolved to make an attack next day on Chester Castle, seize the arms therein deposited, cut the telegraph wires, tear up the rails, and effect their escape to Holyhead, where they were to find their way to Ireland in the best way they could. Here was a scheme, for the success of which, it is evident, chance was to have a large share of the responsibility. What arrangements were made for the reception of this

portion of the brethren in the "Emerald Isle," did not transpire; but it was understood that they were to attack and rob the banks and jewellers' shops in Chester. Reasons were also freely given, at the meeting, why Chester Castle should be the first place chosen to be attacked; and these seem to have been such as might have justified cooler brains than those usually possessed by a Directory of Irishmen. They were the following:—

Up to midnight on the Sunday on which the meeting was held at Liverpool, the city of Chester did not have more than half-a-dozen soldiers on guard at the castle, and not more than twice that number of armed policemen in the whole of the town. Now, without admitting into consideration the property and lives of the population, what was there else that this armed body of men had to protect? The reply cannot do otherwise than excite amazement. Under their protection were no less than 9,000 stand of arms—a few weeks before there were 30,000, but the bulk of these had been removed to be converted into breech-loaders—4,000 swords, and 9,000 rounds of ammunition, in addition to powder in bulk. In another part of the castle, there were also stored 900 stand of arms belonging to the militia; and in a small building in the city, were 200 stand of arms belonging to the volunteers. In the castle itself, there was one company of the 54th regiment; and it is stated that they were disaffected.

The authorities in Chester had been informed of the intended attack. An ex-officer of the American army, who produced a commission of his being an officer in the Fenian service, had revealed the whole plot to them, when preparations were made to meet the circumstances. The volunteers of the town were sworn-in as special constables, and, with the help of the Liverpool and Manchester police, the authorities at Chester were kept duly informed of the departure of suspected bodies of men from those great centres of population. At about three o'clock on the 11th of February, it had been ascertained that upwards of 500 Fenians had arrived, and that a number of their officers had taken up their quarters in Chester on the previous night. Further in the afternoon these strangers assumed a bolder appearance; but fortunately, at about four o'clock the 54th regiment itself arrived from Manchester. About the same time, a train from Manchester and Staleybridge brought an additional force of 400 Fenians; and later, forty more arrived from Halifax, and seventy from Leeds. Shortly after five o'clock, it was ascertained that the Fenians in Chester numbered 1,400 or 1,500.

Appearances were now both threatening and alarming. Spies and scouts had, early in the day, been scattered among the Fenians; but these were so extremely reticent that no clue whatever could be obtained as to their real purpose. At six in the evening, some of the scouts brought information that the men were forming in column in Liverpool Road and other similar highways. The chief constable, Captain Smith, had drafted a body of the county constabulary into the castle, to strengthen the military force, whilst telegrams were, from time to time, despatched to the Secretary of State. An anonymous letter sent to Major Grey, chief of the Liverpool police, and communicated by him to the authority at Chester, coincided almost exactly with the information already in his possession. It recalls the memorable letter which raised suspicion in the timid mind of James I., and which led to the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. The missive ran thus:—"Dear Sir,—You could do your country much service, as, at present, there are 600 men in Chester, to be increased by night to 700, to take the arms and ammunition of the garrison; and as the garrison is disaffected, it is supposed they will do it with little loss. They are to leave Birkenhead by every train, from the first in the morning, all to be there by seven at the latest. They leave in numbers of from thirty to sixty in every train."

Preparations had been so promptly made to preserve the castle from disastrous results, should an attack be made upon it, that it may reasonably be surmised that the leaders of the Fenian raid began to be afraid. The mayor had convened a public meeting, to be held at night, when over 500 citizens were sworn-in as special constables, who, in large bodies, paraded the town. The yeomanry was about to be called out, and the commander-in-chief of the army in London, telegraphed that he had ordered a battalion of Guards by special train to Chester. Of these proceedings, no doubt, the Fenians were apprised, and prudently deemed it wisdom to desist from their enterprise. Accordingly, as the night advanced, parties of them, in tens and twenties, were seen leaving on foot for Warrington and other neighbouring towns, doubtless with their heroic ardour not quite so hot as it had been but a few hours before. Within a few days the ancient city of Chester had resumed its usual quiet.

In the month of September following, some Fenians in Manchester endeavoured to rescue two of their number, known as Colonel Kelly and Captain Deasey, whilst being taken to gaol in a police-van. On this occasion some danger was apprehended. Accordingly, when the vehicle drove off, seven police-constables accompanied it, whilst four more officers followed it in a cab. None of these, however, were armed, save a police-sergeant of the name of Brett, who had a cutlass. On its way to the gaol, the van had to pass a railway arch, near to which there is an hotel, where, throughout the

day, several military-looking men were noticed loitering about without an apparent object in view. Towards the afternoon—the 18th of September—the number of these men increased to as many as fifty, apparently directed by one taller than the rest, wearing a black coat and cap. This person was subsequently identified as William O'Meara Allen. The moment the prison-van approached the arch, this person stepped into the roadway, and, presenting a revolver at the driver, commanded him to stop. This was accompanied with a volley of pistol-shots, which frightened the horses so much that they became extremely restive, and, in the confusion, gave the Fenians the opportunity of at once becoming masters of the situation. One of the horses was shot, and the driver knocked from his seat by means of a large stone. The second horse was then shot, when occurred a scene at once animated and exciting; and thus described by the chronicler of the period :—

"One of the leaders climbed to the top of the van, and, at a signal from him, about twenty labourers, who had been hiding in a clay-field, clambered up after him. The armed men formed a circle round the van, and menaced every one that approached with their pistols. Shots were fired in quick succession, some of which took effect." Those on the roof now laboured to smash it in; but it resisted their efforts, when Allen directed men with hatchets and iron bars to break open the door of the van. The constables now united themselves together, and, being joined by numbers of men whom the shots had attracted to the spot, rushed upon the Fenians; but these, with their arms, successfully resisted them, and again and again drove them back from the van. Meanwhile some women prisoners, locked up in the vehicle, were screaming with the utmost vehemence, so that the whole scene was of the most startling description. A Sergeant Brett had the keys of the van in his pocket, and kept them there while he sat within the van. The men on the roof saw him, and, in answer to their demands, would not deliver up the keys. He was pelted with stones from above; he was beaten on the head, and wounded on the face, but he still refused to betray his trust. The panel of the door was smashed, and Allen presented a pistol at his head, but Brett would not give up the keys. Allen then put the mouth of his revolver to the lock and blew it open, when the keys were once more demanded from Brett. Still did the constable refuse, when Allen fired, and Brett, mortally wounded, rolled from the van into the road. The keys were then taken from him, the inner compartments of the prison-van unlocked, and the prisoners released.

Among the prisoners were Deasey and Kelly. The whole of the armed mob now dispersed as quickly as possible, the greater part of them running across the neighbouring clay-fields, and taking the direction of the Ashton Road. The wounded were taken to the infirmary, and Brett died within a couple of hours after he was shot. As the Fenians were making their escape, Allen was heard to say to the colonel, "Kelly, I will die for you;" but, notwithstanding, endeavoured to escape capture with as much speed as he could command. On this occasion, however, he was doomed to be caught. A powerful young man who had been a by-stander, and had witnessed the part played by Allen, pursued him and run him down. Allen, on being laid hold of, presented his revolver at his captor, who immediately wrested it from him, and secured him. Others were made prisoners; but Kelly and Deasey were subsequently seen going into a cottage, near a place called Clayton Bridge, about a couple of miles from the sc .e of the outrage. They were handcuffed at that time; but when they came forth from the cottage their hands were free. Connected with the rescue of the prisoners, there were twenty-nine persons brought before the magistrates on the following day, and five of these were committed for trial for the murder of Brett. In consequence of the serious character of the outrage, a special commission was appointed by government for the trial of the prisoners at Manchester. The trial took place in October, and a capital sentence was pronounced against three of them for the murder of Brett. One of these was Allen. On the following month the three together paid the penalty of their crime, without receiving much general sympathy.

From Liverpool, Chester, and Manchester, Fenianism now found its way to London. In the following month of September, in the afternoon of the 13th of that month, an attempt was made to blow up the outer walls of the House of Detention at Clerkenwell. Confined in the building, there were at that time two prisoners, named Burke and Casey, charged with being implicated in the Fenian conspiracy; and it had been resolved that these "brethren" should forcibly be set free. The attempt was as daring as it was atrocious in regard to those who might be its victims. At about a quarter to four o'clock, a boy, who gave an account of the transaction, accidentally saw a man leave a large barrel by the wall of the prison, and then cross the road. Shortly afterwards this man returned with a long squib in each hand, giving one of these to some boys who were playing in the street, and thrusting the other into the barrel. The man remained there until he saw the squib begin to burn, when he ran away. One of the boys had been smoking, and it was he who gave the man a light. When the man ran away, a policeman followed him; but the barrel then exploded, and the boy was covered with bricks and mortar, a large portion of the

prison wall having been blown down, and several houses in the neighbourhood shattered.

The results of this explosion were most disastrous to the inmates of the dwelling-houses in the immediate vicinity. Upwards of forty innocent people—men, women, and children—were, more or less, injured most severely; whilst one was killed on the spot, and several afterwards died from the effects of the injuries they had sustained. A reward of £400 was promptly offered by the government, together with her majesty's pardon to any one, not being the actual perpetrator of the crime, and who should furnish information which should lead to the conviction of the offenders. Six men and one woman were apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in the plot, and underwent examination before Sir Thomas Henry, the chief police magistrate at Bow Street, on the charge of treason-felony. Many remands took place for the purpose of enabling the crown to produce fresh evidence, which, from time to time, was brought to light by the police. Eventually, the persons who were proved to be connected with the transaction were committed for trial in the Central Criminal Court, and the guilty suffered according to their deserts. After this, Fenianism, as an insurrectionary movement, gradually died out, and, in a comparatively brief space of time, nothing was heard of it but the name.

Turning from the wild and extravagant deeds of misnamed Irish patriots, with their attendant evils and sorrows, England had this year an opportunity of displaying the warmth, as well as the grandeur, of her hospitality to several crowned heads who honoured her with a visit. The first of these who arrived was the Viceroy of Egypt. On his arrival in London, his highness did not create much excitement; but he received such attentions as were due to his distinguished rank. His visit extended to about a fortnight, most of the time of which was filled up with banqueting, entertainments, and seeing objects of interest in and around the metropolis. He visited the Queen at Windsor Castle, where he dined and slept a night. After occupying his time as agreeably, and it is to be hoped, as profitably as the brevity of his visit would permit, he took his departure for France on the 18th of July, leaving behind him, in England, a most favourable impression upon every one with whom he had been brought in contact.

Another great visitor was Sultan Abdul Azziz, the chief of the Mussulman race, the first "Father of the Faithful" who had set foot on native British ground. He was in London during a portion of the time of the viceroy's visit, and naturally took the highest place in popular attention; but there was no lack of courtesy shown to both, so that neither should have the slightest cause of complaint. The sultan had previously passed a few days in Paris, on a visit to the Emperor Napoleon III.; and while there, was present at the awarding of the prizes at the International Exhibition. Preparations of a more than usual kind were made in England to receive this imperial son of Islam with due honour, and the general public awaited his arrival with more than ordinary interest and curiosity. From Boulogne he, on the 12th of July, crossed to Dover, where, on the morning of the same day, his royal highness the Prince of Wales was in waiting to receive his majesty. His highness the Viceroy of Egypt, and a numerous staff, and the Duke of Cambridge, were also present. Besides these, were Viscount Sydney, as lord-lieutenant of Kent, the Duke of Sutherland, and other noble personages, with his excellency M. Musurus, the Turkish ambassador, and the whole of the *personnel* of the embassy—all waiting to receive the illustrious sovereign about to set his foot on the free, fair, and fertile soil of happy England.

Shortly after eight o'clock in the morning, a telegram was received, announcing that the *Reine Hortense* had left Boulogne, carrying the sultan; and the fact was announced by the firing of a gun from one of the castle forts. Dover was immediately astir; all who could, making for the Admiralty Pier, where the debarkation would take place. The channel squadron, including several other naval ships, was drawn up in the bay, and, at the approach of the imperial yacht at a quarter-past ten, fired a salute, the crews at the same time manning the yards. The tremendous roll of sound was taken up by the forts at the castle and the heights, and answered with an effect which seemed to shake the very earth. The *Reine Hortense* was accompanied by a French squadron of iron-clads, and also by a couple of English frigates, and was soon alongside the Admiralty Pier. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Cambridge, and other illustrious personages, then went on board to pay respect to the sultan, a military band playing the national anthem at the same time. Almost immediately a train of state carriages conducted and accompanied his imperial highness along the pier to the Lord Warden Hotel, amid the cheering and loud huzzas of an immense multitude of spectators.

The etiquette necessary to be shown on welcoming the sultan on a visit to Western nations, is different from that which is usually evinced among the sovereigns of these peoples themselves. When the Prince of Wales, with the Duke of Cambridge, went on board the *Reine Hortense*, then only did the sultan come forth from his state cabin. He then advanced along the deck, and, with much deference, greeted his visitors. Neither the prince nor the duke offered to shake hands with him. Had they done so, it would have been a violation of the rules of Turkish etiquette. What they did was

simply to uncover when he touched his fez, and they remained standing, bareheaded, behind him. His imperial highness wore a dark-blue surtout, richly embroidered with bullion lace upon the breast and half-way up the sleeves. His head-dress was a plain red fez, and he wore, hanging by his side, a scimitar, the scabbard of which was shagreen. The ribbon of Medjidie adorned his breast, which was also decorated with the stars of several orders. His personal appearance was below the middle stature, and somewhat portly, though not heavy. The expression of his countenance conveyed the idea of indifference, rather than of want of intelligence or incapacity to appreciate the features of the scene with which he was surrounded. His suite consisted of no fewer than fifty-nine persons, among whom were some of great official dignity. One of these especially attracted attention. This was Hairoullah Effendi, his majesty's chief almoner, wearing an ample cloak and a large turban. His garments were of the colour of green, thereby suggesting that he had either performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, or was a descendant of the prophet. The great respect shown to him by all the others was a sufficient indication of his importance in their estimation. Conspicuous, also, was the grand vizier, Fuad Pasha, an elderly, thoughtful-looking man, who seemed to pay but slight attention to the scene passing around him, engaging himself mostly in conversing with the young Prince Izzedin Effendi, heir-apparent to the Ottoman empire. This prince was no more, in point of appearance, than a mere lad, and, unlike most of the Turks of high rank, was almost as dark as a Spaniard. His resemblance to his father was remarkably striking, which was, perhaps, rendered more effective from their both being dressed as nearly as possible alike, and wearing similar uniform, ribands, and orders. Indeed, Prince Izzedin seemed the sultan in miniature. Near him stood the sons of the late sultan, and the nephews of Murad Effendi and Hamil Effendi; but the uniforms of these were of a less showy and, apparently, costly description than those of many of the others present. There were Arab chiefs, Circassian nobles, and Albanian magnates, clad in velvet jackets, exquisitely embroidered; although none of these chiefs might be equal to many of the others in point of rank, notwithstanding that they far surpassed them in the splendour of their costume.

When his majesty and suite arrived in the metropolis, he was received with the warmest acclamations, and reached Buckingham Palace at about three o'clock. Here he was received by a guard of honour formed by the Grenadier Guards, and greeted with a royal salute; the band of the regiment in the court-yard playing the Turkish National Hymn. The rooms set apart for his majesty were those generally designated the Belgian suite; and now that he has at last arrived at a place of rest, and been received by the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Steward, the Master of the Household, and other principal officers of the Queen's town residence, he may safely be left to the enjoyments of his pipe, his peace, and his repose.

When England undertakes to dispense her hospitality to an illustrious stranger, all that wealth can produce, that art can exhibit, and that pleasure can bestow, is laid under contribution, to mark her high sense of the honour conferred upon her. That this was the case in respect to the visit of the sultan, none felt it to be so more than he himself did; and for a period of twelve days, Orientalism was *fêted* in every possible form in the great city of London. Spectacles and entertainments succeeded each other, day after day, with the same certainty that hour follows hour, until the strength of both the sultan and his suite was exhausted by the northern energy of the English people. On the 23rd, his majesty took farewell of Buckingham Palace, where he had resided twelve days, and whence he took his departure for Dover. On the morning of his leaving London, her majesty the Queen telegraphed from Osborne the following expression of kindness and hope, which he duly received:—"Osborne, July 23rd, 9 A.M.—I offer to the sultan my best wishes for his safe return home, and every good wish for his welfare and happiness."—Abdul Azziz Khan at once telegraphed an acknowledgment in French, and in which he stated, that he should "bear in eternal remembrance the agreeable days which he had passed on the hospitable soil of England.'

On the day immediately preceding that on which the sultan took his departure, the French imperial steam-yacht, *Reine Hortense*, with her majesty the Empress of the French on board, arrived at Portsmouth. She had left Havre early in the morning, and, after a pleasant passage of eight hours, anchored in the vicinity of the Spit Buoy. A party of ladies and gentlemen from the yacht, including, it was supposed, the empress, landed at Southsea in the morning, and spent some time on the esplanade and common, partaking of luncheon at the Pier Hotel. Shortly before two o'clock, the *Reine Hortense* again weighed anchor, and steamed slowly past the fleet at Spithead for Osborne, where the empress arrived on a visit to her majesty the Queen, soon after 3 P.M. As the empress was *incognito*, the yacht hoisted no standard.

Amongst all these visits, personal and otherwise, there was another of a very different character, but still important, as having reference to a military movement, which the country at large looked upon with a considerable degree of pride and gratification. The same month of July which brought the Viceroy of

Egypt and the Sultan of Turkey to the shores of England, also brought a large party of Belgian volunteers, who had, on this occasion, been invited, in recognition of the liberal and magnificent reception extended to a body of the English volunteer force, at Brussels, during the preceding year. Still, appreciating and recollecting the extraordinary kindness with which the English had been received in the Belgian capital, they were naturally desirous of making a return to their brethren in arms, in some degree commensurate with the favours conferred upon themselves. Accordingly, the Prince of Wales stepped forward to lend his countenance to the object in view; and, under his patronage, a programme of entertainments and celebrations was drawn up in such a manner as was deemed the most likely to amuse and gratify the continental visitors. They arrived in London on the 11th of the month, her majesty's Indian troop-ship, *Serapis*, bringing them from Warden Channel, about twenty miles below Antwerp. On reaching Gravesend, they were received by the members of the reception committee, and brought up the Thames to quarters prepared for them in the great metropolis. After enjoying themselves to the full, and receiving every attention which their English brethren in arms could bestow upon them, they took their departure on the 22nd. They proceeded on board eight steam-vessels at Westminster Bridge, passing down the river amidst the vociferous acclamations of vast multitudes of people who crowded both the bridges and such streets as, in some measure, overlook the Thames. Arrived at Gravesend, they re-embarked in the transport-ship, *Serapis*, which conveyed them safely to Antwerp.

The "murder," as it was termed, of the Emperor Maximilian in Mexico, arising out of the ill-judged intervention of the French in the affairs of that country, was noticed in the House of Lords; and Lord Stratford de Redcliffe gave notice of a motion for an address to the Queen, expressing condolence and indignation at the violence done to humanity by the execution of the prince, who had been shot by the opposite party in the political struggle in Mexico. The motion, however, was withdrawn, on account of its being likely to draw on a discussion on the whole of the Mexican question—a circumstance, in the existing state of political feeling, not to be desired.

A case, however, which touched more nearly the sensibilities of the British people, was that of several of their countrymen in Abyssinia; held in durance by the semi-barbarous sovereign of that country, King Theodore, upon whom no negotiations which had yet taken place seemed to have produced the slightest effect in forcing even the appearance of their being released. Inquiries had, from time to time, been addressed to the government by various members of the House, respecting the efforts which had been made to effect the deliverance of the captives; but the answers returned were far from satisfactory. Therefore, a short time before the close of the session, Mr. H. D. Seymour called attention to the condition of the Abyssinian captives; and moved an address, praying her majesty to take steps to have them set free, by force of arms if necessary. He discussed, at length, the various objections to the sending of an expedition for the purpose of enforcing their enlargement; contending that the proper course was to forward an *ultimatum*, demanding their release within a certain time; and following it up, if unsuccessful, by despatching an armed force, which, it was his belief would, with very little difficulty, reach the vital point of Theodore's power. Until certain inquiries were made, however, the government declined to give any pledge as to what were its intentions.

On the 15th of July, Sir Stafford Northcote said, in answer to a question put by Colonel Sykes, that no troops had been told-off at Bombay, with the view of despatching them to Abyssinia; but that government had entered into a correspondence, which it was hoped would lead to the release of the captives. No measures of force were contemplated. On the 8th of August following, just before the close of the session, Lord Stanley said, that the last information he had received respecting the Abyssinian prisoners, was dated on the 20th of July; and it was to the effect that a rebel army was in sight of King Theodore's camp; and that communication between the camp and the place where the prisoners were confined was cut off; but it was premature to assume that the prisoners had obtained their freedom.

On the 15th of August, the royal assent was given to the Reform Bill; and the rest of the business of the session having, in a few days afterwards, been brought to a close, the time had arrived when the members of the legislature looked to be relieved from their duties in parliament. Accordingly, on the 21st, the House was, by commission, prorogued, the Lord Chancellor reading the following royal speech, which may be viewed as a *résumé* of the principal work of the session:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—I am happy to be able to release you from the labours of a long and more than usually eventful session; and to offer you my acknowledgments for the successful diligence with which you have applied yourselves to your parliamentary duties.

"My relations with foreign countries continue on a friendly footing.

"At the commencement of the present year, great fears were entertained that differences which had arisen

between France and Prussia might have led to a war, of which it was impossible to foresee the ultimate result. Happily, the advice tendered by my government, and by those of the other neutral states, aided by the moderation of the two powers chiefly interested, sufficed to avert the threatened calamity; and I trust that no ground, at present, exists for apprehending any disturbance of the general peace.

"The communications which I have made to the reigning monarch of Abyssinia, with a view to obtain the release of the British subjects whom he detains in his dominions, have, I regret to say, thus far proved ineffectual. I have, therefore, found it necessary to address to him a peremptory demand for their immediate liberation, and to take measures for supporting that demand, should it be necessary to resort to force.

"The treasonable conspiracy in Ireland broke out, in the early part of the present year, in a futile attempt at insurrection. That it was suppressed almost without bloodshed, is due not more to the disciplined valour of my troops, and to the admirable conduct of the police, than to the general loyalty of the population, and the absence of any token of sympathy with the insurgents on the part of any considerable portion of my subjects. I rejoice that the supremacy of the law was vindicated without imposing on me the painful necessity of sacrificing a single life.

"The bill for the abolition of certain local exemptions from taxation, enabled me to avail myself of a liberal concession made, in anticipation, by the Emperor of the French, whereby several taxes were removed which pressed heavily upon British shipping.

"I have concluded a postal convention with the United States of America, whereby the rate of postage between the two countries will be diminished by one-half; and further arrangements are in progress for increasing the intercourse between this country and the continent of North America.

"The act for the union of the British North American provinces, is the final accomplishment of a scheme long contemplated, whereby those colonies, now combined in one dominion, may be expected not only to gain additional strength for the purpose of defence against external aggression, but may be united among themselves by fresh ties of mutual interest, and attached to the mother country by the only bonds which can effectually secure such important dependencies—those of loyalty to the crown and attachment to British connexion."

After thanking the gentlemen of the House of Commons for the liberal supplies they had voted for the public service, parliament was prorogued to November, and many of the members visited their constituencies.

CHAPTER CXXIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1867—1869.



ON the prorogation of the Houses of Parliament in the latter part of August, there was no anticipation of their being again summoned to meet before the usual period in the following year. Time, however, develops necessities in the conduct of human affairs. Accordingly, the public were somewhat surprised when it became known that an autumnal session had been resolved upon, in order that government might be provided with the means of carrying into immediate effect the resolution which the persistent refusal of King Theodore, of Abyssinia, to set free his British captives, had forced them to adopt. Although the proposed expedition to Abyssinia was really the only question which at this time required promptly to be disposed of, the ministers deemed it the best course to make the present meeting the commencement of the session, notwithstanding that it necessitated a somewhat premature statement of measures in the opening speech from the throne. On the 19th of November the two Houses were summoned to meet. Accordingly, on that day, the session of 1867-'68 was opened by commission. In the royal speech, the following passage relative to the Abyssinian question occurred:—

"The sovereign of Abyssinia, in violation of all international law, continues to hold in captivity several of my subjects, some of whom have been specially accredited to him by myself; and his persistent disregard of friendly representations has left me no alternative but that of making a peremptory demand for the liberation of my subjects, and supporting it by an adequate force. I have accordingly directed an expedition to be sent for that purpose alone, and I confidently rely upon the support and co-operation of my parliament in my endeavour at once to relieve their country-

men from an unjust imprisonment, and to vindicate the honour of my crown."

Here, then, was intimated the chief cause of the assembling of parliament; and papers upon the subject were forthwith directed to be laid before the House. In both Houses of Parliament, the debate which took place upon her majesty's speech was marked by great unanimity, and an entire absence of all party feeling on the subject of the Abyssinian expedition. Some notice was taken of a convention which had been effected between France and Italy; regarding which, Earl Russell observed that he considered intervention in the internal affairs of other countries injurious to the interests of Europe; and the Earl of Derby did not think it necessary for his government to express any opinion on the matter whatever. "Those countries alone were concerned with it; nor would the government intimate any opinion with regard to the French expedition to Rome, though it was open to them to express a hope, that all chance of a misunderstanding between those countries might be prevented by the withdrawal of those troops."

On the 26th of November, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a committee of the whole House, moved a vote of credit of £2,000,000 for the Abyssinian expedition. In performing this duty, he assumed that its object would be attained by the end of April in the following year, which would be at the termination of the healthy season; and then roughly calculated the cost of the expedition at £3,500,000, with, perhaps, an additional sum of £300,000, if it should be necessary to replace in India the Indian troops which were already in Abyssinia. This, then, would bring the estimate to £4,000,000; £2,000,000 of which were asked for now, because only that sum could be spent within the present financial year, and because, if King Theodore should surrender the captives without war actually taking place, that sum would about represent the cost of placing Sir R. Napier at the head of a sufficient force in Abyssinia. The vote was agreed to; but there was this next consideration—how was the sum to be raised?

At this period, Mr. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was, by illness, confined to his house, and the duty of laying the propositions of the government before the House, devolved upon the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Ward Hunt. In a committee of ways and means, this gentleman stated the views of the government as to what was deemed the best mode of raising the sum required. Accordingly, after making a statement, he concluded by moving a resolution imposing an additional income-tax of one penny in the pound for the year ending April 1st, 1868. After a somewhat desultory discussion the resolution was adopted. Sir Stafford Northcote then moved a resolution for charging on the Indian revenues the ordinary pay of the Indian troops and shipping employed in the expedition, with the proviso, that the expense of replacing them, if necessary, should be borne by the British treasury. This was also debated and protested against by Colonel Sykes; but, on a division, it was carried by a majority of 175.

As the expedition to Abyssinia had now not only been determined upon, but provided for; and as it had been declared by the Earl of Derby, that "it was the firm intention of her majesty's government that nothing further than the release of the prisoners should be attempted, and when that was accomplished, that the force would at once return from Abyssinia," the events connected with the short war may very briefly be summarised. It has been shown that the liberation of the captives had in vain been demanded, and that Theodore obstinately detained them in custody, though a rebellion had broken out in his own dominions. At the close of 1867, an army of 11,770 men, under General Napier, was, from Bombay, despatched against him. On the 3rd of January, in the following year, this force landed in Annerley Bay. A march of 400 miles had to be performed, through rocky defiles and over steep and precipitous ranges of mountains. This was accomplished. Interposing difficulties were either pushed aside or overcome, and on the 10th of April, the Abyssinians were encountered and defeated at a place near Magdala. King Theodore now liberated his prisoners, but would come to no specific terms with the invading power. His capital, Magdala, was besieged, taken, and destroyed, while he himself blew out his own brains with a pistol. The object being accomplished, the invading force evacuated Abyssinia.

On the 25th of February (1868), Lord Malmesbury in the House of Lords, and Lord Stanley in the House of Commons, announced that, in consequence of failing health, the Earl of Derby was obliged to tender his resignation to her majesty. As it had been accepted, parliament agreed to adjourn till the 28th; when, however, another adjournment took place to give time for a reconstruction of the ministry. When this was accomplished a new era had arrived in English politics. Lord Derby had ceased to be premier, and Mr. Disraeli reigned in his stead. The retirement of Lord Derby from office, dissolved, in substance as well as in form, the administration of which he was the head, notwithstanding that the members of the new cabinet, with the exception of the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Walpole, were the same as the members of the preceding cabinet. Lord Stanley was still Foreign Secretary, while Mr. Hardy continued to direct the internal administration; Sir Stafford Northcote continued to instruct and guide

the governor-general of India, but under Disraeli instead of Derby.

"In Lord Derby," observes a writer in one of the leading *Reviews* of the period, "the Tory government has lost the advantage of a great historical name and a brilliant parliamentary reputation. Had he been born in a humble station of life, his abilities must have raised him to eminence. Endowed with the twofold capacity of rapid acquisition and well-regulated diligence, Lord Derby could not have failed to make his way into parliament, where his unsurpassed power of debating would have secured for him the distinction which the possession of wealth and rank has not prevented him from earning. But in addition to signal intellectual endowments, Lord Derby was fortunate in possessing the highest advantages of station. Heir to the second earldom in the realm, he was superior to the seductions of a loftier dignity. Heir, too, to a princely estate, he was placed far above the sordid attractions of official emoluments. From every point of view he was qualified to play a conspicuous and elevated part in the government of the country. Nor were those qualities wanting which, though they are not indispensable, are still highly useful to a leader of men. There have been some men more eloquent as orators than Lord Derby, though none have been more effective as debaters; and there have been many men with cooler and calmer judgment than he could boast of. But few statesmen of our era have been more gifted with that ease and playfulness which wins at once the affection and the homage of parliamentary adherents."

As resignation of office is not necessarily deprivation of life, it is not yet the time to discuss the character of Lord Derby; therefore, leaving the late political peer for the new literary premier, the same writer thus discusses his qualifications for the office to which he has just been elevated.

"The literary member of parliament has for many years led the Conservative party in the House of Commons. He has been thrice Chancellor of the Exchequer, and is now first minister of the English crown. What are the prospects of the country under his administration? What is to be the issue of the great political questions of the day in his hands? The answer to these questions is not difficult. The simple fact is, that the whole of Mr. Disraeli's antecedent history is fatal to the presumption of Mr. Disraeli's ministerial success. The character of a great minister is as different as possible from that of a great orator. It is most widely different from an orator whose special gifts are those of sarcasm and invective. * * * Mr. Disraeli reminded the House the other day, that he had spent nearly half his life within its walls; and undoubtedly, both as a tactician and an orator, he has played a prominent part there. But we question whether another example can be produced of a man of equal eminence, having thrice filled a great office, and long led a large party, whose influence on the practical legislation of the country has been so small. We are not aware that Mr. Disraeli ever brought any bill into parliament, whether in or out of office, with the smallest pretensions to originality or public utility, of which he can be regarded as the author. He has improved none of our institutions. He has, in fact, left the whole complex machinery of government untouched, except in as far as it served the party purpose he was pursuing in the House of Commons. The bearing of a question upon his party and parliamentary interests is the only aspect of it which ever appears to cross his mind. Of political conceptions reduced to the form of useful laws, his whole career affords no rudiments, and, therefore, no vestige of them."

The severity with which the new premier was handled by many of the public journals, who had recollected the sharpness of his own sarcastic sallies, was not calculated to surround his position with a halo of joy or satisfaction. His legislative achievements, as well as his administrative services, were both held and spoken of, as having been very deficient in practical benefit to the country. Indeed, he had not had the training necessary to fill successfully the great and responsible position to which he had been raised. "Ministers like Lord Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, and even Lord Derby, had the advantage of an immense amount of official and administrative experience in every branch of public affairs, which rendered them the fittest persons in the kingdom to form a correct judgment on the innumerable questions of detail daily arising around them." Of all this, Mr. Disraeli never had experience. He never filled any of the secondary administrative offices. "On his entry into the cabinet he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, with indifferent financial success, until he hit upon the judicious expedient of following in the footsteps of his predecessor. But, on every other subject, his knowledge is necessarily second-hand. Foreign affairs, colonial affairs, Ireland, law-reform, military and naval armaments, India, trade, education—these are, all and each, subjects which a statesman knows thoroughly by no other means than by constant application to them, and, above all, by handling them himself." With special details of all or most of these questions, it was presumed that Mr. Disraeli was not very well acquainted; and as the world could not be governed by rhetoric, in which he had some excellence, or a difficult problem of administration be solved by sarcasm, in which he was notably keen, he was not deemed a very suitable person for the premiership. A

short time, however, would solve the problem of his suitability or otherwise.

Parliament had been prorogued from the 19th of November (1867), and again on the 31st of July (1868) to the 8th of October; and thence to the 26th of November. During this period there were many acts passed, of both a public and a private nature; and, among the former, there were two giving an extended parliamentary reform to Scotland, as well as to the sister island. A third abolished compulsory church-rates—a measure which conferred upon rate-payers the power of fixing the rating for themselves. On the 11th of November, a dissolution of parliament took place; and, at the general election, the Conservatives returned showed such a weakness in the party, that Mr. Disraeli determined to resign. "Never in our history—certainly not within the history of living man—has there been an occasion on which the issue raised at a general election was more intelligibly and distinctly raised, than when the late House of Commons, condemned by the government of the day, was summoned to the bar of popular opinion, there to receive its final acquittal or condemnation. Every man who had to give his suffrage, throughout the country, knew for or against what that suffrage was to be given; and, if the issue was distinct, the verdict has also been distinct; for upon no occasion has the nation made its meaning more clearly known, or laid down—alike for those who are the objects of its preference, and for those whose opinions it was disposed to put aside—with greater clearness, the lines of public policy and of action." Such was the language used by Mr. Gladstone, on the first public occasion that he had an opportunity of speaking after he succeeded to the position of Mr. Disraeli, as the new minister. The language was exultant; but not more so than was justified by the occasion.

Before entering upon the political work of 1869, it may be observed that, up to the 12th of May of the preceding year, the Queen may be considered to have still kept herself almost entirely secluded from the public view. On the above date, however, she came forth and laid the first stone of the new hospital of St. Thomas, erected on the south bank of the Thames, opposite the Houses of Parliament. In the following month of August, under the title of the Duchess of Kent, she left England for Lucerne, for the improvement of her health. After an absence of about a month, she returned to Windsor Castle. In the spring of the same year, the Duke of Edinburgh was cruising off Australia; and taking the opportunity of landing on that southern territory, he was enthusiastically received by the colonists. Whilst being publicly entertained at Clontarf, near Sydney, he was shot in the back by an Irishman. The wound, though serious, did not prove mortal; and his royal highness was conveyed on board his ship, which soon after took her departure for Great Britain. He arrived in England in the month of June, where he remained until his recovery became complete. In April, the Prince and Princess of Wales paid a visit to Ireland, where they were warmly received by the people; and after sojourning for nearly a fortnight, and receiving the most open-hearted attentions of every description, they returned, well-pleased with their visit.

On Mr. Disraeli's resignation of office, the Queen wished him to accept of a seat in the House of Peers; but this he declined: and, on the 28th of November, her majesty created Mrs. Disraeli Viscountess Beaconsfield, of Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire.

The preliminary proceedings usually necessary in constituting a new parliament, such as the election of a Speaker, swearing-in of the members, and moving new writs to fill vacancies produced by the acceptance of offices, had been accomplished immediately before the close of the preceding year. The new House of Commons might, therefore, already be considered as in a state of working order, but was, for the despatch of business, adjourned until the 16th of February (1869), the recent accession to power of the new ministers necessitating a short interval for the preparation of such measures as they wished to bring before the country. It was on the 16th, therefore, that the practical opening of the session took place by commission, the Lord Chancellor, as usual, reading the royal speech. It noticed the condition of Ireland; recommended an inquiry into the modes of conducting parliamentary and municipal elections; and invited attention to bills for the extension and improvement of education in Scotland. In reference to Irish ecclesiastical arrangements, it was observed, that legislation would be necessary, and would make large demands upon the wisdom of the House. "I am persuaded that, in the prosecution of the work, you will bear a careful regard to every legitimate interest which it may involve; and that you will be governed by the constant aim to promote the welfare of religion through the principles of equal justice; to secure the action of the undivided feeling and opinion of Ireland on the side of loyalty and law; to efface the memory of former contentions; and to cherish the sympathies of an affectionate people." These were the terms in which legislation upon the Irish church were expressed—of the most general description, no doubt, from a laudable desire to avoid even the appearance of conveying a challenge to the opponents of the new government. In the upper House, the address was agreed to without a division; but in the lower House, previous to its being moved, Mr. Gladstone gave notice that, "on the 1st of March, he should move that the acts relating to the Irish church establishment, and

to the grant to Maynooth College, and, also, the resolution of the House of Commons in 1868, be read; and that the House should then resolve itself into a committee, to consider the said acts and resolutions." After this, the address was debated, and ultimately agreed to. It was proposed by the premier, and concurred in by the House, that her majesty should, on account of the recent electoral political changes which had taken place, receive the address in person; but the serious illness of Prince Leopold was the cause of its being abandoned. Accordingly, the address was presented in the ordinary way, and answered by her majesty in the usual terms.

A plan for facilitating public legislation excited a little interest, but resulted in no measure of consequence; when further securities against the spread of contagious diseases among cattle came before the House. Upon this subject there were two rival propositions made—one by Lord R. Montagu; the other, proposed on the part of the government, by Mr. Forster, which ultimately became law. Lord Montagu's measure was rejected by a considerable majority. A government bill for the repression of crime was next debated, and read a second time.

The political path being now cleared for the debate on the great question of the session of 1869—namely, "The disestablishment of the Irish church"—the 1st of March had arrived, and the work was about to commence. On that day Mr. Gladstone rose in his place, before a crowded assembly, the very avenues being thronged by the many who were anxious to hear the accents of the premier on this exciting occasion. Having moved that the titles of the acts relating to the Irish church and to Maynooth College, and the resolution of the House in 1868, be read, he next moved, that the House do immediately resolve itself into a committee to consider the same. This being done, the minister proceeded to unfold his plan; and for three hours he kept the House hanging upon his lips. A more masterly or luminous statement of a highly complicated scheme has rarely been made within the walls of the House of Commons. After prefacing his subject by an exordium, in which he rapidly reviewed the previous history of the question, he answered by anticipation some of the objections to his measure. Recalling the pledges which had been given by those who had undertaken to deal with the subject, he prescribed, as conditions essential to his scheme, that an immediate end should be put to the establishment and the public endowment of the Irish church; that it should be complete, yet, at the same time, liberal, though still prompt in its operation, and final in every respect. He divided his description of the bill into three parts—its immediate effect; its effect at a certain time, fixed (but not unalterably) at January 1, 1871; and its operation; when, what he called the "process of winding-up" the affairs of the Irish church was brought to a close. Briefly, it may be noticed, that on the first head, the bill provided that the present ecclesiastical commission should at once be wound up, and a commission appointed for ten years, in which the property of the Irish church, subject to life interests, would be vested from the time of the passing of the bill. So that, technically as well as legally, there would be an immediate disendowment of the Irish church. Disestablishment would be postponed until the 1st of January, 1871. At that date the union between the churches of England and Ireland would be dissolved; all ecclesiastical corporations would be abolished; the ecclesiastical courts would cease; and the ecclesiastical laws would no longer be binding, as laws, except that they would be understood to exist as the terms of the voluntary contract between clergy and laity, until they were altered by the governing body of the disestablished church.

Such were the principal general features of the bill, the details of which were necessarily extremely elaborate and complicated, but, nevertheless, evolved by Mr. Gladstone with a perspicuity and precision which displayed at once both the capacity of his intellect and the power of his eloquence. His arrangement was so skilful, and the order of the different topics so admirably disposed, that the clearness of his scheme was not only at once recognised without effort, but *felt*, so that the acclamations with which it was received by his supporters were both loud and long. Mr. Disraeli, now acting as leader of the opposition, rose at its conclusion, and after passing a warm eulogy on the speech, in which, he said, "not one word could be spared," said that his own opinion, as well as that of those who acted with him, remained unchanged; that disestablishment was a political error, and disendowment—especially when accompanied by secularisation—mere and sheer confiscation. He did not, however, offer to oppose the introduction of the bill; although he would have done so, had circumstances been different from what they were: but looking to the verdict of the country at the late general election, which he interpreted to mean that the new premier should have an opportunity of dealing with the question of the Irish church; and, also, taking into consideration the action of the late government on that verdict, he thought that, in fairness, Mr. Gladstone ought not to be opposed in submitting his policy to the House. He advised, therefore, that no opposition on his side should be given to the motion, although he pressed for a delay of three weeks before the second reading. To this the prime minister objected; but, after a brief discussion, it was agreed that the 18th of March should be fixed for the second reading.

Before the day fixed upon for the second reading of the bill, a notice was given in the House, that Mr. Disraeli would move an amendment, negativing, in the usual form, the further progress of the measure. Nevertheless, the debate on the second reading commenced on the 18th, and by successive adjournments was continued to the 23rd, the day on which it had been proposed that an adjournment for the Easter holidays should take place. During the four evenings occupied in debating the measure, many powerful and brilliant speeches were delivered, and signally displayed the intellectual character of the House of Commons when any great question involving high interests is brought before it. The speech of Sir Roundell Palmer was listened to with the greatest interest, on account both of his character and position. This eminent lawyer, though politically attached to the Liberal party and its chief, was not prepared to give consent to their plan of entirely disestablishing the Irish church, and had made considerable sacrifices for the sake of his own convictions on the question. It was generally understood that, on its account, he had declined promotion to the highest prize in his profession. Yet it was known that he was willing to consent to a very extensive change and reduction in the establishment, although not inclined to go all the length of the government; still he possessed no sympathy with the Conservatives in opposing the proposed reform. Under these circumstances, his opinions were listened to with deep interest, when, after delivering them, in opening the third night of the debate, he concluded by urging the Irish church to reject the advice which Mr. Disraeli had given, to hold themselves back from co-operating in its organisation. After several others had spoken, Mr. Gladstone made his final reply, when a division, amidst great excitement, took place, and showed a majority of 118 for the second reading of the bill. After the Easter recess, the bill was again, clause by clause, discussed in committee; and on the third reading, the debate was closed by a division, which gave a majority of 114. Thus was the bill passed in the House of Commons, and afterwards sent up to the House of Lords, there to await its destiny.

On the 14th of June, the House of Lords was a scene of great excitement and attraction, for on that day the second reading of the Irish Church Bill was to be moved by Earl Granville. The galleries of the House were thronged with the wives and daughters of peers; the steps of the throne were crowded with their eldest sons and with privy councillors; at the bar was collected a vast body of members of the House of Commons, and the corridors and approaches to the House were filled with strangers, testifying the greatest eagerness for admission to the assembly. All human appearances bore evidence of the general feeling pervading the community, that an event which should make a memorable passage in the subsequent history of the country was about to take place, and a great constitutional question on the eve of receiving its final settlement. In this scene Earl Granville moved the second reading of the bill, on which the debate began. This was distinguished by much ability; and no peer was listened to with more interest than the Earl of Derby, who, on this occasion made his last great appearance in parliament. The noble earl spoke with much of his usual energy and force; but his power had evidently waned. The glow of freshness and fire which distinguished the eloquence of former years had passed away, and the brilliancy of his manner was gone. He was an orator no more. Time, which makes its inroads upon the powers of all men, had impaired those of the Earl of Derby, and his recent severe sufferings were apparent in his physical infirmity. In closing his observations on the bill, he uttered a few pathetic words, which disclaimed any title, on his part, to be viewed as leading the Conservative party, but intimated his own fixed determination to vote against the second reading of the bill, which he stigmatised as alike impolitic and immoral. On the division at the close of the debate, there was a majority of 33 for the second reading of the bill.

After amendments had been discussed, and the bill declared passed, the following protest was signed by Lord Derby and forty-three temporal and two spiritual peers against the third reading:—

"Dissentient—1. Because this bill, for the first time since the foundation of the British monarchy, introduces, so far as Ireland is concerned, the principle, unrecognised in any other country in Europe, of an entire severance of the state from the support of any and every form of religious worship.

"2. Because the adoption of this principle, with regard to Ireland, cannot but give great encouragement to the designs of those who desire its extension to every part of the United Kingdom.

"3. Because it is a violent stretch of the power of parliament to resume a grant made by itself in perpetuity; still more to confiscate property held by long prescription, and by a title independent of parliament.

"4. Because, if this principle be well founded, as regards private property, it is still more so with regard to that which has been solemnly set apart for the purposes of religion and the service of Almighty God.

"5. Because the legislation attempted in this bill tends to shake confidence in all property, and especially in that which rests upon a parliamentary title, heretofore considered as the most unassailable of all.

"6. Because it is impossible to place a church, dis-

established and disendowed, and bound together only by the tie of a voluntary association, on a footing of equality with the perfect organisation of the church of Rome, whereby, especially in Ireland, the laity are made completely subservient to the priesthood, the priests to the bishops, and the bishops themselves are subject to the uncontrolled authority of a foreign potentate.

"7. Because this bill will be felt as a grievous injustice by the Protestants of Ireland, who, through their Irish parliament, surrendered their political independence by a treaty, the fundamental condition of which was the greater security of the Protestant establishment.

"8. Because, while this measure will tend to alienate those who have hitherto been the firmest supporters of the British throne and British connexion, so far from conciliating—much less satisfying—it will only stimulate to fresh demands that large portion of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland which looks forward to ulterior and very different objects; and, above all, to ultimate emancipation from the control of the British legislature."

Some of the amendments proposed and carried in the House of Lords, bore so strongly upon the main principles of the bill, that it appeared to many politicians that a split between the two Houses of Parliament might not improbably occur. Accordingly, when the 15th of July arrived, the day on which the Lords' amendments to the Irish Church Bill stood as the order of the day in the House of Commons, expectation was at its height to know what was then to be said. Therefore, when Mr. Gladstone rose in his place to move that these amendments might be considered, he was greeted with a burst of cheers by his supporters. His tone was calm, but firm and decided, as he proposed—

To disagree with the amendment in the preamble; with the alteration in the date of disestablishment; with the abolition in the deduction on account of the tax to the ecclesiastical commissioners; with the building charges amendments; the Ulster glebes amendment; the deduction of the poor-rate from the tithe-rent purchase; the "concurrent endowment;" and the postponement of the disposal of the residuary property. The fourteen years' commutation, and the amendments affecting curates, would also be disagreed with, but with modifications in the original clauses. The only amendments to be agreed to, were the half million to be given for private endowments, and another one, on clause 20, for the protection of annuitants.

Mr. Disraeli could not help expressing his regret at hearing that the government proposed the rejection of the Lords' amendments *en masse*, and exhorted the House to moderation and fairness; pointing out that there was nothing of defiance or antagonism in the attitude which the Lords had assumed. This sentiment, however, drew forth some expressions of dissent, and Mr. Gladstone briefly reviewed the effect of the amendments of the Lords on the disendowment scheme. The difference or disagreement between the two Houses now seemed to be widening; but, after mutual explanations, a compromise was effected, when the bill passed, and on the 26th of July it received the royal assent.

Thus were the debates and disputes in reference to the Irish Church Bill of 1869 brought to a termination. The principle of the measure was a subject of the keenest controversy, giving rise to differences of opinion, maintained on each side with intense ardour. As to the construction of the bill, all parties seem to have been agreed upon the fact of its having been constructed with extraordinary skill. Originally it was presented to parliament in a well-digested form, and was singularly brief in its enactments, these being so elaborated as to provide against almost every contingency, and to meet all the varieties of cases involved in the bill. It was carried through its various stages in the face of a united and powerful opposition, chiefly by the resolute will and unflinching energy of the prime minister, who, throughout the trying discussions, in which he took the most prominent part, displayed, in an eminent degree, those qualities of acuteness, dialectic power, and thorough possession of the whole scope of the subject, for which he had long been conspicuous, but which he never more signally exhibited than on this occasion. In forming an ultimate estimate of the character of the bill, whatever may be the differences of opinion upon its merits or demerits, it can hardly be disputed that the act for disestablishing the Irish Church, introduced and carried into law within the period of five months, is the most remarkable legislative achievement which the 19th century has, up to this time, produced.

Now that the Irish church had been dismissed, the question of finance came before the House; and, as Mr. Lowe had become Chancellor of the Exchequer, curiosity was, to a considerable extent, aroused to see his statement. From his character, every one expected that his plans would bear the stamp of originality; and that it would not be unlikely he would strike out some new way by which the tax-payer would not only be enlightened but relieved. Circumstances, however, were against him; the chief of which was the inheritance, from his immediate predecessor, of a heavy deficiency caused by the Abyssinian campaign; whilst the revenue, which had so long been buoyant, began to evince symptoms of a sinking tendency. Nothing daunted, however, Mr. Lowe developed his budget, and,

after leading his hearers to the brink of despair, he, as unexpectedly as suddenly, gave them a sort of dramatic surprise by showing them a way out of all their financial difficulties; so that when they were wound up to expect an increase of their burthens, he disclosed a means by which they would obtain substantial relief. This result was presented in the shape of a valuable administrative reform, which should not only simplify and render more convenient the collection of the imposts, but should effect a permanent diminution in their amount.

It was not to be expected that the results desired by the Chancellor of the Exchequer were to be obtained without something being paid for them; and an equivalent for his reforms was proposed to be raised by requiring, in anticipation, the payment of certain taxes heretofore made payable at a later date. By collecting these at the commencement of the year, and so bringing the produce within the current financial year, instead of the following year, the Chancellor calculated that he would obtain a surplus revenue for the twelve months between April, 1869, and April, 1870, when otherwise there would have been a deficit. "The effect was similar to that which an individual—for example, a landowner—would experience, who, having been accustomed to receive, within each year, an income compounded by the rents of the latter half of the preceding year, and of the former half of the current year, should induce his tenants to agree to a new mode of collection, under which the whole of the rents of each year would be paid within that period; the back rent of the previous year being, at the commencement of the new system, paid, as well as its own proper rent, within the first year after the change. He would then, for the first year—but, of course, for that year only—receive three half-years' rents in twelve months. In a similar manner the Chancellor proposed dealing with the taxpayer, tempting him, by the offer of sundry remissions and reductions in his burdens, to consent to pay up, in the course of the year 1870, assessed and other taxes which would otherwise have been spread over a period of eighteen months." Various strictures, as a matter of course, were made upon the budget; but the entire scheme of Mr. Lowe, almost unaltered from the shape in which it was produced, received the sanction of parliament.

Various miscellaneous measures now occupied the time of the House; and among them a bill for raising the sum required for the purchase of the telegraphs by the government. There were several protests made against this measure, but it was finally agreed to. A bill for marriage with a deceased wife's sister was introduced, and carried by a large majority on the second reading; but, after being repeatedly postponed, it was ultimately withdrawn. These measures, with some others of less general interest, brought the session to a close; when, on the 11th of August, parliament was prorogued by commission.

His highness Ismael Pasha, Viceroy of Egypt, paid a second visit to England, his first having taken place in 1867; and, during a brief stay of eight days, had his time completely occupied with *fêtes*, reviews, and banquets.—Another visitor was the King of the Belgians, who, accompanied by his daughter, the Princess Stephanie, arrived in the month of November, and received all the attention due to their rank. The king was presented with an address by the Lord Mayor of London, who said that it was a truly national one, from the fact of its being signed by no fewer than three hundred mayors, lords-lieutenant, and high sheriffs of counties, and other representative men. There was but one omission of a mayor's signature from the document, and that was caused by the absence from England of the mayor of Manchester, who had gone to Egypt to view the opening of the Suez Canal. He also received an address from the volunteers of the country, signed by a vast number of the officers commanding throughout the land. Other public features of his visit were marked by an equal display of the popular good-will towards King Leopold, who, at an entertainment given by the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress, was toasted as "the only European sovereign who had visited India; and who knew more about that portion of the British empire than most of the British people themselves did." On the 29th, the king and his daughter proceeded by train to Dover, and thence departed for Belgium.

If the death of a statesman, long prominent before the eyes of his country, can add anything to the memorable character of the year 1869, it may here be recorded, that Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, fourteenth Earl of Derby, died at his residence at Knowsley, near Liverpool, on the 23rd of October. He was born at Knowsley, on March 29, 1799, being the eldest son of the thirteenth earl—then only called Lord Stanley. In the history of his country the name appears as a statesman; but it is to the columns of the current "press" of his period that the annalist must turn for notices of his private actions. It was not the statesman so much as the man—ever brilliant and impulsive—that must win the admiration of his countrymen. "He was," says the *Times*, "a splendid specimen of an Englishman." To this it may be added, not only of an Englishman, but an English *nobleman*. In many respects he was a typical representative of that character, and an honour to his order. In great emergencies, as in the Lancashire cotton famine, his generous public spirit and munificence were fully displayed. He filled most of the

leading offices of state with honour, and played a conspicuous part in all the great political controversies which occurred during his half century of public life. He was three times called upon to assume the highest position to which a citizen of his country can aspire—prime minister of the crown; and his brilliant gifts, his powerful eloquence, and his intrepid spirit, gave force and fire to almost everything he said. He will long live in memory as one of the most remarkable men of his time.

The commercial features of the year could hardly be regarded with gratification. Although upwards of three years had elapsed since the general shock of 1866, as yet, there was, in reality, no healthy revival of trade. The cotton manufacture was restricted by an insufficient, as well as a dear supply, of the raw material, which necessarily enhanced the prices of manufactured fabrics, and checked a demand for them by the consumers. This state of trade was the cause of producing controversies between the employer and the workmen, on account of the fluctuations which took place in the rate of wages. Trades' unions employed the agencies at their command to sustain and endeavour to increase the price of labour; and masters loudly complained of the impediments thrown in the way of production by the vexatious proceedings of these societies. General complaints of the stagnation of trade grew more and more prevalent as winter approached. The labouring classes suffered from a scarcity of employment; and the increase of pauperism which had begun to manifest itself, especially in the English metropolis and its eastern suburbs, occasioned serious anxiety to those deputed to watch over the welfare of the people. These conditions, to some extent, led the way to a partial revival, in a few of the northern and midland towns, of the old cry for protection—disguised, however, under the more specious name of reciprocity. But whatever might have been the drawbacks upon the year, as a whole, at its termination a more hopeful feeling as to the future began to be entertained An overflowing quantity of bullion in the money-markets, both of England and France; the absence of disturbing political events; the impetus given to international commerce by the working of the Pacific Railway, and by the opening of the Suez Canal; the rapid extension of submarine telegraphy; and the improvement of railway property by the closing of capital accounts and the increase of traffic receipts, with other causes, contributed to impart a more confident tone to the commercial community, and to enlarge the field of profitable investment. The new bankruptcy law afforded further ground for confidence, from the promise which it gave of clearing the atmosphere of commerce from some of its corrupting elements. Other propitious circumstances were the unusually large supplies of foreign grain, all of which had already been paid for; and the indications of a buoyant state of the revenue, which, taken in conjunction with the retrenchment of expenditure in the public departments, seemed, in the mass, to point hopefully to a diminution of the public burdens, accompanied with a wider prosperity and more general content among the people.

CHAPTER CXXV.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1870.



AT the opening of the year 1870, the condition of Ireland, to the exclusion of all other topics, save the education of the people, occupied the minds of statesmen as well as those of the general public; and the subject was certainly one of great importance. The despatch of additional troops to that island, at the termination of 1869, had in some degree helped the people to suppress their seditious sentiments; but it was felt that quiet was not likely to last long, and that the discontented would, probably, be more violent than before when they did break forth in contempt of the powers that endeavoured to repress them. Whatever was to be hoped or feared from the ultimate results of the one great measure which had already been accomplished, and the other which, it was hoped, was about to be accomplished, there was little doubt that events had recently proved, and were further proving, that any display of gratitude on the part of the Irish people was not to be expected. Disestablishment, without apparently appeasing the Romanists, had irritated the Protestant party; and the promise of the Irish Land Bill naturally roused the tenant-farmers to make demands, which soon grew to be so large as to be beyond all reasonable bounds. Treason and disaffection seemed to be at their height; but it was evident that the government had resolved not to waver in its conciliatory policy; and with its large majority, the prospect was, that when

parliament met, it would be as likely to carry the land measure, as it had carried the act of disestablishment.

In the coming event of the legislation which was especially to affect Ireland, it was to be expected that much excitement would prevail among the people of that island; and, in the expectation of an effective Educational Bill, the people of England were stirred from one end of the kingdom to the other. One of those crises in her domestic history seemed to have arrived, when it was felt that action must take the place of mere talk, upon a question which, for some years past, had been exceedingly fertile in the produce of speech. Men of all views, and of opposite parties, appeared determined to establish, if possible, an efficient system of national elementary education; although, in reference to the best means to be adopted for this purpose, there was much disagreement in opinion. Broadly speaking, the two plans of the Manchester Union and the Birmingham League, represented the separate main branches of public sentiment on the question; the former being most favourably received in the rural or country districts, and the latter, advocating unsectarian education, in the towns and cities. So universally prevalent was the expression of a settled desire upon this matter, that it was felt the coming session of parliament must deal with it in such a way as to allay the ferment which the question had excited. Accordingly, great dissatisfaction was expressed when Mr. Bright, speaking at Birmingham, about the commencement of January, more than hinted that the country must be contented if the Irish Land Bill was successfully passed, without even indulging the expectation of any other important act of legislation during the session. "You cannot," he said, with great truth, but little elegance, "easily drive six omnibuses abreast through Temple Bar;" to which Mr. Forster replied, at Bradford, that when the Irish land omnibus had passed through, "Lord de Grey and himself would drive their education omnibus in afterwards."

Such were the principal questions agitating the country when the 8th of February arrived, and when the parliamentary session was to be opened by commission. Lord Cairns was now the Conservative leader of his party in the House of Lords—that place having been vacated by the death of the Earl of Derby. Lord Cairns had been leader before; but the general opinion was, that he was too much of the lawyer and too little of the lord; his subtlety being rather that of the forum than the senate. Nevertheless, as there was no other at the time so suitable, it was absolutely necessary that he should be maintained in the situation. Lord Salisbury might have been eligible, but some differences which had arisen between him and Mr. Disraeli had, to some extent, separated him from his party; more especially from its acknowledged chief in the other House. Lord Cairns, however, being in a state of ill-health, was almost immediately forced to abdicate his functions for a time, and it fell to the Duke of Richmond to take his place.

Regarding the two great questions—the land and the education bills—which had been, and were now, as greatly as ever, agitating the country, they were thus spoken of in the speech from the throne:—"It will be proposed to amend the laws respecting the occupation and acquisition of land in Ireland, in a manner adapted to the peculiar circumstances of that country; and calculated, as her majesty believes, to bring about improved relations between the several classes concerned in Irish agriculture, which collectively constitute the great bulk of the people. These provisions, when matured by your impartiality and wisdom, as her majesty trusts, will tend to inspire among persons with whom such sentiments may still be wanting, that steady confidence in the law, and that desire to render assistance in its effective administration, which mark her subjects in general; and thus will aid in consolidating the fabric of the empire." After this, it was noticed in the next paragraph, that a bill was prepared, "for the enlargement, on a comprehensive scale, of the means of national education." The speech had *cut out* plenty of work for the session. It recommended for consideration no fewer than ten different measures, all of the gravest importance; but the two already named had taken such prominence in the public mind, that the rest were entirely thrown into the shade.

The address in both Houses was agreed to, when, on the 15th of February, before a large attendance, the premier, Mr. Gladstone, introduced the Irish Land Bill. This measure, the Irish Landlord and Tenant Act for 1870, is divided into five parts; the first regulating the "law of compensation to tenants," respecting which the principal changes effected are these:—1. The Ulster tenant-right custom, and similar customs in other parts of Ireland, receive a legal status.—2. New rights are conferred on tenants with reference to compensation for disturbance by the act of the landlord.—3. Compensation is given for improvements, and the rights and liabilities of landlord and tenant defined. The second part regulates "sale of the lands to tenants." The third part regulates the "advances by, and powers of, the Board of Works." The fourth part regulates "legal proceedings at court." The fifth part contains miscellaneous clauses referring to tenancies created after the passing of the Act.

This, then, is the Act, or Irish Land Bill, pronounced to be one of the most remarkable, and original pieces of legislation in the statute-book, and much debated, both

in the Commons' House and that of the Lords. On the 1st of August it received the royal assent; yet was the temper of the Irish very little softened by it. However, after it had passed, the premier felt himself justified in granting an amnesty to the Fenian prisoners still under detention at Portland—coupled, however, with the condition of banishment from the United Kingdom for life, without distinction of persons—"a limitation which, in the opinion of some, was a very wise and righteous measure;" but, in the opinion of others, an ungenerous mistake, which deprived the amnesty both of grace and wisdom, looking especially to the probability of these men, dangerous to England, being thereby introduced into the United States at such a time. Be this as it may, however, it was only events in the womb of the future that could disclose whether the Amnesty Act had been passed for good or for evil.

There was now freedom to direct attention to the Education Bill, which was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Forster, member for Bradford, on the 17th of February, just two days after the Irish Land Bill. The provisions of this bill did not extend either to Ireland or Scotland, but were designed to secure, throughout England and Wales, the provisions of accommodation and appliances for the elementary education of the people, adequate both in quantity and quality; an object which it proposed to secure, partly by the voluntary schools already in existence, or yet to be established, and partly by the establishment of rate-supported schools under public School Boards. Such was the design of the measure. It did not aim at destroying, but at modifying and developing the system as it had previously existed, taking, to a large extent, the lines of the old foundations for their guides. On introducing his measure, Mr. Forster thus described what he, no doubt, felt to be its difficulties. He said—

"The first problem to be solved was, 'How can we cover the country with good schools?' Now, in trying to solve that problem, there are certain conditions, which I think honourable members on both sides of the House will acknowledge we must abide by. First of all, we must not forget the duty of the parents. Then we must not forget our duty to our constituencies, our duty to the tax-payers. Though our constituencies, almost, I believe, to a man, would spend money, and large sums of money, rather than not do the work; still we must remember that it is upon them that the burden will fall. Thirdly, we must take care not to destroy in building up—not to destroy the existing system in introducing a new one. In solving this problem, there must be, consistently with the attainment of our object, the least possible expenditure of public money, the utmost endeavour not to injure existing and efficient schools, and the most careful absence of all encouragement to parents to neglect their children. Our object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring, as much as we rightly can, the assistance of the parents, and welcoming, as much as we rightly can, the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours."

After the bill had passed the House of Commons, it was received with general favour by the House of Lords, although the introduction of the ballot was much canvassed in both the lower and the upper House. The Duke of Richmond moved an amendment, to the effect, that the election by ballot should be confined to the metropolis, but that in all other districts the election should be conducted in the same manner as that of poor-law guardians. This was, on a division, carried and agreed to by the Commons. With no other alteration the Elementary Education Bill became the law of the country—a measure, the results of which cannot, for years to come, be fully estimated, although its importance can hardly be over-rated. It was, however, reserved for the constituency of Bradford to give the first striking proof, in connection with it, of the estimation in which the voters of that town held the labours of their representative in a national cause. The fact is here recorded, on account of its almost incredibility—that Mr. Forster was rewarded by his constituents, on his meeting them a few months afterwards, with a vote of censure

In connection with the Education Act, it may be stated, that the first election of a metropolitan School Board took place at the close of the year, and naturally excited both great and general interest. This chiefly arose, not only from its own intrinsic importance, but from its being the occasion for what were, practically, the first English experiments of the ballot in cumulative voting; and, above all, in woman-suffrage and woman-candidature. The mode of proceeding in this trial of public strength, in the cause of education, is described as follows:—

"For the purposes of the election, the metropolitan district was formed into ten divisions; the city of London returning four members; the city of Westminster, five; Marylebone, seven; Finsbury, six; Hackney, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth, five each; Southwark, Chelsea, and Greenwich, four each: making a total of fifty-nine members. In the first of these divisions only was the voting performed openly. In the other divisions, each voter had to go to one of the polling-places, and to receive a voting-paper printed with the names of the candidates proposed; and was to record upon the paper

those for whom he chose to vote, but not to sign it with his name. There were nearly three hundred polling-places altogether throughout the whole of London, open from eight o'clock in the morning till eight in the evening; and the number of voters was fully as great as at a central election for members of parliament. There was, however, no disorder; and the female voters were in strong force. The arrangements were similar in most of the polling-places. At a table sat a president and two inspectors, attended by a rate-collector with his books; and each voter had to identify himself, and establish his right of suffrage, before the voting-paper was handed to him. In a quiet part of each room, writing-places, in each of which one man could write conveniently, were fitted up; and to one of these each elector retired, and indicated the names of the candidates of his or her choice. In another part of the room was the ballot-box, into which they dropped the voting-paper folded."

Such were the arrangements for the electing of candidates to serve in the great cause of popular education. In London alone, there were about 150 candidates for seats at the Board; and the result of the elections was, on the whole, considered satisfactory, both in point of the variety of interest secured, and the qualifications of the members. At Marylebone the proceedings excited an especial degree of interest, from the fact of the district returning, at the head of the poll, Miss Elizabeth Garrett, a lady-physician, and a well-known advocate of woman's rights. She received 20,000 votes more than any other candidate in any part of London; the number recorded for her being upwards of 45,000. The provincial cities and large towns placed under the act, at the same period, elected their respective Boards; so that this scheme for the education of the people may be said to have fairly been brought into operation, leaving it to the progression of time to develop the results.

On introducing his statement shortly afterwards, Mr. Lowe, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, observed, that the original estimate of the revenue of the year 1869-'70 was £72,855,000, which, by the alteration that had taken place in the mode of collecting the taxes, was increased to £76,505,000. The expenditure was £68,223,000, leaving a surplus of £7,982,000. Of this amount, £4,600,000, applied to the discharge of obligations incurred by the Abyssinian war, and £2,940,000 to the reduction of taxation, left a nett surplus of £442,000. The final estimate of the revenue, after the agreed reduction of taxation, was £73,515,000: the actual receipts were £75,334,000—the largest revenue ever raised in this country, with the exception of the three last years of the French war; and one which exceeded that of the year immediately preceding by £2,742,000. The expenditure for the year 1869-'70 was estimated at £68,408,000.

An event now occurred which excited an outcry for vengeance throughout England. This was the Greek massacres. In the month of April, a party of English tourists, residents, proceeded from Athens on an excursion of pleasure to pay a visit to the battle-field of Marathon. The Greek government had reported Attica safe, but granted them an escort of six soldiers; and they were, *en route*, joined by another party, numbering about twenty-five, who, to that extent, of course, increased the strength of the previous party. At about half-past four in the afternoon, whilst traversing a strip of forest, they were attacked by brigands, who carried the party up to Pentelicus, and ordered them to send one of their number to Athens to obtain a ransom. As there were some persons of rank among the party, the ransom was set down at £50,000; but, subsequently, reduced to one-half. At the same time, threats were held out, that in the event of pursuit being attempted, or any military operations being undertaken against them, the lives of their prisoners would be forfeited. By some mismanagement these conditions were broken; the consequence was, that the whole of the party in the hands of the brigands were massacred one by one. When the news of this cold-blooded event reached England, a burst of grief and rage rose from one end of the kingdom to the other; and all sorts of possible demands were made, both in the country and the House of Parliament, for vengeance, not only on the brigands, but on the Greek government and nation. But the indignation and the sorrow professed in Greece were equally loud with those of England; and its youthful king went so far as to make the chivalrous, though unpractical offer, to become himself a hostage for the captives; whilst his government afterwards proffered large compensation to their families. The first fever of indignation had in a measure subsided, when the matter came before the Houses of Parliament; but in neither was any practical conclusion as to the course to be pursued by England arrived at. By the end of the year, however, seven of the Greek brigands had been executed; and the band that had been implicated in the massacre nearly extirpated. With this the country gradually became appeased; and other matters, of perhaps greater moment, occupied public attention.

The events now which mostly occupied the mind of Europe were those of war. On the 15th of July, almost immediately after Lord Granville had entered upon the duties of foreign minister, with the assurance of the permanent Under-Secretary of the department that the world had never been so profoundly at peace, or the diplomatic atmosphere more serene, it might have been said that already the sound of the

cannon's thunder might be heard on the confines of France and Prussia. Into the reasons for this it is unnecessary here to enter; but the news had no sooner been received in England, than general disapprobation was expressed at the precipitance with which France seemed to have drawn her sword. As the policy of England was that of peace, she did all that lay in her power to effect a reconciliation of the differences which had now arisen between two of the greatest powers of Europe, but without success; and although it appeared that France was foremost in the development of hostility, still there were many, skilled in the arts of diplomacy, who believed that Prussia and Count Bismarck were the forces that really put the wheels of the war-chariot into motion. When France, on a former occasion, complained of the nomination of the Prince of Hohenzollern for the Spanish throne, the British government intimated to Prussia, that it thought the nomination should be withdrawn. This view seems to have been coincided in by Prussia, and the nomination was accordingly withdrawn. Subsequently it was suggested to France, that she would not be justified in exacting from Prussia the engagement she required for the future; and to Prussia, that King William should, "visibly and responsibly," associate himself with the withdrawal of the nomination. To this Prussia again agreed; but France, acting under the influence of some reported insults to M. Benedetti, her representative at Ems, refused. The next step on the part of England was to make an appeal to the protocol of Paris; but this was rejected by France as irrelevant, and was received by Prussia with the declaration, that as France had taken the initiative in the war, Prussia could not take the initiative in recommending mediation. This was deemed definitive, and the British government issued a formal proclamation of neutrality. On that same day the declaration of war by France was delivered at Berlin, and the North German parliament opened by King William. He delivered a speech which was, by those who heard it, received in such a manner as to evince the determined sentiment of Germany in regard to the coming struggle. There was no weakness, no wavering of the will, but an evident resolution that death or conquest should be the result on the Prussian side.

At the outbreak of the war, considerable apprehension for the safety of Belgium was felt by the people of England. The publication, in the *Times* newspaper, of a draft treaty between Count Bismarck and M. Benedetti, the French minister in Prussia, increased this excitement to an extraordinary extent. "The authenticity of this treaty, which took the government by surprise as much as the country, was at first widely disbelieved, but afterwards clearly established. Although this document was, in form, a proposed compact between France and Prussia, it was nothing less than a direct menace to England by the former power, relating, as it chiefly did, to the proposed acquisition of Belgium by her. Up to this time it had been kept secret by Count Bismarck evincing, on his part, little favour towards England; while, on the part of Napoleon III., it revealed perfidy almost unexampled. The whole matter was, after a short time, suffered to pass from the general mind of England; but subsequently, it appeared that the treaty had, by Count Bismarck himself, been communicated to the *Times*, from an obvious anticipation that its publication would enlist both England and Belgium on his side, perhaps, even as the active allies of Germany. There is a history attached to this document, arising from the manner in which it originated, not undeserving a place here. Its origin appears, as far as it might be possible to judge, to have been derived from the period immediately following on the signature of a document guaranteeing Luxembourg. In 1867, M. Benedetti, a Corsican by birth, and a devoted adherent of the French emperor, was employed by him to demand from Count Bismarck the fulfilment of certain vague promises made at Biarritz. The Chancellor (Bismarck), who had made these promises under a belief that France would, at the end of the war, hold the balance of power between Berlin and Vienna, finding his country strong enough to stand alone, and aware that an attempt to concede anything would undo the moral effect of Sadowa, peremptorily refused to relinquish a single foot of Prussian soil. Upon this, some "*pourparlers*" about indemnifying France by the coveted possession of Belgium, seem to have followed, which resulted in Benedetti being induced to embody his propositions on paper, which he accordingly did in the draft treaty. By a successful piece of diplomacy on the part of Count Bismarck, he got possession of this manuscript; and while absolutely rejecting the proposals it contained, remarked that the proposed treaty would be of no value to Prussia unless she got hold of Holland, as it did not extend her power beyond what she had otherwise obtained. From this moment it must have been apparent, on both sides, that war was imminent and unavoidable. Accordingly, the preparations which were destined to prove so complete on the one side, and so inadequate on that of the other, were pushed forward with rapidity. Once more, on the very eve of declaring war, if not on the very day of its declaration, the proposal was submitted to the Prussian government, as the only arrangement which could, at present, secure peace with a certain prospect for the future. Prussia, however, once more rejected the proposition, and the next step of Bismarck was to publish the treaty, that all Europe might have an opportunity of seeing it.

In the House of Commons, when asked to throw some light upon this obscure project of treaty, Mr. Gladstone said that the government had been as greatly surprised by its publication as had been every one else; observing, at the same time, that the gravity of the matter "had not been in the slightest degree over-stated." In the House of Lords, Earl Russell called upon the government to declare their intentions with regard to Belgium, to which country, he said, that it would be impossible to "conceive a more specific and defined obligation than ours." He concluded an effective speech by stating that, "the main thing is, how we can best assure Belgium, assure Europe, and assure the world, that we mean to be true and faithful—that the great name which we have acquired in the world, by the constant observance of truth and justice, and by fidelity to our engagements, will not be departed from, and that we shall in the future be what we have been in the past. The great thing of all is, that the members of the government of this country should declare, openly and explicitly, that they mean to be true to our treaties, and faithful to our engagements, and will not sully the fair name of England." In reply, Earl Granville satisfied the House, that a scrupulous adherence would be maintained, by the government, to those principles of right which had already been adopted. The war between France and Germany was now commenced, and carried on with results of almost unvarying disaster to the former country: but our attention must now be directed to other affairs more directly connected with the interests of England.

Surveying the general aspect of the colonial empire of Great Britain, the past year had witnessed a considerable degree of excitement among colonial politicians in England, who, on the durability of the tie which connects the mother country with her dependencies, were persistently argumentative. During a long series of years that tie had been becoming less and less stringent, whilst upon the larger colonies representative institutions had been conferred. The next step, after this, was to establish what was termed "responsible" government, and so on, step by step, until British statesmen were led to the conviction, that the maintenance, at British expense, of troops in the colonies was, with certain exceptions, not to be justly imposed on the British tax-payer, while it was, at the same time, injurious to the defensive energies of the colonists. This course of policy had been gradually developing itself; and at the end of 1869, the last regiment was removed from New Zealand. The general policy of the government, however, as to the withdrawal of troops from all the colonies, was, to a certain extent, checked, as regards Canada, by some Fenian insurrectionary attempts in that colony; but these were soon suppressed, and order re-established. Besides the Fenian movement, another cause of trouble in Canada arose from what was called a "rebellion" on the Red River. It proved, however, of little consequence. The British force sent to suppress it did not lose a single man, owing in a great measure to the foresight and sagacity which had, in conducting it, been employed. "It had," says an eye-witness, "to advance from its point of disembarkation on Lake Superior, for more than six hundred miles, through a wilderness of water, rocks, and forests, where no supplies were to be had, and where every pound weight of provisions and stores had, for miles, to be transported on the backs of soldiers. * * * The total expense was under £100,000, of which one quarter only was to be paid by England." The result of this expedition was, that the province of Manitobah was added to Canada. These events brought on the prorogation of parliament, and the close of the political history of a memorable year for Europe. Speaking of the period, a contemporary says, that in reference to the war, public opinion in England was largely in favour of Germany till after the battle of Sedan, when it unmistakably changed. Notwithstanding this, however, she still preserved her attitude of neutrality, and domestic tranquillity continued undisturbed.

In the autumn of this year, her majesty in council gave her consent to the marriage of the Princess Louise to the Marquis of Lorne, abolishing thereby an exclusive landmark of royalty. Other events of a pleasing description marked the progress of the year. The Prince and Princess of Wales, with the three youngest of their children, paid a visit to Denmark; and M. de Lesseps, the enterprising and successful engineer in carrying out the plan of the Suez Canal, visited England, and was hospitably entertained and *fêted* at the Crystal Palace by its directors.

On the 13th of July, the Thames embankment was, in behalf of her majesty, opened by the Prince of Wales and the Princess Louise. This great work was commenced in 1864; and the river-side foot-way, between Westminster Bridge and the Temple, was opened to the public a couple of years before; but at that time the completion of the carriage-way was prevented by the unfinished state of the Metropolitan District Railway—an obstacle which had now been removed. The popularity of this event was strongly evinced by the enthusiasm with which it was generally hailed by the assembled thousands of the citizens of the metropolis. Indeed, it may be considered to have formed the principal local event of the year 1870 in the English metropolis.

CHAPTER CXXVI.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1871, 1872.



ITH the opening of the year 1871, the Franco-German war naturally took the foremost place in public thought. Day after day brought the most thrilling narratives of German successes and French defeats in the various districts of France in which the foes encountered each other, so that the mind was kept almost continually on the stretch of expectation, to know what event more extraordinary than the one just past would next come to the front in the dubious and changeful field of war. Domestic affairs were almost forgotten; yet the state of England, in a commercial point of view, was prosperous. The public revenue was sufficiently elastic, and both the money and the discount markets were in an easy condition. The former was in far greater supply than was the demand for it, and rates which, shortly before, were quoted for three months' bills at 2½ per cent., had receded to 2¼ and 2⅜ per cent., even previous to the disbursement of the public dividends, which began at the close of the first week of the year. One of the chief causes of the abundant supplies was considered to be clearly ascribed to the continental war. Before this broke forth, Paris was yearly becoming more and more a commercial centre, where foreign loans were negotiated, on terms more favourable to the borrowers than such as could be obtained in England or Germany. On this account, different countries were gradually becoming, as it were, tributary to the French capitalists, while the interest upon such debts regularly and punctually found its way to Paris. Turkey, Egypt, and Spain were the principal, though not the only tributaries; but whilst the gates of the French capital continued to be closed by the adverse events of the war, money could find its way neither into nor out of it. From this circumstance, the dividend distributions on foreign loans, which were wont to be made in Paris, were changed to London, which, as a matter of course, had the effect of increasing the immediate supplies of the English capital. Estimating probabilities by appearances, too, it was anticipated that several years might elapse before the business again would return to Paris.

Whatever might be the difficulties with which the political position of the government might be surrounded, the ministerial majority seemed as firm and unshaken as it had hitherto been. Some of the members of the cabinet, however, had, by their personal rudeness, earned a most unenviable species of popularity. Among these was Mr. Ayrton, whose administration of the Board of Works had become so pre-eminently offensive to his own constituents, that they proceeded so far as to pass a resolution at a large meeting, to the effect, that "his rude, coarse demeanour, both in and out of parliament, had made the borough of the Tower Hamlets a by-word throughout the United Kingdom." Both Mr. Lowe and Mr. Bruce, likewise, shared in much of the general feeling of disapproval; while Mr. Gladstone himself was "invited to retire" by a considerable body of the Greenwich electors. Still the Liberal majority in the House remained firm, though some ministerial changes took place. Mr. Bright, from illness, being forced to retire from the Board of Trade, Mr. Chichester Fortescue took the place of President, the Marquis of Hartington succeeding Mr. Fortescue as Secretary for Ireland; Mr. Monsell, M.P. for Limerick, accepted Lord Hartington's vacated office, without a seat in the cabinet. Some other changes among less important offices occurred, the most important of which was the retirement of Mr. Childers from the Admiralty, Though this did not actually take place till a somewhat later period, yet at this time it might be considered to have really occurred from the uncertain state of his health.

Shortly before the opening of parliament, the question of army reorganisation came prominently to the front. Sir William Mansfield, raised, during the session, to the peerage under the title of Lord Sandhurst, delivered a remarkable speech upon the subject in Westminster Hall. He there addressed a body of volunteers, who, he said, might be taken as the representatives of 150,000 men then in arms. The vital difficulty which stood in the way of a proper voluntary military organisation in England, was the many conflicting interests which interfered with its accomplishment. "What is it that causes that conflict of interests?" he asked; and answered, "It arises from the fact, that every one of those bodies relies for its existence merely on the voluntary principle. As regards bodies such as I am now addressing, consisting of men who stand forward as volunteers, willing to give up to the state such time as they can spare from their vocations pressing upon them, it would be absurd to expect that any principle or organisation, other than the voluntary principle, could apply to them; and as regards the line, I may say that,

from whatever point of view we in England may contemplate what is going on upon the continent; however we may be moved by the spectacle of two great military nations struggling, and with whatever feelings we may see these countries placing their whole population under arms, not merely embodying them for purposes of defence, but sending them across the frontiers as well, I do not believe there is any one who would like to see such an organisation adopted and applied to England." In this respect, Sir William spoke no more than the general sentiment of the country at large.

The excitement caused by the army question brought out the opinions of many eminent men upon the subject. Among these Earl Russell appeared. This nobleman addressed a letter to the *Times* newspaper, laying down certain objects to be secured in the reorganisation of the national defences. "The United Kingdom," he said "ought to be defended against invasion. The colonies and dependencies of the United Kingdom ought to be protected by our naval and military forces against a foreign enemy. The engagements of the crown and of our country with foreign powers ought to be fulfilled. Let us add to these three objects, that when our honour or our interests are deeply involved in some national dispute, they ought to be firmly maintained." Those propositions, it is evident, are such as belong, not to a day, but to all time; and in order to secure these objects, Lord Russell, borrowing from Sir John Burgoyne, Sir William Mansfield, and other distinguished officers, and adding some proposals drawn from his own civil experience, made the following suggestions:—

1. That not less than 200,000 men, consisting of regular army and embodied militia, should be kept up within the United Kingdom.

2. Army.—That the system of purchase of commissions in the army should be abolished, either immediately or gradually.

3. That to the commander-in-chief should be assigned, as at present, the duties of maintaining discipline in the army, and of recommending officers for promotion.

4. That the field artillery should be largely increased, according to the example of Prussia.

5. That a sufficient store of powder should be provided both for artillery and infantry.

6. That the recruiting of privates for the artillery should be stimulated by bounty.

7. That the term of service, both for infantry and cavalry, should be for seven years, and for artillery, for ten years.

8. That a service of twenty-one years should entitle the soldier to a pension of 9*d.*, and of twenty-four years, of 1*s.* a day.

9. Militia.—That the militia should be raised by ballot, according to the old militia laws, for service in the United Kingdom only.

10. That in the first week of May in each year, every regiment of militia should be called together, and the number willing to volunteer for the army should be registered. That the services of not more than two-thirds of the men willing to volunteer for the army should be accepted. The places of those accepted to be filled up by ballot in the month of October succeeding.

11. The commissions of subalterns in the militia to be given, as at present, by the lord-lieutenant; but all promotions to commissions of captain, major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel, to be granted by the commander-in-chief of the army.

12. Volunteers.—Every volunteer who wishes to be entitled to a grant of money, clothes, or arms from the Treasury, to sign an engagement to attend —— days in the year, the meeting of his corps, or in default to pay a fine for absence.

Such were some of his lordship's suggestions, drawn forth by the state of public feeling, having reference to the war raging on the continent. There were many more important propositions made upon the same subject; but they had all, more or less, a similar stamp. There is, however, one fact worth placing on record, as showing what was felt by the people, at least in one largely populated district, in reference to the purchase system in the army. The circumstance occurred in the large town of Birmingham. Mr. Muntz, its representative in parliament, had been one of the commissioners appointed to inquire into that system; and while entirely condemning the system, he, at the same time, informed his constituents, that it would cost no less than £7,000,000 to abolish it in an equitable manner. How this was to be, he explained with great clearness; and, with some authority, asked them to tell him candidly whether they were prepared to pay such an enormous sum? The question was, in the most formal manner, put to the meeting, and elicited a vote absolutely unanimous. Though the pecuniary difficulty had, both most clearly and most forcibly been explained, not a single hand in the assembly was raised in opposition.

While these matters, in union with the Franco-German war, were almost entirely absorbing the attention of the country, the parliamentary session was, on the 19th of February, opened by her majesty the Queen. The Lord Chancellor read the royal speech, the Queen sitting with downcast eyes during the whole time of its delivery, and perfectly still, except a slight movement made of her fan. The speech observed, that the war between France and Germany broke out in the month of July; and that, until within the last few days, it had raged without intermission: whilst, after a few days

more, its ravages might be renewed. However, the sphere of the war had not extended beyond the two countries originally engaged; and her majesty had succeeded in placing the representatives, both of France and Germany, in confidential communication; but, until famine should force Paris to surrender, no further result could be obtained. It was further stated, that "the armistice, now being employed for the convocation of an assembly in France, has brought about a pause in the constant accumulation, on both sides, of human suffering, and has rekindled the hope of a complete accommodation." It was hoped that this would result in peace. The speech also noticed the acceptance of the title of Emperor of Germany by the King of Prussia, and stated that her majesty had offered her congratulations on the event, which bore testimony to the solidity and independence of Germany, and which, it was hoped, might be found conducive to the stability of the European system. It further noticed that there were several unsettled questions existing between Great Britain and the United States, amongst which were the American claims, growing out of the circumstances of the late Transatlantic war. Two or three other matters, less closely connected with the affairs of Britain, were spoken of, and the speech closed.

In the debates on the address, in answer to the speech, there is little to call for notice, and the work of the session for 1871 commenced. A mere rehearsal of its labours will be sufficient to show the amount of legislation which it accomplished, and which was quite equal to the achievements of the two sessions immediately preceding. A writer in one of the leading quarterly reviews, thus comprehensively sums up the work of the session at its close:—

"The huge monopoly of purchase in the army, with its rank growth of vested interests, and all the traditions of caste and wealth in its favour, has been swept away; the privilege of nominating officers to the militia and the volunteers has been removed from the private patronage of great nobles, and vested in the crown, and the ground has been otherwise cleared for army reform. The universities have been compelled to surrender; their gates have been opened wide, and the doors, even of the colleges, unbarred. The Trades' Union Act, and the act amending the criminal law in respect to violence, threats, and molestation, offer a remedy for difficulties of long standing, on terms equitable to the employers and the employed. The Westmeath Act, as it is commonly termed, had unearthed the Ribbon Society from its lair, and sped a home-thrust at its power. The Local Government Board Act is a considerable measure of administrative reform, and opens the way for much-needed improvements in the conduct of local affairs, and a comprehensive system of sanitary regulations. The Ecclesiastical Titles' Act has happily disposed of a protracted controversy between rival churches, in a manner agreeable to the privileges of religious equality, yet without impairing the position or wounding the susceptibilities of the Protestant establishment. The Local Government Act for Ireland has supplied a want long felt, extending to municipalities and other local authorities in the sister island—legislative facilities corresponding to those enjoyed by similar authorities both in England and Scotland. The principle of secret ballot has been so decidedly affirmed, and the machinery for giving effect to it so thoroughly canvassed by the House of Commons, that its way through that assembly is made plain, and its acceptance, at no distant date, by the other House insured. Amid the pressure of domestic legislation, the state of affairs abroad, and our own relations with foreign countries, have been of a character to impose a heavy strain upon the government of the day, and to demand the continued exercise of vigilance and of judgment on the part of parliament. The firmness and tact of the Foreign Office successfully and honourably maintained our position as neutrals in the war between France and Germany—a task rendered one of singular difficulty and delicacy by the danger of Belgium, our immediate vicinity to the countries engaged, and the irritating question of the supply of materials of war by a neutral to a belligerent. The termination of the Black Sea dispute by a settlement which obtained the concurrence of all the parties concerned, met with the unmistakable approval of parliament. Still more did the treaty of Washington, a monument of diplomatic skill and industry, which has not only removed existing and future sources of danger to friendly intercourse between this country and the United States, but, in giving the sanction of both countries to the principle that nations should not be the judges in their own cause, has set an example worthy of imitation by all civilised powers."

These results are sufficient to show that the session was far from being a barren one; whilst minor measures of utility were not wanting to supplement these national transactions, which more especially take a place in the record of nations.

In the month of March, the town of Dover was witness of an incident which has few parallels in the history of those whose destinies it has been to be invested with all the insignia of royalty. The incident alluded to was, after a separation extending to eight months, the meeting of the Emperor Napoleon, the Empress Eugénie, and the Prince Imperial. The day was unusually fine, and many thousands of people had assembled to witness the arrival of the illustrious exile. The empress, with the prince imperial, and a limited suite, arrived at Dover from Chiselhurst, and waited

there till the boat which bore the fallen emperor was sighted. When the vessel which carried him got to her moorings, cheer after cheer burst from the assembled multitude; and when the emperor stepped on shore, the mayor went up to him, saying, "I received your majesty on the occasion of your visit to England fifteen years ago, and I now repeat my salutations." Smiling and making some agreeable remark, Napoleon began to walk slowly towards the railway terminus; but he had proceeded but a few yards, when the Empress Eugénie clasped him in her arms, and several times passionately kissed him. Tears rolled from her eyes as she placed both her hands on his arm, while the young prince had seized both hands of his father, and on each cheek saluted him. The scene was such as greatly to affect the crowds of people who beheld it, and who cheered vociferously. The royal party then proceeded on their way to the Lord Warden Hotel, amid the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, and shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and "*Vive Imperatrice!*" Shortly afterwards they left for their English home.

On the day after the arrival of the Emperor Napoleon in England, the marriage of the Princess Louise took place. She was the fourth daughter of her majesty the Queen, and was united to John George Campbell, Marquis of Lorne, eldest son of the Duke of Argyll. The ceremony was, with great pomp, celebrated in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

One of the most extraordinary *causes célebrès* was, before the Court of Common Pleas, called on the 10th day of May, and after judge, counsel, and witnesses were present, and the pannel called, it was found that only three jurymen, out of twenty-two summoned, answered to their names. The hearing was, therefore, deferred until next day, when only nine gentlemen answered to their names. Two others having been procured, the counsel on each side agreed to proceed although still short of a juryman. The case accordingly was begun. Referring to the non-appearance of the persons summoned on the jury, the Lord Chief Justice said that he should enforce a fine of £10 on those who had not attended on the first day, £20 for the second day, and, if necessary, he should double the fine day by day until it reached £500. This trial was, from various causes, interrupted from time to time, but at last was continued through many weeks, every day developing some new cause of interest till its termination. The "Claimant" for the Tichborne estates, as the prisoner was called, was ultimately found guilty, and sentenced to a period of fourteen years' imprisonment.

In November, the Prince of Wales was suddenly attacked with typhoid fever, which, without any alarming complications, continued to run its course down to and through the first week of December. On the 8th of that month, however, a serious relapse occurred, and for some days the life of his royal highness was in imminent danger. Several of the members of the royal family were summoned to Sandringham, where the prince was lying, and the excitement in the English metropolis became intense. Crowds of eager inquiries gathered round the various newspaper offices, anxious for the latest information. It is recorded that, at Marlborough House, "the telegrams were watched for by a large number of persons, who remained standing on the pavement and out in the street, regardless of the piercing cold, and anxious only to learn the latest intelligence as speedily as possible." Equal anxiety was manifested all over the country. At length the danger passed, and the Queen made public the following letter, by which she personally both accepted and answered the sympathy shown by her people :—

"Windsor Castle, December 26, 1871.

"The Queen is very anxious to express her deep sense of the touching sympathy of the whole nation, on the occasion of the alarming illness of her dear son, the Prince of Wales. The universal feeling shown by her people during those painful, terrible days, and the sympathy evinced by them, with herself and her beloved daughter the Princess of Wales, as well as the general joy at the improvement in the Prince of Wales's state, have made a deep and lasting impression on her heart, which can never be effaced. It was, indeed, nothing new to her, for the Queen had met with the same sympathy when, just ten years ago, a similar illness removed from her side the mainstay of her life—the best, wisest, and kindest of husbands.

"The Queen wishes to express, at the same time, on the part of the Princess of Wales, her feelings of heartfelt gratitude, for she has been as deeply touched as the Queen, by the great and universal manifestation of loyalty and sympathy.

"The Queen cannot conclude without expressing her hope that her faithful subjects will continue their prayers to God for the complete recovery of her son to health and strength."

With this missive the year of 1871 may be said to have closed.

At the commencement of the year 1872, it was announced that the progress of the prince towards a state of convalescence continued to be both rapid and satisfactory. Both the local pains with which he had been afflicted and the fever had subsided, so that it soon became evident that all danger for the present was past. This fortunate state of things continued; and, in the month of February, his complete recovery was commemorated by a celebration, which assumed the proportions of a national festival. The day set

apart for this national event was the 27th, when a general thanksgiving for the recovery of the prince took place, and the day was kept as a national holiday. The weather was all that could be desired, and the streets of London were crowded to a degree more dense than had been the case on any previous occasion. The public bodies of the city proper, and every householder, seemed to vie with one another in doing honour to the occasion; whilst the vast throng of persons in the streets seemed, by their countenances, to be animated but with one spirit of joy. The following is a brief description of what may be considered as the principal feature of the celebration :—

"Soon after twelve o'clock, the band in the inner court of Buckingham Palace struck up, 'God save the Queen;' and, at the same instant, the coach of the Speaker of the House of Commons was driven out to the semicircle in front of the palace, and placed in position to lead the procession. The carriage of the Lord Chancellor followed, and in a few minutes the order to proceed was given. As the first of the royal carriages emerged from the central gate, the centre window of the state-room over the portico was opened, and the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie stepped out on the balcony. When the carriage conveying the Queen and the Prince and Princess of Wales came out from the court-yard, the emperor took off his hat, and both he and the empress bowed more than once to her majesty and their royal highnesses. As the procession reached the Mall, the masses on either side of the line raised a cheer, which was instantly taken up by those who, as yet, could not get even a distant glimpse of the Queen and the prince. Without the interval of a second the cheering continued, and grew in strength till the illustrious personages entered St. Paul's. The conduct of the people was excellent. From every inch of standing-room came incessant cheering, and cries of 'God bless the Queen!' 'God bless the Prince of Wales!' But there was no rushing, and, without a halt, the procession turned from the Mall out to the front of St. James's Palace. The route thence was by Pall Mall, the Strand, and through Temple Bar to St. Paul's, and thence back by Ludgate Hill, the Holborn Viaduct, Oxford Street, Hyde Park, and Constitution Hill. The service held in St. Paul's was simple, but singularly striking; and a magnificent illumination closed the day."

Before the assembling of parliament, the government of Mr. Gladstone had become so unpopular, that penetrating politicians already began to predict its certain downfall before many months. Much of this feeling had arisen from a desire to humiliate Mr. Gladstone, whose tone had become somewhat too dictatorial to be relished even by many of those who had hitherto been his supporters. Parliament met, however, on the 6th of February, and the occasion derived a pleasing interest from the appointment of a new Speaker. John Evelyn Denison, who had filled the chair for fifteen years, retired to the House of Lords as Viscount Ossington, and was succeeded by Henry William Bouverie Brand, who entered upon his new duties to the general satisfaction of the House. He had entered parliament in 1852 as member for Lewes, and though he had never acquired much notice as a speaker, he had displayed an intimate acquaintance with the rules and usages of the House, whilst he was personally well acquainted with its older members, having long served as "whip" to the Liberal party.

Parliament was opened by royal commission, and the Queen's speech, read by the Lord Chancellor, contained nothing of such moment as to provoke long debate upon the address; but there had been an appointment of Sir Robert Collier to a seat on the judicial bench in the Court of Common Pleas. This, it was considered by other judges, to be contrary to the statute, and created much dissatisfaction. The matter was, in the upper House, debated early in the session; but, in the end, public feeling was satisfied by a formal parliamentary condonation, deemed equivalent to a moderate expression of disapproval. The popularity of the government was now fast falling, and, on the question of local taxation, it was defeated by a majority of 100, the numbers being 259 to 159. The Ballot Bill, however, was the principal feature of the session; and in the House of Lords it passed by a majority of 19 in favour of the government. The claims set forth by the United States upon England, having reference to the deeds of the ship *Alabama*, and other acts, were amicably arranged. In criticising the proceedings of the arbitrators on these points, Mr. Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, observed that he considered it the duty of this country to obey the Geneva award without cavil or comment, although he regretted that the arbitrators should have felt it necessary to deviate from the practice of ordinary arbitrators, and give reasons for their judgment. Such expressions, however, were now of little avail. The proceedings had been brought to a termination under the arbitration clause of the treaty of Washington, and it was the first time that disputed points between nations had been submitted to a tribunal of learned men specially named for the purpose, and with the form and method of a public legal controversy.

Intelligence had arrived in England that, on the 8th of February, Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, had been assassinated. Returning from a visit of inspection at Ross Island, his lordship was assassinated by a native who had been watching his opportunity. "The native, who has," says an eye-witness, "either been crouching

amidst a heap of stones hard by, or insidiously mingled with the *following*, at those last moments hustles aside the nearest guard, leaps upon the viceroy from behind, throwing his left arm round him, and stabs him twice. It is the work of one brief moment. Colonel Jervois sees the blow struck; Lieutenant Hawkins half draws his sword upon the striker; a convict chuprassi seizes the assassin red-handed, who is instantly, amidst shouts of 'Kill him! kill him!' (*Maro! Maro!*) pinned to the earth. He would be torn to pieces but for the multitude of his struggling assailants, and, in the tumult, the torches are almost wholly extinguished. The viceroy staggers beneath the force of the blow, down the sloping side of the jetty into the shallow water below, and then, with a little help, totters, faint and bleeding, to a truck on the other side of the pier, saying to the secretary, 'They've hit me, Burne.' We gather round him bewildered, and for the moment utterly unnerved, and strive in vain to stanch the only wound visible. He sits, supported for one or two minutes, quite unconscious, gasps a few half-articulate words, falls rigidly backwards, swoons and dies." The assassin was tried, and, without implicating any one else in his crime, paid the penalty of the law. The body of Lord Mayo was brought to Ireland, and interred in Johnstown churchyard on the 26th of April.

On the 29th of the same month, her majesty the Queen was taking a drive in the park, and having returned to the entrance of Buckingham Palace, where her majesty usually alights, a lad suddenly rushed forward upon her with a paper in one hand and a pistol in the other. The lad was immediately seized and disarmed. On examination, the weapon was found to be unloaded; but the lad was taken to the police-office at Westminster, and was, on the following day, committed for trial. This event supplied her majesty with the opportunity for carrying into practice an idea which, for some time previous, she had entertained. This was, to institute a medal as a reward for long and faithful service among her own domestics. One of these, on this occasion, happened to be a Highlander of the name of John Brown, the Queen's personal attendant, who received a medal in gold, with an annuity of £25 attached to it, as a mark of her appreciation of his presence of mind and of his devotion, exhibited on this attack made upon her majesty.

On the 23rd of July, intelligence was received that Mr. Stanley, a young correspondent of the *New York Herald* newspaper, after having discovered Dr. Livingstone, the long-lost African explorer, had arrived in Europe, and landed at Marseilles. In the previous year, the editor of the *Herald* telegraphed to Mr. Stanley, then at Madrid, making the proposition for him to go to Africa and find Livingstone, offering a *carte blanche* in the way of expenses. On the 3rd of November, 1871, he unexpectedly came upon the lost traveller at Ujiji, and his despatches graphically describe their meeting. Making as great a display of his power as his means would allow, Mr. Stanley entered the town of Ujiji, and observed a group of Arabs, in the centre of whom was a pale-looking, grey-bearded, white man, whose fair skin contrasted strongly with the bronzed visages of those by whom he was surrounded. He was clad in a red woollen jacket, and wore upon his head a naval cap, with a faded gilt band round it. This was Livingstone. Stanley was about to testify his joy at having found him; but recollecting that he was in the presence of Arabs in the habit of concealing their feelings, and likely to judge of a man by the manner in which he commanded his own, he made no sign of rejoicing. Slowly advancing towards the traveller, he bowed, and said, "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?" to which the latter, being quite equal to the occasion, simply replied, "Yes." It was not till several hours afterwards, when alone together, seated on a goat-skin, that the two white men exchanged such congratulations as it might be anticipated they were very desirous to express; and recounted to each other their respective hair-breadth escapes, difficulties, dangers, and adventures. Dr. Livingstone was in good health, quite undismayed by what he had already gone through, and eager only to accomplish his voluntary, self-imposed task. Having for several years been almost entirely shut out from the civilised world, the traveller was naturally thirsting for intelligence as to what had been going on during his absence from those lands, of which, every morning, some information is easily obtained by those inhabiting them. Mr. Stanley, accordingly, had to constitute himself a sort of newspaper, and enter into details of numerous transactions.

"When we were alone," he says, "I handed to him a packet of letters from home, and said that, after he had finished reading them, he should next be told all the news from the civilised world, so far as I myself knew them. 'No, no,' said Livingstone; 'for three years I have been waiting for letters from home; I can afford to wait a few hours longer. Give me the news of the world!' So I reported to him all I could think of: the striking events of the Franco-German war, the capture of Napoleon, the flight of the empress, and the declaration of the republic; the fall of Queen Isabella of Spain, the election of General Grant in America, the opening of the Pacific railroad, and whatever else I thought likely to be interesting to one who had lived so long at such remoteness from the movements of civilisation. One of the very first questions which he put, with a view to supplementing my budget of intelligence, was about the welfare of his 'dear old

friend,' Sir Roderick Murchison: I answered that, at my latest advices, he was quite well; for it was only on my return to the coast that I learnt of his death, which I since knew had happened only about three weeks before I saw the traveller in whose eventual safety the veteran president (of the Royal Geographical Society) so staunchly believed. Although Dr. Livingstone had been absent from his native country so long, he spoke English perfectly, both in phrase and accent. After I had told Livingstone everything, he narrated to me, in return, all that had happened to himself; first recounting the latest, and in some ways the most important facts, and afterwards going back over the whole period of his voluntary and toilsome banishment, to give a complete and connected history of his wanderings from the time he quitted Zanzibar in the fall of 1865. This narrative was not the occupation of a single evening, as it lasted, with the explanations and amplifications necessary for one who had not been among the scenes themselves, during all the four months I remained with Livingstone, from November 10th, 1871, to March 14th, 1872."

The success of Mr. Stanley's mission to find Dr. Livingstone was a subject of great satisfaction to the British community at large; and that it might receive due acknowledgment from the highest quarters, her majesty the Queen, in the August of the year 1872, forwarded, through Earl Granville, a message of thanks to Mr. Stanley, accompanied with a gold snuff-box, set with diamonds. The letter ran thus:—

"Sir,—I have great satisfaction in conveying to you, by command of the Queen, her majesty's high appreciation of the prudence and zeal which you have displayed in opening a communication with Dr. Livingstone, and relieving her majesty from the anxiety which, in common with her subjects, she had felt in regard to the fate of that distinguished traveller. The Queen desires me to express her thanks for the service you have thus rendered, together with her majesty's congratulations on your having so successfully carried out the mission which you so fearlessly undertook. Her majesty also desires me to request your acceptance of the memorial which accompanies this letter."

As Africa was now occupying a large place in the public mind, Sir Bartle Frere, vice-president of the Royal Geographical Society, accepted a mission to the east coast of that continent, with a view of suppressing the slave-trade. Previous to his departure, he was, in November, entertained by a large company interested in the mission; and hopes were expressed that he, also, might fall-in with Dr. Livingstone: but this was beyond his own expectation.

CHAPTER CXXVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1873, 1874.

THE year of 1873 was ushered in with ominous appearances to all the interests of those establishments which employed coal in the product of their manufactures. First came a strike among the iron-workers of South Wales. It arose from the iron-masters giving notice of a 10 per cent. reduction of wages, which was to have taken place on the 1st of December in the year preceding. The reason assigned for this was, that the iron trade had become so bad, that they could not book orders, except at such a great reduction in price as absolutely compelled them to retrench the wages of their work-people.' Attempts were made at arbitration, but they failed. Accordingly, the masters suggested that the men should go to work, and continue at the reduction, till the 1st of March, to await the result of the spring demand for iron, when it was believed that there would be such an improvement as to enable employers to return the 10 per cent., possibly with an addition. The reason given for this proposition, was to enable the present difficulty to be tided over till then. At a meeting at Merthyr, however, the workmen decisively rejected the proposal, at the same time insisting either upon old prices or arbitration; but when arbitration had been declared before, the men insisted upon 5 per cent. more than had been awarded, which the masters were forced to give, or close their works.

The difficulty in the iron trade was further complicated by the action of the coal-owners. These, in the district, bound themselves to rise or fall with the pits of the iron-masters. A few days after these had issued their notices, the steam coal-owners followed with a notice of reduction, and they were, immediately afterwards, followed by the house coal-owners with theirs. The angry attitude of the colliers led to the withdrawal of the notices at almost all the pits, of these classes, leaving the iron-masters alone in antagonism with their

men. Things continued in this unsettled state till the end of March, when, after many futile attempts at arrangement and negotiation, the strike was brought to a close. Meanwhile the effect upon the supply and price of coals throughout the country was so serious as to become alarming, and no sign of any material improvement or reduction of prices succeeded the termination of the strike. Meetings, in some instances of great violence, were held in many parts of the kingdom, and the effect upon some branches of trade was extremely depressing. Even the railway and great steamship companies, although protected by large contracts, were unable to get their orders executed. In the month of February, coals in London rose to £2 10*s*. a ton; but though prices continued to be exorbitantly high, the country became quiet as the year advanced. In other respects, the year of 1873 was singularly uneventful in so far as England was concerned.

On the 9th of January, the death of the Emperor Napoleon was publicly announced. He died at Camden House, Chiselhurst, after having twice undergone the operation of lithotrity while under the influence of chloroform. When it was apparent that the last moments of the emperor were fast approaching, the Empress Eugénie and suite were summoned to the sick chamber. In the meantime, the Prince Imperial was sent for from the Royal Academy at Woolwich, where he was found engaged at drill. He was too late, however, to be present at the death of his father. This gave him much sorrow, and appeared greatly to augment the grief of the empress. Towards the close of the emperor's life, there were but slight indications of consciousness, although he twice addressed some words to the empress in a low and feeble tone of voice. When the body was laid out in state, it was visited by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh, besides from twenty to thirty thousand other persons. A large proportion of these were French. The body was buried on the 15th of the month, in a mortuary chapel within St. Mary's church. So died in exile, as did his great uncle, Napoleon III.

In Paris, the news of the late emperor's death was received with the greatest possible indifference, and not a single shop was closed on the day of the funeral. In the *Journal Officiel* of the French republic, the following are the terms in which his death was announced:—"*Napoleon III. est mort hier, 9 Janvier, à Chiselhurst.*" This was all; and it did not appear till January 11th, no notice of the event having previously been taken by the official organ. The Paris correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, writing on that date, says—"One wandered about bewildered by the absence of any sign to denote that impressionable Paris was in possession of any fresh topic of common interest and talk. There could scarcely have been less sensation, if it had been the Emperor of China whose death was just reported, instead of a sovereign whose name, for good or evil, had been, during twenty years, ever in the mouths of these very Parisians, and whose goings in and out among them they had watched daily with eager eyes."

Parliament met on the 6th of February; and the royal speech was the precursor of an extremely dull and barren session. It was evident to those who were learned in political indications, that Mr. Gladstone, the premier, had miscalculated the strength of his supporters. As much as he had of this, however, he used it in a hopeless attempt to please the various parties in Ireland, and consequently failed. The Irish University Bill occupied a conspicuous place in the Queen's speech; and a week after the assembling of parliament, the prime minister explained a measure which, if not in its language, in its details as well as in its conception, was entirely his own. His opening statement was considered, by all who heard it, a masterpiece of lucid exposition; and few such genuine tributes have ever been paid to oratorical ability, than the apparently assenting silence with which the bill, which afterwards produced universal dissatisfaction, was, on the first flush of its explanation, received. But its elaborate provisions were not such as to be at once comprehended as they fell from the lips of the minister. They required careful study and deliberate weighing; and after they had obtained this, the general opinion was extremely adverse to the measure.

On the second reading of the bill, Professor Fawcett distinguished himself by a singularly powerful, but remarkably bitter speech. He asserted that the bill would reduce the condition of university education in Ireland to a much more unsatisfactory state than that in which it was, and would rather create than obviate evils with which it was designed to deal. There was not a single principle in it consistently carried out. Indeed, it was nothing more than a compromise, intended to please everybody, but which would please nobody. Travelling over the principal points of the measure, Mr. Fawcett took exception to the governing body, and asked on what principle the selection of its members was to be made—was the qualification to be academical distinction, or a balance of religious opinions? Of the degrading censorship of professorial teaching involved in the bill, Mr. Fawcett spoke with great severity; and, as a Cambridge professor himself, he said, that if such clauses were introduced into the English universities, he would not submit to them. The measure, he thought, could lead to no other conclusion than the disestablishment of denominational education in Ireland. It did not satisfy a single class, and he hoped the House would reject it on its merits,

without reference to the collateral issue of a ministerial crisis.

Mr. Fawcett was followed by many of the younger Liberal members, who denounced the humiliating precautions of the bill against proselytism, and an alleged inclination in the government to conciliate the priesthood. Other members vehemently opposed the measure; and the debate was closed by Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone. The former, in closing a powerful speech, said, "No one wishes to disturb the right honourable gentleman in his place. If the right honourable gentleman intends to carry out a great policy—that of confiscation—I wish, at least, that he shall not be able to say that he has not had a fair trial for that policy. I wish the House and the country fully to comprehend all the bearings of that policy of the right honourable gentleman. But although I have not wished to make this a party question—although I have no wish to disturb the right honourable gentleman in his seat—although I have no communication with any section or with any party in this House—I may say, with any individual of my own immediate colleagues, I must do my duty when I am asked. 'Do you or do you not approve this measure?' I must vote against a measure which I believe to be monstrous in its general principles, pernicious in many of its details, and utterly futile as a measure of practical legislation."

Mr. Gladstone made his reply; remarking, that two-thirds of the speech which had just been heard, had no connection whatever with the bill. What he wanted was, to mete out to Ireland as large a measure of justice as he could. "Having put our hand to the plough," he said, "let us not turn back. Let not what we think the fault or the perverseness of those whom we are attempting to assist, have the slightest effect in turning us from the path on which we have entered. As we have begun, so let us go through; and with firm and resolute hand, let us efface from the law and the practice of the country, the last—I believe it is the last—of the religious and social grievances of Ireland." The House now divided on the question, that the bill be read a second time. Against this there were 287 votes, and for it, 284; giving a majority of three against the government.

As Mr. Gladstone had declared that his ministry would stand or fall by the result of this division, he immediately placed his resignation in the hands of the Queen, to the great surprise of the country at large, as the people generally had troubled themselves very little about this measure, perhaps as much from lack of comprehension respecting its details, as from anything else. However, the ministerial crisis proved to be of little consequence, as Mr. Disraeli declined to accept of office with a minority, especially when a dissolution of parliament must soon take place. Whatever were the reasons or the difficulties in the way, however, on the 20th of March, ministers resumed their places on the Treasury bench.

The Judicature Bill, which originated in the House of Lords, was the only measure of the first class passed this session. Its objects were the consolidation of the law courts, and a more judicious simplification of the administration of justice. Under this act, the Supreme Court of Appeal consists of the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justices, the Chief Baron, the Master of the Rolls, the peers who have held judicial office, and the permanent members of the judicial committee of the privy council. By one of the most doubtful provisions of the bill, intermediate appeals are abolished; and the Supreme Court exercises exclusive appellate jurisdiction in all English, Indian, and colonial cases. This measure certainly redeems from insignificance the legislative performances of the government.

The budget of the year, though not of a very ambitious character, met with a considerable amount of opposition. A proposition being made to borrow money to pay the *Alabama* indemnity when there was a surplus revenue in hand, was denounced by Professor Fawcett as a "cowardly policy." Neither did he think the remission of the sugar duties the most effective way of relieving consumers, as it only amounted to a farthing in the pound. In reference to this duty, a resolution was moved that, before deciding further on the reduction of indirect taxation, the government ought to be put in possession of its effect on the maintenance and adjustment of direct taxation, local and imperial. The motion was negatived without a division; but the propositions in the budget were, on the whole, unsatisfactory.

An interesting episode of the session was the announcement of the intended marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh and the only daughter of the Czar of Russia. It entered into the duties of Mr. Gladstone to propose an annual grant of £10,000, to be settled on the Duke and Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna of Russia, during the life of his royal highness, with a provision of £6,000 a-year to the grand duchess in the event of her surviving her husband. As parliament voted an annuity to the Duke of Edinburgh on his coming of age, the new grant raised the amount of his allowance to £25,000 a-year—a provision which, said Mr. Gladstone, "while it does not err on the side of parsimony, certainly does not err on the side of excess." The grant was allowed. With this the session may be considered to have closed; and immediately afterwards the public were startled by the intelligence of ministerial changes of a most unusual description. So great were these, that they almost amounted to an entire reconstruction of the cabinet. Open differences of opinion existed be-

tween Mr. Lowe and Mr. Ayrton, and Mr. Baxter resigned the secretaryship of the Treasury, in consequence of difficulties with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Their disputes required settlement and readjustment; but this seemed difficult of accomplishment. The country, too, showed, by repeated Conservative victories at elections, that some new arrangement was necessary. Accordingly, the first step was to remove Mr. Lowe from the Exchequer, and instal him at the Home Office; and Mr. Gladstone attached the duties of the office to himself, uniting in his own person the offices of Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer. History furnished him with precedents for this. Mr. Childers retired, leaving a vacancy for Mr. Bright, who re-entered the cabinet, and took the Duchy of Lancaster. Mr. Bruce received a peerage, and became Lord Ripon's successor as President of the Council. Other changes of a minor nature took place; but the most popular was the return of Mr. Bright to office, his long illness having excited a general sympathy in his behalf. Whilst these changes were being effected in high quarters, the elections throughout the country were proving, in general, adverse to the Liberal government.

In the course of the summer of 1873, the general tranquillity of our colonial possessions was interrupted by the breaking out of hostilities between the administrators of our possessions and dependencies on the Gold Coast, and the King of Ashantee, or "Shantee." Sir Garnet Wolseley, an officer of ability and energy, was despatched to the scene of war with a force deemed sufficient to conquer the enemy. On the 12th of September of this year he left Liverpool, and on October 4th addressed a body of native chiefs, or so-called kings, on the African Gold Coast. These kings, however, were of very small proportions, as regarded their wealth. In proof of this, sixteen of them figure in the estimates of a proposed Fantee confederacy, at £50 a-piece, or in all, £800 a-year. It is stated in a contemporary work, that, "on the 5th and 6th of November, the Ashantees attacked a British position at Abrakrampa in considerable force, but were repulsed. On this, as on all occasions of conflict, it was, in the first place, evident that these warlike savages had in no degree degenerated from those of a former generation, who had terrified the whole coast into submission. In the next place, that our black allies were cowardly and worthless, except some of the Houssas; while these were almost useless from their aversion to discipline. Lastly, that, notwithstanding these unfortunate circumstances on our side, it was impossible for the enemy to withstand the arms of precision wielded by our men. But the cost of this unhappy warfare—inglorious but for the patriotic self-devotion with which its dangers were encountered—was such as to cause much unavailing regret. Among many Englishmen and officers who were sacrificed, the death of Captain Eardley Wilmot, who fell in action with the Ashantees, and Lieutenant Charteris, eldest son of Lord Elcho, who succumbed to the deadly character of the climate, caused profound regret. The season for active operations in this country is from December to March, when the unhealthy season sets in. The war ran into 1874, when it was Sir Garnet Wolesley's good fortune to bring it to an end. Coomassie, the capital town of King Koffee Calcalli, was reduced to ruins, and its sovereign forced to sign a treaty, in which he "stipulated to renounce all rights of protectorate over the petty monarchs in alliance with the British Queen, and formerly tributary to the kingdom of Ashantee; also any of the tribes formerly connected with the Dutch government on the Gold Coast: that free trade should be permitted between Ashantee and the British ports; that the road between Coomassie and the river Prah should always be kept open; that the king should use his best efforts to check the practice of human sacrifice; and that he should pay, in instalments, a war indemnity of 50,000 ounces of approved gold, beginning with 4,000 ounces forthwith." The cost of this war to the British government was estimated at £900,000. To Sir Garnet Wolseley, who declined all titular honours, a sum of £25,000 was awarded in recognition of his services.

Turning from politics and war to matters of domestic interest, it may be recorded that, in the month of June, the Imperial Grand Duke of Russia, accompanied by his consort, the Princess Dagmar of Denmark, and their two children, arrived on a private visit to the Prince and Princess of Wales. This, however, was an event of little moment to the general public; but on the 18th of the same month, the Shah of Persia arrived; and for a fortnight previously, all England had been in a state of great excitement in anticipation of the event. Starting from the Belgian capital on Wednesday morning, the 18th, at which hour King Leopold took leave of him at the Brussels railway station, the Persian monarch reached Ostend by a special train before half-past seven. He was accompanied by Sir Henry Rawlinson and other Englishmen. In the port of Ostend were three despatch-boats of the British government, for the conveyance of his majesty and attendants across the channel. The Shah and Persian princes went on board the *Vigilant*, a paddle-wheel steam-yacht of 800 tons burthen. At a distance of several miles from the shore, lay three British ships of war—the new turret-ship *Devastation*, of 9,500 tons; the *Audacious*, and the *Vanguard*, each of 6,000 tons and fourteen guns, both iron-clads. These were to be the escort from Ostend, and they started at eight o'clock. At noon they came in sight of the channel fleet, which had been sent to meet the

Shah, and convey him to Dover. There were eight of these monster ships, independent of the three just named; so that eleven iron-clads were united in one squadron, under Admiral Hornby, to accompany the Shah on his short voyage. Arrived at the pier, the Duke of Edinburgh and Prince Arthur were the first to welcome him. Coming out of the deck saloon of the *Vigilant*, the Shah showed himself on the quarter-deck, amidst a group of Persian grandees, in dresses adorned with gold lace, green ribbons, and brilliantly flashing stars. He wore a cloak, with a tall black fur cap, in front of which was his diamond aigrette, and he wore spectacles. As the multitude cheered him, he raised his hand to his cap once or twice, and then re-entered the deck saloon and changed his dress. He now appeared in a blue military frock-coat, faced with rows of diamonds and large rubies. His belt and the scabbard of his scimitar were likewise bright with jewels, as likewise was his cap. By about four o'clock, accompanied by the British princes, he started by a special train of the South-eastern Railway for London. At the Charing Cross station he was received by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, and, in a short time afterwards, found himself safely domiciled in Buckingham Palace.

Amongst the duties which take a prominent place in the lives of sovereigns, perhaps not the least fatiguing is the being necessitated to receive, with propriety, elegance, and, at least, an external cordiality, the ceremonious hospitality of a great and an hospitable nation. From this there is no means of escape. Even illness is an apology hardly acceptable by a nation when it is in an exceedingly generous humour. Accordingly, if the Shah felt weary on his arrival at Buckingham Palace, and would have been thankful for a day's quiet, he was not doomed to have it; for, on the day immediately succeeding that on which he stepped upon English ground, he had to receive the *corps diplomatique* and her majesty's ministers, then proceed to Marlborough House, and dine with the Prince and Princess of Wales, and afterwards attend a ball given by the Duchess of Sutherland at Stafford House. The next day he was received by the Queen in state, at Windsor Castle; and in the evening of the same day, was present at a magnificent entertainment, given in his honour by the Lord Mayor, in the Guildhall, London. On this occasion, no fewer than 3,000 guests had been invited to meet him.

Having had each of his days fully occupied in London and its vicinity, the Shah, on Thursday, the 26th, set out on a visit to the north of England; and at Liverpool, Manchester, and other parts, met with a like reception to that which had greeted him in the metropolis. The Duke of Sutherland introduced him to English rural life at Trentham, where he stayed until Saturday, the 28th, when he returned to London. On the afternoon of that day, he was entertained at a garden party, given by the Prince and Princess of Wales at the beautiful villa so famous at Chiswick. At this entertainment, the company was so numerous, that a mere list of their names filled nearly three columns of the *Times* newspaper. Her majesty the Queen was present. On the following Monday he inspected the men and engines of the metropolitan fire brigade, in the gardens of Buckingham Palace; and in the afternoon of the same day, went, in company of nearly the whole of the English princes and princesses, to a special entertainment at the Crystal Palace. The Shah was so much pleased with what he saw there, that, instead of taking his departure from England on the 3rd of July, as he had intended, he revisited the Crystal Palace, going without his diamonds, mingling with the common crowd of the people as one of themselves. He wore a simple tunic, which covered even his sword-belt; not a jewel was to be seen about him; and his companions, with the exception of one or two Persian officers in uniform, were as plainly dressed. He said to the chairman and secretary of the palace, in tolerable French—"C'était la plus heureuse soirée que j'ai goutée en Europe." On the 5th of July he took his departure.

During his visit the Shah was made a Knight of the Garter, her majesty presenting him with the badge and collar set in diamonds. He presented, both to the Queen and the Prince of Wales, photographs of himself set in diamonds. To the Duke of Cambridge, at the Windsor review, he gave a diamond-hilted sword; and to Earl Granville he offered his jewelled portrait. The Foreign Secretary, however, evinced a touch of generous dexterity on the occasion. He gracefully and skilfully took the photograph from the midst of its costly setting, and would only accept of his majesty's likeness—a compliment which values the precious stones at naught.

At the opening of the year 1874, the government of Mr. Gladstone, though still strong, was far from being popular. He himself had some slight difficulty about his seat at Greenwich. When the recent ministerial changes took place, and when he added to his duties of Premier those of Chancellor of the Exchequer, he had not again challenged the votes of his constituents. This was, by his adversaries, deemed an unconstitutional omission; and it was generally surmised that, when parliament met, he would be subjected to an inquiry which might endanger his position. It was generally known, that among the ranks of the government there was much discontent, little cordiality among some of the members, and even a feeling of coldness towards the chief himself. No violent immediate crisis, however, was apprehended; and the assembling of parliament on the 5th of February, for its sixth and last

natural session, was expected to take place as one o the usual current events of the year.

About the middle of January, the premier was confined to his bed with a bronchial attack; but he soon recovered, when, on the 24th of January, a long manifesto made its appearance in the public prints, signed by the prime minister, and addressed to his constituents at Greenwich. This manifesto announced the startling intelligence that the present parliament would be dissolved, and a new one summoned to meet without delay. Among his reasons assigned for this act, the premier noted the fact of the government being defeated in their effort to settle the long-disputed question of the higher education in Ireland, "if not by a combined, yet by a concurrent effort of the leader of the opposition and of the Roman Catholic prelacy of Ireland." Other measures operating similarly against the government, evidenced such a diminution of strength, that it was deemed best to test, by a general election, whether ministers should retain or abandon office.

The new elections took place without delay, and were over by the middle of February. It was the first general election that had taken place in England under the conditions of the ballot; and the nation thus called upon to carry out its desires in secret, and without open responsibility, returned a majority of fifty for the Conservative party. This result caused Mr. Disraeli to be summoned to the royal presence, with orders to form a new administration. When the negotiations were completed, the twelve members of the Conservative Cabinet stood in the following order:—

Mr. Disraeli	*First Lord of the Treasury.*
Lord Cairns	*Lord Chancellor.*
Duke of Richmond	*Lord President of the Council.*
Earl of Malmesbury	*Lord Privy Seal.*
Earl of Derby	*Foreign Secretary.*
The Marquis of Salisbury	*Secretary for India.*
The Earl of Carnarvon	*Colonial Secretary.*
Mr. Gathorne Hardy	*Secretary for War.*
Mr. R. A. Cross	*Home Department.*
Mr. Ward Hunt	*First Lord of the Admiralty.*
Sir Stafford Northcote	*Chancellor of the Exchequer.*
Lord John Manners	*Postmaster-General.*

The only new name on the list was that of Mr. Cross, a Lancashire magistrate, and a friend of Lord Derby's. The penetration of Mr. Disraeli led him to the belief that he had discovered in him the true materials of a statesman.

When all the arrangements necessary on the assembling together of a new parliament were made, business was entered upon a month later than usual. It was not, therefore, expected that much business would be done during the session. Indeed, Mr. Disraeli thought that the mind of the country required repose after the "harassing" kind of legislation which it had been forced to endure from the late government. Accordingly, after the Bengal famine had been discussed, and several minor matters, Sir Stafford Northcote announced to the House, that the calculations respecting revenue, which had been just made and reported by Mr. Gladstone, his immediate predecessor, proved to be perfectly correct, and that there was a surplus which amounted to five millions and a-half.

Later in the session, Mr. Cross brought forward the Licensing Bill, which led to a great consumption of time by the almost interminable, uninteresting discussions which its clauses involved. It was, however, the only one of the government bills announced in the Queen's speech which reached maturity. Some were set aside for want of time, and others introduced and carried by the government, although they had not, in the programme, been foreshadowed at all. Questions of a religious or ecclesiastical character were those which occupied the greater part of the session; and among them was the Scotch Church Patronage Bill, introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond. Its object was to abolish the system of lay patronage in the established kirk, and vest it in the congregations. The measure was, after thorough discussion in both Houses, carried. The "Public Worship Bill," and the "Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill," also occupied much of the time of the session; and after several alterations and amendments, both were ultimately passed.

In relation to the royal family, parliament was, during this session, called upon to deal with some matters. Prince Arthur, introduced by his brothers the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh, took his seat as Duke of Connaught among the peers of the realm. The Queen, in conferring this title upon her third son, t appears, selected it with the evident desire of gratifying her Irish subjects. The prince himself was popular; having, in his profession, gained the esteem of all those with whom he had been brought into contact.

The next matter was a proposal for an allowance to be made to the fourth and youngest son of the Queen. This duty fell to the Duke of Richmond in the House of Lords, where it was unanimously carried, the sum voted being £15,000 annually. In the House of Commons the subject was introduced by Mr. Disraeli, and was there also carried unanimously.

Leaving the arena of parliamentary politics and debate, the imposing state entry of the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh into the British metropolis, forms a popular scene of attraction. It took place on the 12th of March. Early on that morning the frost happened to be the most severe that had occurred during the preceding winter, and, before nine o'clock, a heavy snow-storm set in, and continued till past noon.

This was, so far, unfortunate for the sight-seers; but it did not prevent the Queen, with her new daughter, Prince Alfred, and several other members of the royal family leaving Windsor Castle at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and proceeding to London. Arrived in the metropolis, although snow was falling, the royal party, in open carriages, were driven from the Great Western station, amid the cheers of large crowds already assembled in the streets. For some hours together the people had been gathering, notwithstanding the persistency of the snow-fall, which, by the help of a little ingenuity in the application, might be considered a not inappropriate Russian welcome to the Muscovite lady. The Queen and the royal couple evinced their heedlessness of the weather by braving the snow in an open landau, drawn by six bay horses, with postilions in scarlet and gold liveries. Her majesty was dressed in half-mourning, and looked remarkably well whilst smiling and bowing her acknowledgments of the hearty cheers with which she was greeted. By her side sat the grand duchess, attired in a purple velvet mantle, edged with fur, a pale blue silk dress, and white bonnet. The frank, ingenuous expression of her fresh comely features seemed to make a most favourable impression upon the hearts of the people. The Princess Beatrice sat facing the grand duchess; and by the side of the princess was her brother, the Duke of Edinburgh, in captain's uniform, constantly raising his cocked hat in acknowledgment of the acclamations of the crowds which lined the streets, and thronged the windows, balconies, and even the house-tops. The welcome was of the heartiest description, and in the evening there were brilliant illuminated displays in the principal thoroughfares of the metropolis.

About the end of January, when it might be considered to have been little expected, a telegram was received from Aden, announcing the death of the great African traveller, Dr. Livingstone. He died of dysentery while travelling from Lake Bemhe to Unyanyembe. His body had been embalmed and preserved in salt by his Nassick boys, who were on their way conveying it to Zanzibar, *en route* for England. This was the substance of the telegram received; but our most eminent geographers long entertained doubts of the authenticity of the intelligence, though it eventually proved to be true. In July, 1869, Dr. Livingstone resolved to strike westward from his head-quarters at Ujiji, on the Tanganyika Lake, in order to trace out a series of water-basins lying in that direction, and which he had hoped would eventually have turned out to be the true sources of the Nile. After penetrating as far west as Bainbarre and Lake Kamalondo, stopping short of Bagenya, about four degrees to the west of his starting point, he returned; and when, in the winter of 1870-'71, he was found by Mr. Stanley—recorded in our last chapter—he was once more in the neighbourhood of his old haunts. His resolution still continued fixed—bent on discovering certain "fountains on the hills," which he had hoped would enable him to prove that they were the veritable sources of the Nile, and to have the glory of discovering them alone. This was a noble ambition, and, as he himself said, that no one might come after him and cut him out with a fresh batch of sources.

Mr. Stanley, the American, supplied him with new stores of necessaries, as Livingstone refused to return to England until his grand object was accomplished. Accordingly, he pursued his way, accompanied by none save the African natives, by whom he was surrounded, until May 4th, 1873, when he died. He had attempted to cross Lake Bemhe from the north; but failing in this, he had doubled back and rounded the lake, crossing the Chambize and the other rivers which flow into it. He then crossed the Lurpula, and after having passed through a marshy country, with the water, for three hours at a time, above his waist, he finished his earthly career at Lobisa. His body arrived in England in the middle of April, 1874, and when conveyed to London, was received at the rooms of the Royal Geographical Society. Here it was examined by Sir William Fergusson, its identification being placed beyond doubt by the trace of a fracture caused by the bite of a lion upwards of thirty years previously. On the 18th of the month his remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey. The coffin, which was of English oak, was almost without ornament, and bore this brief inscription :—

DAVID LIVINGSTONE:
Born at Blantyre, Lanarkshire, Scotland, March 19, 1813.
Died at Llala, Central Africa, May 4, 1873

Thus does the dust of this humble, but brave Scotchman, rest in the great national sanctuary of England, under the same roof with that of the noblest in the land—an honour merited by the almost sublime martyrdom of his life. *Requiescat in pace*—May he rest in peace!

CHAPTER CXXVIII.

CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN VICTORIA.—A.D. 1875.

THE interest of the parliamentary session of this year was almost entirely absorbed by other events, in the contemplation of which, the public at large seemed to receive a certain amount of agreeable excitement. On the evening of the 23rd of July, however, there occurred, in the House of Commons, a scene so rare in these days of calm and discreet legislation, that it seems almost to throw the people back upon the stormy senatorial days of Charles I. and Oliver Cromwell. The occurrence is so unusual, and was so unexpected, and, withal, so dramatic, that it merits especial notice, as showing what may happen, even in the nineteenth century, in the national assembly of Great Britain, supposed to be composed of gentlemen, who, as a whole, are said to be possessed of a greater amount of discretion and wisdom than is to be found in any other assembly in the world. Mr. Disraeli, being asked whether he could afford facilities for the third reading of the "Infanticide Bill," in time to enable the House of Lords to consider it this session, rose, and thus represented the state of public business and the intentions of the government:—

"Perhaps the House will allow me, at this moment, to make a general statement in regard to the conduct of public business. The government were anxious to pass the Merchant Shipping Bill during this session of parliament. It had been pointed out to me, that if we could have got through the committee on the Agricultural Holdings Bill this week, we might have succeeded in passing the bill, and not have detained the House to an unreasonable period. In that matter, however, we have been disappointed, and, therefore, I am compelled to say, with unfeigned regret, that it is impossible for her majesty's government to entertain a hope that they will be able to pass the Merchant Shipping Bill this session. It has been submitted to me that we might pass a measure in a limited form, and that even in that form it might not be without benefit; but on consideration, I am not disposed to deal with the question in a fragmentary way. I have, therefore, declined to adopt that course; but I may say, if I am in the position next session which I now occupy, I and my colleagues will take the earliest opportunity of re-introducing the bill, and pushing it to a safe conclusion. I now intend to proceed with the Agricultural Holdings Bill until the committee is finished, and after that I propose to take supply; and when supply is concluded, I propose we should put the finishing strokes to the Land Transfer and Titles and the Judicature Bills. I calculate, by this programme, we may conclude the business on the 10th or 12th of August; though if the whole time is placed at our disposal, even an earlier date may be fixed upon; that, however, will entirely depend upon the House. The result which I wish to convey to the House is, that, unfortunately, we must give up the Merchant Shipping Bill; that we shall proceed with the Agricultural Holdings Bill, then with supply, and then with the two legal bills.

Mr. Goschen, as representing a shipping community, expressed his deep sense of regret that the Merchant Shipping Bill was not to be proceeded with. "It is clear," he said, "and I hope I may say it without offence, that the Merchant Shipping Bill is sacrificed to the Agricultural Holdings Bill; and, considering the urgency of the case, the human life which is at stake, and the uncertain state in which the shipping interest is being kept on this subject, I must say that there is some reason for complaint, not that the bill is withdrawn now, but that the arrangements of the government have been such as to render its withdrawal a necessity." On this, Mr. E. Smith rose to address the House, when the Speaker pointed out that the proper time to continue the discussion would be when the motion was made to withdraw the Merchant Shipping Bill.

Mr. Plimsoll, who was sitting at the end of the House, on the opposition side, and who appeared to be labouring under great excitement, then rose and said—"I beg to move the adjournment of the House. I earnestly entreat the right hon. gentleman, the prime minister, not to consign some thousands of living men to an undeserved and sudden death. I believe, and do not hesitate to say, without charging the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Charles Adderley) with a breach of faith or trickery, that after the first thirty clauses of the bill, which merely related to matters of slight alteration in the law, the rest of the bill was so drawn as to afford the greatest facilities for death-dealing and for hostile amendments. I adhere still to that opinion. I want the House to understand the position of this question. Since 1862, the Board of Trade have allowed matters to get worse and worse; and, with the aid of ship-owners of murderous tendencies outside this House, but who are amply represented inside the House, they have frustrated and talked to death every effort to

procure a remedy for this state of things. (Cries of "Name.") I will give names presently. I ask hon. members if they have seen in the papers Lord Gifford's judgment respecting the ship *Bard of Avon*. If not, I advise them to read it. (Cries of "Order.") I must and will speak out. A friend of mine has told me that he does not know of a single ship which has been broken up voluntarily by the owners, because she was worn out, for thirty years. These ships gradually pass from hand to hand until they are bought by some needy and reckless speculator, by whom they are sent to sea with precious human lives on board. I have had a list carefully prepared from 15,000 vessels classed at Lloyd's. No fewer than 2,654 vessels have gone off their class and forfeited their position. And what is the consequence of this? It is that hundreds and hundreds of brave men are continually being sent to death, and their wives are made widows and their children orphans, so that a few speculative scoundrels, in whose breasts there is neither the love of God nor the fear of God, may make unhallowed gains. ("Hear, hear," and "Oh.") There are ship-owners in this country who have never either built a ship or bought a new one, but are simply what are called 'ship-knackers;' and accidentally I overheard a member of this House described by an ex-Secretary to the Treasury as a ship-knacker." (Cries of "Oh," and "Order.")

Here the Speaker rose, and pointed out to the hon. member that his speech—or the greater part of his observations—had reference to a bill which was set down for consideration that very day. His observations would be quite in order if made on the order that that bill be discharged; but he was not at liberty to discuss, on a motion for adjournment, the merits of any bill which was before the House.

Mr. Plimsoll: "Then, Sir, I give notice that, on Tuesday next, I will put the following question to the President of the Board of Trade. I will ask the hon. gentleman whether he will inform the House as to the following ships: the *Thetis*, the *Melbourne*, the *Norah Grey*, all lost in 1874, with eighty-seven lives; and the *Foundling* and the *Sydney Dacre*, abandoned in the early part of this year; and if he will tell the House whether the registered owner of these ships is Edward Bates, the member for Plymouth, or some other person of the same name—(loud cries of "Order")—and, Sir, I will ask some questions about members on this side of the House also. I am determined to unmask the villains who send to death and destruction"—— Here Mr. Plimsoll was interrupted by loud cries of "Order," in the midst of which he left his seat, and walking up to the table, stood in the middle of the floor, and, facing the Speaker, shook his clenched hand first at the one and then at the other side of the House. There was naturally great uproar; and when it had subsided, and the hon. gentleman had sat down, the Speaker rose and said: "I presume it is not intended that that expression is to be applied to any member of this House."

Mr. Plimsoll: "I beg pardon?"

The Speaker: "The hon. member made use of the word 'villain.' I trust he did not mean to apply it to any member of this House."

Mr. Plimsoll, again advancing to the middle of the floor, and waving his arms excitedly: "I did, Sir, and I don't mean to withdraw it." (Cries of "Order," "Withdraw," and general excitement.) "No, no, I won't withdraw." (Renewed cries of "Order," and excitement.)

The Speaker (who meanwhile had been standing and trying to restore order): "The observations of the hon. member are altogether unparliamentary; and I must call upon him to withdraw them." (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Plimsoll: "And I must again decline." (Loud cries of "Order.")

The Speaker: "Does the hon. member withdraw that expression?"

Mr. Plimsoll: "No, I don't—I don't." (Sensation.)

The Speaker: "I must again call upon the hon. member to withdraw it." (Loud cries of "Withdraw.")

Mr. Plimsoll: "I won't; and I must be allowed to say"——

The Speaker: "If the hon. member does not, I must submit his conduct to the judgment of the House." (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Plimsoll: "I shall be happy to submit to the judgment of the House, and this is my protest."

The hon. gentleman then advanced and threw a document on the table, immediately afterwards retiring, and taking a seat below the gangway on the opposition side of the House. Great excitement followed, and in the midst of it Mr. Dodson moved towards the hon. member, and addressed some words to him, apparently with the view of appeasing his excitement.

Meanwhile Mr. Disraeli rose and was received with cheers. He said: "I rise, I confess, with great pain, and I have no doubt a similar feeling will be experienced by every member of this House—that a brother member should have conducted himself in a manner almost unparalleled."

Mr. Plimsoll (excitedly): "And so has the government." (Cries of "Order," and excitement.)

"It is my duty," continued Mr. Disraeli, "to maintain, so far as I can, the dignity of the chair, and the honour of the House and all its members; and I think the conduct of the hon. member cannot be passed unnoticed. It is of the most violent and offensive kind; and, although I do it with great reluctance, I feel I am only expressing the sense of the whole House when I

month, but had not been permitted to finish his task. On the second attempt, however, he swam to Calais, reaching there at about half-past ten o'clock on the following morning, after being nearly twenty-two hours in the water. The exploit was performed with no eye to reaping pecuniary benefit by it. Nevertheless, it was considered so daring, and so extraordinary, that a large amount was, throughout the country, subscribed and presented to him in testimony of the general admiration which his courage and endurance had called forth. Previously, an American had crossed the channel in a life-saving apparatus; but the feat of Captain Webb was accomplished with no artificial means of aid whatever—a stout heart, sound lungs, and a strong physical construction of frame, being the only means—wholly supplied by nature—which he brought to his task.

Africa, which has for nearly a century taken a firm hold on the minds of enterprising geographers and ethnologists, did, this year especially, excite a deep interest in the mind of the British public. Exploration was daily lifting from it the veil with which it had for centuries been covered, and new lights were being thrown upon it in all directions. Mr. H. M. Stanley, the discoverer of Dr. Livingstone, was commissioned by the newspaper proprietors of the *New York Herald* and the London *Daily Telegraph*, to explore the central portion of that continent, and he transmitted despatches of the most interesting description. He literally unveiled much of the hidden land. He passed through a wide tract of perfectly new country, in which he endured much suffering; and in fighting with the natives, lost twenty-one of his followers. These people were called the Waiura. To counterbalance this, he succeeded in making a complete survey of the famous lake Victoria Nyanza, the banks of which may, at no very distant day, be settled and cultivated by English, Irish, and Scotch. This is by no means a poetical dream. King Mtesa, the ruler of Uganda, through Mr. Stanley, invited to his kingdom—one of the fairest and largest of equatorial Africa—persons from England to come and instruct him and his people in moral and religious truth, and help him to civilise and develop the resources of his country. This invitation was at once met by a response from the London Church Missionary Society, and the means provided to carry out the wishes of this enlightened African monarch, who, if he himself is brought under the banner of Christ instead of that of Mahomet, may be a great means of lifting his land out of the deep darkness in which it has so long been enveloped.

In the month of July, Seyyid Burghash, sovereign of Zanzibar, arrived in England, and took up his abode at the Alexandra Hotel, London. He was found to be both a polite and an agreeable Arabian gentleman, attended in this country by Dr. Badger, whose perfect command of Arabic was a great advantage, not only to Seyyid himself, but to all who desired to converse with him. During his stay, he was, as a matter of course, much *fêted*, and shown, without reserve, all that might be supposed to interest a stranger, whose good-will was wished to be cultivated, if for no other reason, for that of aiding in the suppression of the slave-trade in Eastern Africa. While in London, the Alexandra Hotel was quite a little section of equatorial Africa, his highness, his suite, and their attendants—faces wholly new in England, but familiar enough to such as knew the Somali and Arabian coasts, and the Gulf-Arabs of Western India. The "tobe" and the "abbas" went wandering up and down; and on entering the hotel, one saw a countenance which re-called Africa, pure and simple, wide-nosed, prognathous, full-lipped, and yellow eyed—another, of the high Omânli type, having the hue of coffee well milked; oval, with the soft desert-bred eyes and dark curled beard: anon the pensive visage of a Hindoo merchant passed, and a glimpse was caught of the high-dried saffron forehead of the old Zanzibar Arab. These strangers did not easily lose the feeling of wonder which almost everything around them was calculated to inspire; but they took the new sights very quietly, as is the nature of their breed, and chattered African comments, one with another, over the comings and goings of a London hotel in full swing of the season. The prince was highly pleased with his reception. The marvellous commercial activity of the river—its endless fringes of warehouses, and quays, and buildings—its boats and bridges, but, above all, the wilderness of great and small vessels in the Pool—deeply astonished the Seyyid and his attendants; for neither Bombay nor Lisbon had prepared them at all for such a spectacle. "These ships seem to grow along your shores as the mangroves do with us," the Arab lord remarked as he came near London Bridge. He and his suite left London on the 15th of July for Folkestone, and embarked there for Paris, whence, after a short stay, he was to proceed to Marseilles on his return to Zanzibar.

Near the close of September, this year, the fiftieth anniversary of an important event was celebrated at Darlington and its immediate neighbourhood in the north of England. This was a "Railway Jubilee," held at the invitation of the North-Eastern Company, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the railway-system in the very locality where it occurred. For a moment let the following statistics be pondered, as an evidence of only the partial results of railway-travelling, now almost universal in the civilised parts of the globe. They have been compiled with

the greatest care from official sources, and exhibit the growth—the gradual growth—of railway enterprise in the United Kingdom, from the year 1843 to the end of 1874. Commencing with 1843, they are given for that year; also for 1851, 1861, 1871, 1873, and 1874; and they are arranged in such a manner as to show the principal facts, not only for the United Kingdom as a whole, but also separately for England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. The advantage of introducing the year 1873 is, that its returns show the immediate effect of the greater facilities afforded for third-class passenger traffic by the chief railway companies in 1872; and the year 1874 brings down the facts as nearly as possible to the present time. Each of the tables is, in a great measure, independent of those which follow or precede it.

—	Number of Passengers.						Passenger Receipts.					
	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.*	1873.	1874.	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.
England & Wales:							£	£	£	£	£	£
First Class	3,019,570	8,652,530	18,058,410	30,092,538	32,474,219	33,099,105	1,328,901	2,215,527	2,676,354	3,504,124	3,687,638	3,785,137
Second Class ...	9,163,758	26,496,522	45,357,582	73,011,105	62,866,761	64,329,821	1,195,051	2,719,738	3,489,971	4,596,317	3,438,132	3,529,619
Third Class... ...	5,210,009	35,317,240	82,381,380	225,449,303	306,124,106	325,655,015	359,924	1,977,710	3,535,127	6,692,971	9,940,661	10,523,286
Total	18,293,337	70,466,292	145,797,372	328,552,946	401,465,086	423,083,941	2,883,876	6,912,975	9,701,452	14,793,412	17,066,431	17,838,042
Scotland:—												
First Class	261,649	759,926	2,372,074	3,600,786	3,952,419	4,261,473	41,877	145,636	265,092	379,626	414,478	440,437
Second Class ...	894,818	1,744,190	2,054,124	3,687,070	3,499,983	3,769,485	60,714	164,813	170,757	268,108	240,371	257,536
Third Class	1,942,618	6,775,533	12,818,359	23,832,018	30,060,394	30,189,934	67,242	309,810	560,205	951,413	1,222,106	1,239,068
Total	3,099,115	9,279,949	17,244,557	31,119,874	37,512,796	38,220,892	169,833	620,259	996,054	1,599,147	1,876,955	1,937,041
Ireland:—												
First Class	95,321	601,881	1,487,452	1,948,875	1,884,116	1,914,181	4,164	78,136	201,810	264,358	271,158	273,777
Second Class ...	1,139,936	2,233,818	3,734,966	4,323,765	3,960,684	4,163,657	32,993	142,184	272,391	303,110	306,215	312,026
Third Class	839,187	2,792,176	5,456,792	9,275,294	10,497,506	10,457,740	19,391	141,204	291,368	470,920	587,821	584,251
Total	2,074,414	5,627,875	10,679,210	15,547,934	16,342,306	16,535,578	56,548	361,524	765,569	1,038,388	1,165,194	1,170,054
United Kingdom:												
First Class	4,276,540	10,014,337	21,917,936	35,642,199	38,310,754	39,274,759	1,374,942	2,439,299	3,143,256	4,148,108	4,373,274	4,499,351
Second Class ...	11,198,512	30,474,830	51,146,672	81,021,940	70,327,428	72,262,963	1,288,758	3,026,735	3,933,119	5,167,535	3,984,718	4,099,181
Third Class... ..	7,991,844	44,884,949	100,656,531	258,556,615	346,682,006	366,302,689	446,557	2,428,724	4,386,700	8,115,304	11,750,588	12,346,605
Total	23,466,896	85,374,116	173,721,139	375,220,754	455,320,188	477,840,411	3,110,257	7,894,758	11,463,075	17,430,947	20,108,580	20,945,137
Season Tickets:—												
England	—	4,887	34,053	139,041	257,470	438,523	—	39,637	245,026	678,861	855,024	933,890
Scotland	—	6,364	10,501	31,776	37,707	36,786	—	2,290	84,860	70,575	87,024	96,762
Ireland	—	5,728	7,525	17,575	19,402	18,648	—	4,079	17,942	32,342	36,919	38,529
United Kingdom .	—	16,979	52,079	188,392	314,979	493,957	—	46,006	287,828	781,778	978,967	1,069,181
Gross Total ..	—	85,391,095	173,773,218	375,409,146	455,634,767	478,334,368	—	7,940,764	11,750,903	18,212,725	21,087,547	22,014,318

—	Average Fare per Head.						Proportion of Classes.						Proportion of Receipts.					
	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.
England & Wales:—	s. d.	s. d	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.
First Class	6 9¼	5 1¼	2 11½	2 4	2 3¼	2 3¼	21·43	12·28	12·39	9·16	8·09	7·82	46 08	32·05	27·59	23·69	21·61	21·22
Second Class	2 7¼	2 0½	1 6¼	1 3	1 1	1 1¼	50·09	37 60	31·11	22·22	15·66	15·21	41·44	39·34	35·97	31·07	20·14	19·79
Third Class	1 4⅓	1 4¼	0 10¼	0 7	0 7¾	0 7¾	28·48	50·12	56·50	68·62	76·25	76·97	12·48	28·61	36·44	45·24	58·25	58·99
Total	3 1⅝	1 11½	1 4	0 10¾	0 10¼	0 10⅛	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Scotland:—																		
First Class	3 2¼	3 9¾	2 2¼	2 1¼	2 1	2 0¾	8·44	8·19	13·76	11·57	10 54	11·15	24·66	23·48	26·62	23·74	22·08	22·74
Second Class	1 4¼	1 10½	1 8	1 5½	1 4½	1 4¼	28·87	18·80	11·91	11·85	9 33	9 86	35·75	26·57	17·14	16·77	12·81	13·29
Third Class	0 8¼	0 11	0 10½	0 9½	0 0¾	0 9¼	62·69	73·01	74·33	76·58	80·13	78·99	39·59	49·95	56·24	59·49	65·11	63·97
Total	1 1	1 4	1 1¾	1 0¼	1 0	1 0⅛	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Ireland:—																		
First Class	0 10½	2 7	2 8½	2 8½	2 10⅓	2 10¼	4·60	10·70	13·93	12·53	11·52	11·58	7·36	21·61	26·36	25·46	23·27	23·49
Second Class	0 7	1 3¼	1 5½	1 5	1 6½	1 6	54·95	39·69	34·98	27·81	24·24	25·18	58·35	39·33	35·58	29·19	26·28	26·67
Third Class	0 5½	1 0	1 6¾	1 0	1 1¼	1 1½	40·45	49 61	51·09	59·66	64·24	63·24	34·29	39·06	38·06	45·35	50·45	49·93
Total	0 6½	1 3¼	1 5¼	1 4	1 5	1 5	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
United Kingdom:—																		
First Class	6 5	4 10¼	2 10¼	2 4	2 3¼	2 3½	18·22	11·73	12·62	9·50	8·41	8·22	44·21	30·90	27·42	23·80	21·75	21·53
Second Class	2 3½	1 11¾	1 6½	1 3¼	1 1½	1 1½	47·72	35·70	29·44	21·59	15·45	15·12	41·43	38·34	34·31	29·64	19·81	19·5[illegible]
Third Class	1 1½	1 1	0 10¼	0 7½	0 8	0 8	34·06	52·57	57·94	68·91	76·14	76·66	14·36	30·76	38·27	46·56	58·44	58·[illegible]
Total	2 7¾	1 10	1 3¾	0 11¼	0 10½	0 10½	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Gross Total ...	—	1 10¼	1 4½	0 11¾	0 11	0 11												

* In 1872 the principal Companies began to run Third Class Carriages on all trains. The figures, therefore, for 1871 and 1873 give a ready comparison of the effect of the chan

—	Length of Line Open.						Proportion of Number of Passengers in Three Countries.						Proportion of Passenger Receipts in Three Countries.					
	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.
	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.
England	1,775	5,304	7,820	10,850	11,369	11,622	77·95	82·54	83·92	87·56	88·17	88·54	92·72	87·56	84·63	84·87	84·87	85·16
Double			5,548	6,799	7,138	*7,193												
Single			2,272	4,051	4,231	4,429												
Scotland	225	962	1,626	2,538	2,612	2,700	13·21	10·87	9·03	8·30	8·24	8·00	5·46	7·86	8·69	9·17	9·33	9·25
Double			868	1,043	1,048	1,048												
Single			758	1,495	1,564	1,652												
Ireland...	31	624	1,423	1,988	2,101	2,127	9·84	6·59	6·15	4·14	3·59	3·46	1·82	4·58	6·68	5·96	5·80	5·59
Double			477	496	501	508												
Single			946	1,492	1,600	1,619												
United Kingdom...	2,031	6,890	10,869	15,376	16,082	16,449	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Double		5,613	6,893	8,338	8,687	8,749												
Single		1,277	3,976	7,038	7,395	7,700												

—	Tonnage.—Goods Traffic. (N.B. No Return of Tonnage of Goods, &c., for Year 1851.)				Receipts.—Goods Traffic.				Proportion of Receipts.			
	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.
England :—					£	£	£	£	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.
Merchandise	25,074,982	58,978,558	Not well		7,978,803	13,056,770	15,227,890	15,536,890	62·45	58·31	56·66	57·5[illegible]
Minerals	51,617,741	81,412,357	classified.		4,323,174	8,610,713	10,845,889	10,659,110	33·84	38·45	40·36	39·46
Live Stock	—	—	—	—	473,479	724,464	801,025	818,263	3·71	3·24	2·98	3·03
Total	76,692,723	140,390,915	162,820,330	160,922,000	12,775,456	22,391,947	26,874,804	27,014,263	100	100	100	100
Scotland :—												
Merchandise	4,101,938	5,722,387	6,097,161	6,078,329	1,026,524	1,631,585	1,970,986	1,998,698	53·37	52·26	51·72	51·45
Minerals	11,766,609	20,337,781	18,878,783	18,417,411	837,913	1,360,513	1,693,740	1,730,706	43·57	43·58	44·45	44·56
Live Stock	—	—	—	—	59,879	129,734	146,103	155,020	3·06	4·16	3·83	3·99
Total	15,868,547	26,060,168	24,975,944	24,495,740	1,923,313	3,121,882	3,810,829	3,884,424	100	100	100	100
Ireland :—												
Merchandise	1,461,973	2,441,289	Not well		417,978	729,816	872,431	863,658	77·39	75·15	76·81	78·00
Minerals	220,084	472,326	classified.		33,106	58,027	65,833	60,440	6·13	5·97	5·80	5·46
Live Stock	—	—	—	—	89,027	183,306	197,632	183,098	16·48	18·88	17·39	16·54
Total	1,682,057	2,913,615	3,157,183	3,121,112	540,111	971,149	1,135,896	1,107,196	100	100	100	100
United Kingdom :—												
Merchandise	30,638,833	67,142,234	Not well		9,423,305	15,418,171	18,071,307	18,399,246	61·84	58·21	56·79	57·49
Minerals	63,604,434	102,222,464	classified.		5,194,193	10,029,253	12,605,462	12,450,256	34·08	37·87	39·61	38·90
Live Stock	—	—	—	—	621,382	1,037,554	1,144,760	1,156,381	4·08	3·92	3·60	3·61
Total	94,243,327	169,364,698	190,953,457	188,538 852	15,238,880	26,484,978	31,821,529	32,005,883	100	100	100	100

—	Gross Receipts from all Sources.*						Proportion of Gross Receipts.†						Proportion of Gross Receipts to Capital Expended.				
	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1851	1861	1871	1873	1874
England :—	£	£	£	£	£	£	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.
Passenger Traffic	2,883,876	6,952,611	11,246,472	17,450,447	20,187,185	21,128,179	68·88	53·49	46·82	42·17	41·32	42·08	6·23	8·02	8·97	9·97	9·87
Goods	1,303,291	6,044,182	12,775,456	22,391,947	26,874,804	27,014,263	31·12	46·51	53·18	54·11	55·01	53·80					
Miscellaneous ...	—	—	—	1,540,671	1,795,289	2,067,694	—	—	—	3·72	3·67	4·12					
Total ...	4,187,167	12,996,793	24,021,928	41,383,065	48,857,278	50,210,136	100	100	100	100	100	100					
Scotland :—																	
Passenger Traffic	169,833	622,549	1,172,121	1,919,603	2,261,606	2,350,593	59·66	43·33	37·87	36·65	35·85	36·27	5·07	7·54	8·15	9·12	9·09
Goods	114,839	814,053	1,923,313	3,121,882	3,810,829	3,884,424	40·34	56·67	62·13	59·61	60·42	59·94					
Miscellaneous ...	—	—	—	195,844	235,353	245,763	—	—	—	3·74	3·73	3·79					
Total ...	284,672	1,436,602	3,095,434	5,237,329	6,307,788	6,480,780	100	100	100	100	100	100					
Ireland :—																	
Passenger Traffic	56,548	365,604	907,882	1,252,530	1,405,101	1,414,843	89·26	64·82	62·70	55·12	54·53	55·16	5·01	6·68	8·41	8·83	8·60
Goods	6,802	198,459	540,111	971,149	1,135,896	1,107,196	10·74	35·18	37·30	42·74	44·08	43·17					
Miscellaneous ...	—	—	—	48,707	35,937	42,760	—	—	—	2·14	1·39	1·67					
Total ...	63,350	564,063	1,447,993	2,272,386	2,576,934	2,564,799	100	100	100	100	100	100					
ntd. King.:—																	
assenger Traffic	3,110,257	7,940,764	13,326,475	20,622,580	25,853,892	24,893,615	68·58	52·95	46·65	42·18	41·31	42·01	6·04	7·88	8·85	9·81	9·71
oods	1,424,932	7,056,695	15,238,880	26,484,978	31,821,529	32,005,883	31·42	47·05	53·35	54·17	55·11	54·01					
scellaneous ...	—	—	—	1,785,222	2,066,579	2,356,217	—	—	—	3·65	3·58	3·98					
Total ...	4,535,189	14,997,459	28,565,355	48,892,780	57,742,000	59,255,715	100	100	100	100	100	100					

* Passenger Traffic includes Receipts from Passengers, Parcels, Mails, &c.

† In 1848 and 1851 the Receipts from M[illegible]ave been com[illegible] were given in Board of Trade R[illegible]

—	Passengers Killed from Causes beyond their own Control.						Proportion Killed to Number Carried.						No. of Passengers Killed, 1864 to 1873.	Average No. Killed to No. Carried in Ten Years.
	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1843.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.		
England	1	19	44	6	37	62	One in 18,203,337	One in 3,708,752	One in 3,313,576	One in 54,758,824	One in 10,850,427	One in 6,823,934	234	One in 12,154,914
Scotland	—	—	2	2	3	17	—	—	8,622,278	15,559,937	12,504,265	2,248,288	24	11,028,802
Ireland	—	—	—	4	—	1	—	—	—	3,886,983	—	16,535,578	13	10,753,961
United Kingdom	1	19	46	12	40	80	23,466,896	4,493,374	3,776,546	31,268,396	11,383,004	5,973,005	271	11,987,980

—	Capital Expended.					Capital Expended per Mile.				
	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1851.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
England	208,642,302	299,610,346	461,368,616	490,018,994	508,726,428	39,336	38,313	42,522	43,101	43,773
Scotland	28,351,881	41,026,603	64,282,911	69,126,420	71,327,140	29,471	25,231	25,328	26,465	26,417
Ireland...	11,246,714	21,690,389	27,028,580	29,174,894	29,842,363	18,023	15,242	13,596	13,886	14,030
United Kingdom...	248,240,897	362,327,338	552,680,107	588,320,308	609,895,931	36,029	33,335	35,944	36,582	37,078

—	Net Receipts.				Proportion of Net Receipts to Capital.			
	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.	1861.	1871.	1873.	1874.
	£	£	£	£	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.	P.ct.
England & Wales	12,188,857	21,995,582	23,043,901	22,675,413	4·06	4.76	4·70	4·46
Scotland	1,696,585	2,653,543	2,789,704	2,845,817	4·13	4·12	4·03	3·99
Ireland	805,854	1,090,795	1,155,547	1,121,773	3·71	4·03	3·96	3·76
United Kingdom	14,691,296	25,739,920	26,989,152	26,643,003	4·05	4·65	4·58	4·37

In 1804 George Stephenson was a poor man labouring for his daily bread. His son Robert happened to be lying in his cradle, while he himself was cobbling shoes by his side. At that period, the stage-coach performed its journeys at the rate of five miles an hour, and a letter posted in Edinburgh might, by some fortuitous circumstance, be so successful as to reach its destination within the course of seven or eight days. Twenty years after the above humble scene, George Stephenson said to his son, "I tell thee what I think, my lad, and it is, that you will live to see the day, though I may not live so long, when railroads will supersede almost all other modes of conveyance of our native country; when mail-coaches will go by railway, and railways become the great highway for the king and his subjects. The time is coming when it will be cheaper for a working-man to travel by railway than to walk on foot." This was a bold, but nevertheless a true prophecy; and both father and son lived to see it fulfilled. But who brought about this extraordinary revolution? George Stephenson and his illustrious son, with the aid of Brunel, his son, and Joseph Locke!

On an occasion of such importance, marking, as it does, the celebration of an event, transcending, in the extent of its intelligent development, the grandest dreams of antiquity, it was to be expected that it would be accompanied, at Darlington, with all the usual concomitants of a generous festivity. Accordingly, in spite of the chilling dr[illegible] and rain, decorations were abundant, and festoons, and flowers, and flags, were lavishly displayed, to signalise an event so memorable. This, to the local mind, no doubt, appeared so grand, that both the travelling and mercantile communities ought to have felt a grateful glow of sympathy with it in all parts of the civilised globe. Perhaps the most attractive feature of the day was a Locomotive Exhibition, showing the changes and improvements which had, from time to time, been effected during the half-century which had just passed over the trial of the railway system. This was held in what is called the North Road Engine Works, the principal place for the erection of locomotives between the Ouse and the Tyne, and where the bulk of the engines for the Darlington section of the North-Eastern Railway are built. These works were, in 1863, commenced with about fifty workmen, but now they employ about a thousand; and, on the day of the jubilee, offered to view twenty-four engines, all of different types and construction. A slight description of these, as developing the progress of locomotive engineering skill, cannot fail to be interesting as witnessed on an occasion of this kind.

The engines shown included "Locomotive," the first engine used on a public railway, built by Stephenson in Newcastle, in 1825. It was shown in motion, steam being conveyed to the cylinders by a pipe from the boiler of the works. "No. 1" contrasted vividly with its upright works exposed, its cylinders placed vertically on the top of the boiler, and its single flue, with its

neighbour, a splendid passenger engine, built at the works this year (1875), weighing exactly four times the weight of "Locomotive," and intended to run the express from Saltburn to Leeds. By the side of "No. 1," was shown also one of the original fish-bellied malleable iron rails, and the engine itself was placed on rails similarly attached to stone sleepers of the olden type. Next was one of the engines built by Timothy Hackworth, and since remodelled; then one named "Invicta," dating from 1830, built by Robert Stephenson, and notable as that on which the present locomotive principal of the North-Eastern—Mr. Fletcher—began his career. Then came three other old engines, the sloping cylinders, single tube, and double tender of the first, marking it as of ancient date; whilst the others, and the two adjoining, presented varied stages of progression in design and compactness. Next (No. 273), was an engine constructed on the principle of Crampton's patent, having no driving-wheel; and this completed the series of the most noticeable old engines.

There was a greater variety of the new engines shown —the Stockton and Darlington section, the North-Eastern, the Midland, the Glasgow and South-Western, the London and North-Western, and the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway Companies, having contributed some of the finest locomotives running on their lines. The Midland sent one built by Kitson of Leeds, neatly finished. The London and North-Western were represented by the "Penrith Beacon," built at their great Crewe works, also new, and distinguished from all others by having a "scoop" for gathering water whilst travelling at a rapid speed. The Great Northern sent a compact engine (No. 47), [con]spicuous by its large driving-wheel, about eight feet, [and] by the absence of a steam dome. The Glasgow and South-Western exhibited a massive representative, fitted with steam reverser gear; and the London, Brighton, and South Coast sent a powerful engine, to which a speed indicator was attached. The North-Eastern Railway proper sent the express passenger engine used for the "Flying Scotchman," which had the vacuum brake, and successfully competed at the Newark brake trials; also a six-coupled goods engine, and a heavy eight-wheeled tank engine; whilst the Stockton and Darlington section had several admirable engines, including the passenger engine we have named as next to No. 1, which received merited praise for the admirably-equalised disposition of the weight upon the wheels, and its general adaptability. Besides these were a handsome "bogie" engine, and several others. Altogether the collection was happily illustrative of the progress in locomotion during fifty years; and this effect was heightened by models of Blenkinsop's and other [ea]rly-railway engines with cogged wheels, &c., by the exhibition of the old "dandy-cart" once used on the line, and by models of the working of the block system, as well as by the exhibition of the engine-lifting apparatus.

It was observed by Mr. H. Pease, during the exhibition, that the common workmen had rendered great assistance in the development of the locomotive, not only by manipulative skill, but by ingenious suggestion. He also said that engines had, in price, increased from £500 to £3,000, and in weight from seven to thirty tons or more.

One of the principal events of this great day for Darlington was the presentation of a statue of the late Joseph Pease, Esq., to the corporation of his native town. This work is of bronze, placed on a pedestal of Scotch granite. Mr. G. A. Lawson was the sculptor; Messrs. Cox and Sons, of Thames Ditton, the founders; and the pedestal had been prepared by Messrs. Priest and Son, of Darlington. The features of Mr. Pease were considered well delineated; the attitude characteristic, and the difficulty of representing the dress of the first Quaker member well overcome. On the sides of the pedestal are four bronze panels in basso-relievo, illustrative of four phases in Mr. Pease's life. Politically, he is represented as one of a group engaged in discussing the reform question, of some forty years previously. A second panel pictures one of the early engines; the mills and forges that the first railway called into being; the hills of Cleveland forming the background. The educational labours of Mr. Pease are hinted at in a third panel, and the fourth suggests the aid he rendered in the abolition of slavery. On the south side of the pedestal is the simple inscription, "Joseph Pease." The statue, including the portrait of Mr. Pease, also presented to the town, cost about £3,000. The portrait was painted by Mr. James Macbeth, and is placed in the council chamber. The inscription is, "Joseph Pease, born 22nd June, 1799; died 8th February, 1872. Presented by subscription to the corporation of Darlington, his native town; 1875. It was unveiled by the Duke of Cleveland, who, in an appropriate speech, did justice to the merits of the late Joseph Pease, both as a man of business, a parliamentary representative of the people, and a philanthropist in all the relations of life. The festivities of the day were wound up with a sumptuous banquet held in a pavilion on the cricket-ground, the whole of the proceedings being such as are likely to be long remembered in and around the locality in which they took place.

Turning away from local festivity in England, our attention is drawn to the far East, even beyond that sea where

"North-east winds blow
Sabean odours from the spicy
Of Araby the blest,"

and where the Prince of Wales now is, holding festivity in the Indian land. On the 11th of October the heir to the British crown and its dependencies left England for India. Proceeding by way of Paris to Brindisi, he there joined the steam-ship *Serapis*, which had been specially prepared for his reception. Visiting his brother-in-law, the King of Greece, at Athens, he thence sailed to Egypt, then down the Red Sea, and across the Arabian Sea, to Bombay. Here, shortly after daybreak on Monday, the 8th of November, the booming of guns intimated to the inhabitants that the great event which had been the subject of conversation with every Hindoo, Mussulman, Parsee, and European for some months previously, had at length taken place—the Prince of Wales had realised the dream of his life, and had arrived in India. Let us, for a moment, pause, and conceive for ourselves the mingled feelings of wonder and delight which he must have experienced when the morning sun beamed upon the scene, which formed, at least, one of the many tangible pictures of which he had dreamt, and which was now arrayed before him with all the splendour of an Orient sky. There, through the palms of Malabar Hill, appeared numbers of white houses, shining among the groves of a tropical vegetation, the beautiful promontory of Colaba, adorned with a perfect heap of picturesque dwellings, with the tall spire of the church commemorative of the officers and men of the British army who fell in Afghanistan thirty-five years ago. The Fort, with its irregular clusters of curious houses, in which the two most prominent objects, the black and aged square tower of the cathedral, and the new tower of the university buildings, form a suggestive contrast of what Bombay once was and now is; and the beautiful arc of Back Bay, the shelving shore of which is adorned by green meadows and magnificent buildings,—all now appeared before him in no visionary form, but in palpable and striking reality.

This is not the place for a description of all those minute and tasteful particulars of etiquette which largely entered into the reception of the Prince of Wales: but all the arrangements had been made with the greatest care, and the strictest attention to good taste. The princes and chiefs, and the principal European and native inhabitants of Bombay, had been invited to the dockyard, where he was to be received; it is impossible to [illegible]agine a more attractive picture [illegible] [illegible]acious [illegible] gaily decorated [illegible] chivalry, the rank [illegible]aited the approach

after his return to his native land, from which his progress is watched with an interest even beyond what may be his own warmest expectations or conceptions. Meanwhile, it may be stated that his tour in the Madras Presidency was announced as follows:—On the 22nd of November, at Beypore. The 23rd, 24th, 25th, and 26th were to be devoted to shooting; 27th, at Coimbatore; 28th and 29th, at Ootacamund; 30th and 31st, at Mysore; 2nd and 3rd December, at Bangalore; 4th to 7th, at Madras; 8th, Trichinopoly; 9th, Madura; 10th, Tuticorin. On the morning of the 13th December he arrived at Madras from Trichinopoly, and was received with the usual salutes. His reception was most brilliant. The governor, commander-in-chief, chief justice, the chiefs of Travancore, Cochin, and Vizianagram, and Prince Arcot, awaited his arrival at the railway station, with a large assembly of Europeans and natives. In reply to an address from the municipal authorities, his royal highness expressed th[illegible] gratification he felt at the reception. All along [illegible] route to the government-house there were two d[illegible] lines of natives, who received him with every mar[illegible] cordiality and respect. The most striking scene, [illegible] ever, was a gathering of upwards of 14,000 nativ[illegible] Europeans, who sang "God bless the Prince of [illegible] as he passed. The beautiful dresses of th[illegible] various colours, and the ornaments inciden[illegible] different castes to which they belonged, [illegible] most charming picture.

At 1 o'clock P.M. the prince held a gran[illegible] shook hands cordially with the Rajahs pre[illegible] he appeared to make a most favourable i[illegible]

A banquet was given at the governr[illegible] lowed by fireworks; and the town illuminated.

His royal highness afterwards pr[illegible] Park, where he remained in seclu[illegible] being the anniversary of the death [illegible] sort. The *Serapis*, shortly afterw[illegible] cutta, where he arrived on the 2[illegible] where his royal highness was re[illegible] mony.

The viceroy, attended by his [illegible] an address of welcome was pr[illegible] tation of the leading Europ[illegible] headed by the president of [illegible] ture. The prince made a [illegible] ceeded to the landing-st[illegible] sented to him the chief justice of Be[illegible] governor-general. chiefs

and his reception was magnificent, the inhabitants receiving his royal highness with every mark of respect and cordial enthusiasm. Down to the last day of December, 1875, his royal highness was in Calcutta, both receiving and reciprocating compliments.

Whilst the prince was being *fêted* and enjoying himself in India, the Princess of Wales was visited at home by the King and Queen of Denmark and her sister, the Princess Thyra. As the visit was private rather than otherwise, no special public demonstration was made, and the royal party passed their time in pursuing such quiet enjoyments as were in conformity with their tastes. On the 29th of November, the Queen and Princess Thyra, with her royal highness the Princess of Wales and her children, paid a visit to Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle; and shortly after, the Danish family returned to Denmark, the king having previously taken his departure. On the 15th of December, the infant daughter—born 29th October—the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh was christened the private chapel of Windsor Castle. On this ion the Princess of Wales was present, and on the afternoon left London with her family for Paris, te for Denmark, there to spend their Christmas. day afterwards (the 16th) the Duke of Edin- the foundation stone of the New National se, on the Thames Embankment, London.

r may be the interest felt or attached to the of royalty in some countries, they are not t Britain, viewed in the light of affecting condition. Accordingly, events of the ance to the welfare of the country may without the interference of princes, e forms of the constitution may have he proper administration of public f this, it was announced, on the 26th the Bank of England had received a eir principal office at Alexandria, tian government had sold to the its shares in the Suez Canal for This announcement was variously states, some being favourable and llor Von Scherzer, an Austrian writer, says, so recently as but a few days before the close of the year 1875, that the effect of the purchase by England of the Suez Canal shares on the interests of Austria, "can only be favourable and advantageous. It may justly be asserted," he proceeds, "that the Suez Canal means Egypt, and that, therefore, the influence of England, from a politico-economical point of view, will not be confined to the canal, but be extended to the whole of Egypt and to its financial and political development. With a well-regulated administration, and under a wise and economical government, Egypt, which, with its adjacent territories, covers an area of 32,000 geographical square miles, has a total population of 7,500,000 souls, and already possesses a trade of nearly 700,000,000f. a year, will develop itself into a most important centre both of production and of consumption."

Herr von Scherzer believes that England, in the interest of her own trade, will, above all, strive to effect a considerable reduction in the canal dues, which will, of course, bring a considerable advantage to the shipping trade of other nations. If, on the other hand, the canal had remained principally in the possession of French shareholders, it would have been made entirely subservient to private interests. In order, however, to give Austria the full benefit of the change, Herr von Scherzer thinks that the railway, which is to establish a direct and cheap communication between Trieste and Central Europe, should be completed as soon as possible; that the Austro-Hungarian Lloyd should organise new lines of packet-ships to Egypt and the islands of the Indian Archipelago; that Austrian manufacturers should study the requirements of the people of Egypt with more attention than heretofore; and that Austrian traders should open offices and warehouses in the most important Egyptian ports. These suggestions, made to Austria, might be taken by England, and applied in such a way as to redound to her interest.

Having thus, for the present, finished this eventful history, the progress of the pen must stop, until coming events, yet in the womb of futurity, call it again into action to shadow forth the further greatness and glory of England.

THE END.